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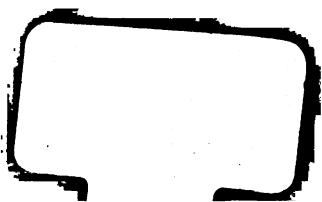
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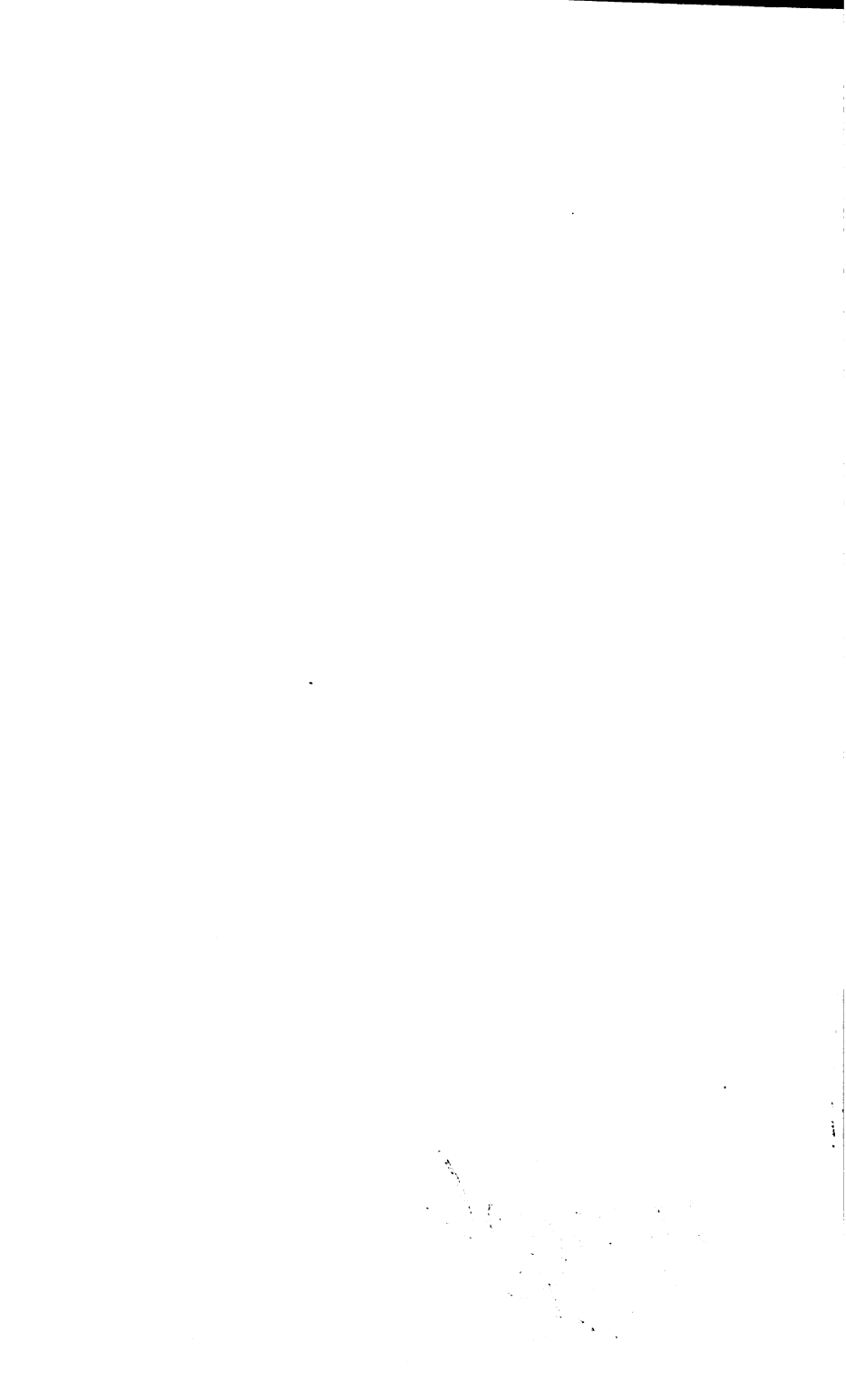
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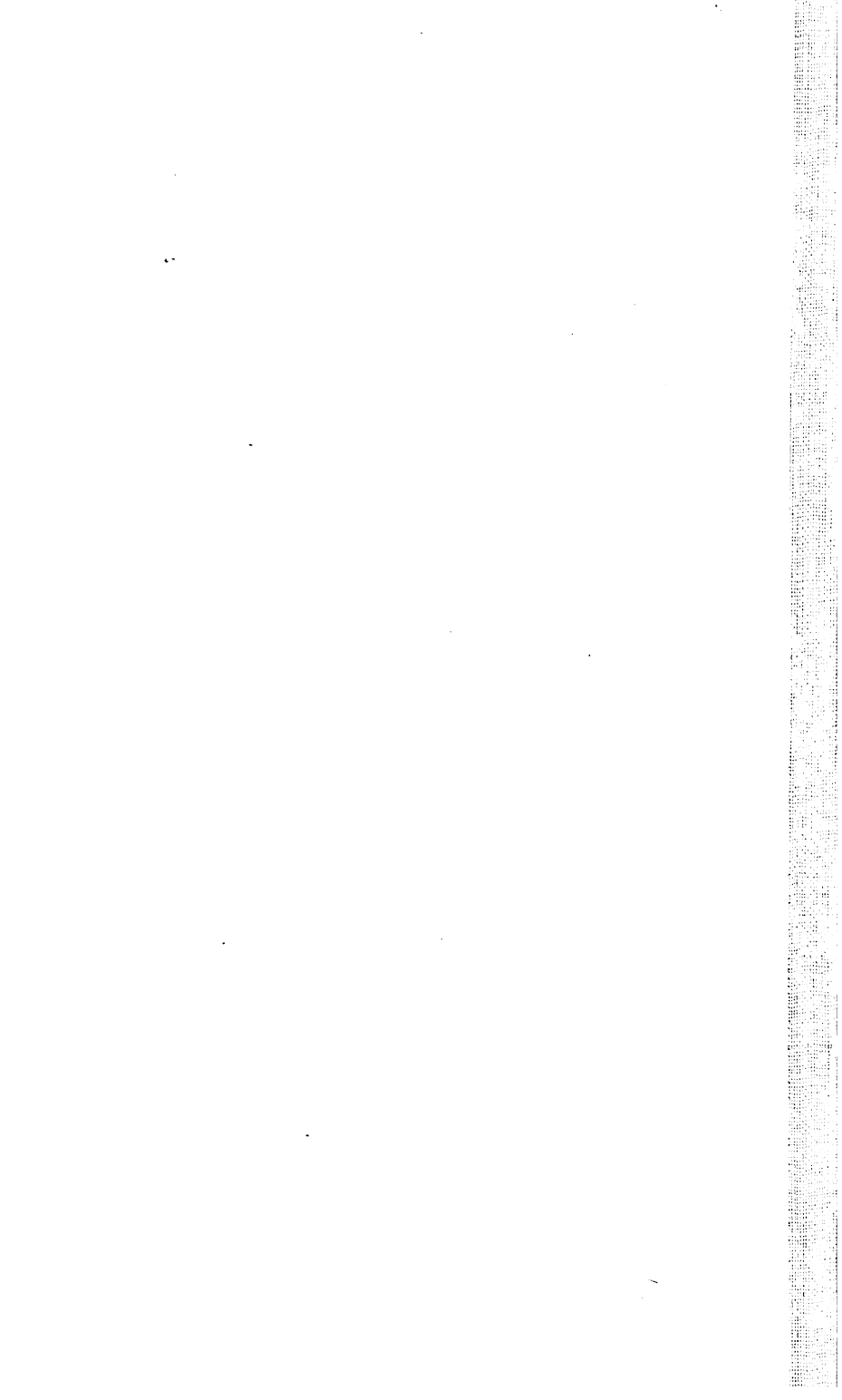
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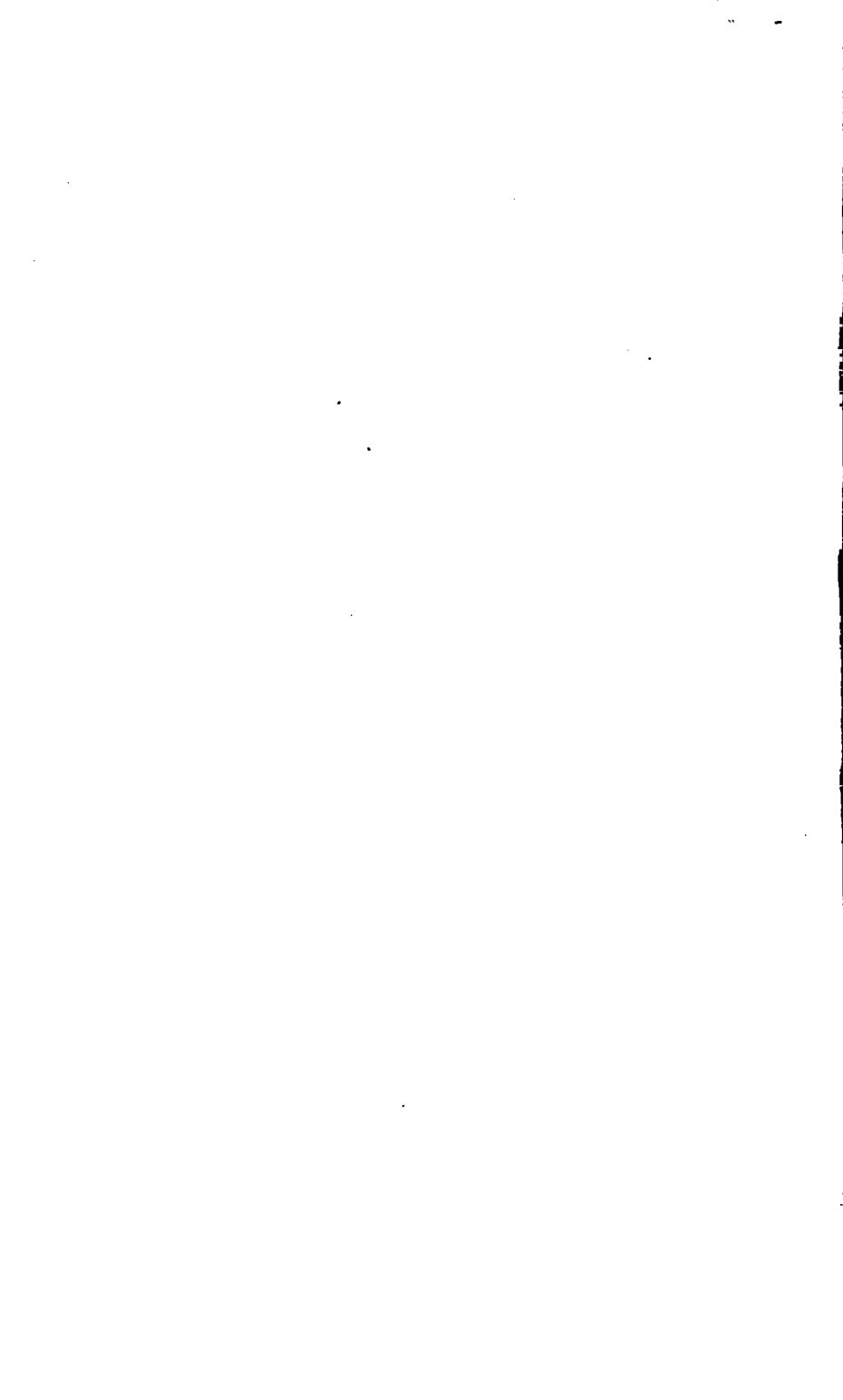
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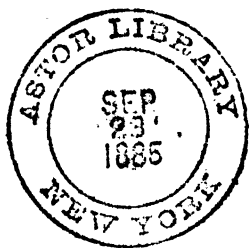
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ERRATA IN No. X.

Tanchum, *for* Janchum, p. 403 *note*.

Mc Neale, *for* Mc Neal, p. 359.

Munk, *for* Munt, p. 501 *note*.

The extracts on "Human Sacrifices," pp. 490—492, are from works reviewed and quoted in the *Edinburgh Review* for April, 1864.

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THE SEPULCHRE IN SYCHEM.

THIS is a matter which requires a little careful consideration, but presents no insurmountable difficulty. In Acts vii. 15, 16, we read, "So Jacob went down into Egypt and died, he and our fathers, and they were carried over into Sychem, and laid in the sepulchre that Abraham bought for a sum of money of Emmor, the father of Sychem."

The first impression from these words is that St. Stephen meant to teach us that Jacob, as well as "our fathers," were carried over into Sychem. But that Jacob was not buried in Sychem, but at Hebron, was a matter of such notoriety, that we cannot suppose that St. Stephen could have been ignorant of the circumstance, and therefore we must suppose that he could not have intended to convey the impression that he was buried in Sychem. In Genesis xxv. 8—10, we read, "Then Abraham gave up the ghost, and died in a good old age, an old man and full of years, and was gathered to his people. And his sons, Isaac and Ishmael, buried him in the cave of Machpelah in the field of Ephron the son of Zohar the Hittite, which is before Mamre, the field which Abraham purchased of the sons of Heth: there was Abraham buried and Sarah his wife." In Genesis xlix. 29—31 we read, "And he (Jacob) charged them and said unto them, I am to be gathered unto my people: bury me with my fathers in the cave that is in the field of Machpelah, which is before Mamre, in the land of Canaan, which Abraham bought

with the field of Ephron the Hittite for a possession of a burying place. There they buried Abraham and, Sarah his wife: there they buried Isaac and Rebecca his wife, and there I buried Leah." In Genesis i. 12, 13 we also read of Jacob, "And his sons did unto him as he commanded them: for his sons carried him into the land of Canaan, and buried him in the cave of Machpelah, which Abraham bought with the field for a possession of a burying place of Ephron the Hittite before Mamre." The account of the purchase itself is related in Genesis xxiii. In Josephus (*Ant.*, i., 14) we read, "Now Sarah died a little while after, having lived a hundred and twenty-seven years. They buried her in Hebron, the Canaanites publicly allowing them a burying place, which piece of ground Abraham bought for four hundred shekels of Ephron, an inhabitant of Hebron. And both Abraham and his descendants built themselves sepulchres in that place." In chapter xvii. we read, "A little while after this Abraham died, and he was buried in Hebron with his wife Sarah, by their sons Isaac and Ishmael." In chapter xxi. 3 we read, "And when he (Jacob) was gone thence, and was come over against Ephrata, he there buried Rachel, who died in child-bed: she was the only one of Jacob's kindred that had not the honour of burial at Hebron." In chap. xxii. 1 we read, "Isaac also died not long after the coming of his son, and was buried by his sons with his wife in Hebron, where they had a monument belonging to them from their forefathers." In book ii., viii., 1, we read, "But Joseph by the king's permission carried his father's dead body to Hebron, and there buried it at a great expense."

Further: Dean Stanley in his *Sinai and Palestine*, page 101, speaking of Hebron, says, "High above us on the eastern height of the town, which is nestled, Italian-like, on the slope of a ravine, rose the two long black walls and two stately minarets of that illustrious mosque, one of the four sanctuaries of the Mahometan world, sacred in the eyes of all the world besides, which covers the cave of Machpelah, the last resting-place of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." I will now give extracts from a letter, dated Jerusalem, April 9th, 1862, describing the visit of the Prince of Wales to the Mosque of Hebron, printed in the *Guardian*, April 30th, 1862, page 421:—

"Of all the great patriarchal family, Rachel alone is absent in the tomb selected for her by Jacob on the spot where she died on the way to Bethlehem. We are not left to conjecture the reverence that was paid to this spot when the descendants of Abraham dwelt in the country and occupied it as their own. Josephus expressly informs us that it was surrounded by them by vast walls, existing even to this day. That these walls are the massive enclosures, on the exterior of which so many eager

eyes have been fixed in our own times, can hardly be doubted. . . . This building (the mosque) occupies (to speak roughly) about one-third of the platform. I proceed to describe its relation to the sepulchres of the patriarchs. It is the innermost of the outer porticoes which contains the two first. In the recess on the right is the alleged tomb of Abraham; on the left that of Sarah, each guarded by silver gates. . . . Within the area of the church or mosque were shewn in like manner the tombs of Isaac and Rebekah. . . . The tombs of Jacob and Leah were shewn in recesses corresponding to those of Abraham and Sarah, but in a separate cloister opposite the entrance of the mosque. Thus far the monuments of the mosque adhere strictly to the Biblical account as given above. The variation which follows rests, as I am informed by Dr. Rosen, on the general tradition of the country (justified perhaps by an ambiguous expression in Josephus), that the body of Joseph, after having been deposited first at Shechem (Joshua xxiv. 32), was subsequently transported to Hebron. But the peculiar situation of the alleged tomb agrees with the exceptional character of the tradition. . . . It will be seen that up to this point no mention has been made of the subject of the greatest interest to all of us,—namely, the sacred cave itself, in which one at least of the patriarchal family may still be believed to repose intact—the embalmed body of Jacob.”

With such a notoriety of Jacob having been buried at Hebron, preserved even unto this day, we cannot conceive that St. Stephen could have been ignorant of the circumstance; and therefore when he says in Acts vii. 16, “*They were carried over into Sychem,*” we must not understand the words as applying to Jacob, but as applying only to “our fathers,” in verse 15.

A passage of similar construction also occurs in verse 4 of this remarkable speech of St. Stephen; and the misunderstanding of it has led myself into error. In this verse St. Stephen says, “Then came he (Abraham) out of the land of the Chaldeans and dwelt in Charran, and from thence, when his father was dead, he removed him into this land wherein ye now dwell.” The common interpretation of this passage is, that Abraham removed from Charran after his father’s death, and with this interpretation the passage could not be reconciled with Genesis xi. 26, 32; xii. 4; in reference to the age of Terah at the birth of Abraham. It seemed also quite inconsistent with the well-known obedience of Abraham, that he should have remained in Charran with his father until after his father’s death, when the Lord had expressly said to him, “*Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father’s house, unto a land that I will shew thee*” (Gen. xii. 1). It was the opinion of Philo,^a that Abraham remained but a short time in Charran, and came out of it before the death of his father. That Abra-

^a *De Migratione Abrahame*, tom. i. 463: *De eo quod a Deo mittantur somnia*, p. 627-8: *De Abrahamo*, tom. ii., p. 11.

ham's stay in Charran was short, appears from the joint testimony of Genesis xii. 4, and Josephus (*Ant.*, i. 7). According to Genesis he was seventy-five years old when he came out of Charran, and, according to Josephus, he was seventy-five years old when he came out of Chaldea. Thus, he must have come out of Charran the same year in which he came into it; and upon the whole I came to the conclusion that Acts vii. 4 could not be accurate. This appears in my work on *Chronology* (1858), and I have referred to it in my *Reply to the Bishop of Natal*. But my present position is, that Acts vii. 4 must be held to be strictly accurate, and that Philo is to be referred to as pointing to the sense in which it is to be understood, namely, that St. Stephen did not mean that Abraham came out of Charran after his father's death, but only that God removed him into Canaan after his father's death; that is, that the words, "*when his father was dead*," are to be referred, not to the previous words, "*from thence*," but only to the following words, "*he removed him into this land*;" and such is the view of this passage held by Augustine. In his *De Civitate Dei* (lib. xvi., chap. 15, sec. 1, tom. vii., p. 430), Augustine says: "After these words of God (Gen. xii. 1), which were addressed to Abraham, the Scripture says, '*So Abraham departed, as the Lord had spoken unto him, and Lot went with him, and Abram was seventy-five years old when he went out of Charran.*' How could this be true, if he came out of Charran after the death of his father?" In sec. ii. Augustine also says, "The following statement of St. Stephen, '*And from thence, after his father was dead, he placed him in this land, in which ye now dwell*,' does not say that after his father was dead he came out of Charran, but that from thence he placed him here after his father was dead. . . . But it says that his collocation in the land of Canaan, not his coming out of Charran, took place after his father was dead."

Thus, this statement of St. Stephen, in which his words, "*when his father was dead*," are to be referred only to Abraham's coming into Canaan, and not also to his coming out of Charran, is exactly parallel to his statement in verse 16, in which his words, "*were carried over into Sychem*," are to be referred only to "*our fathers*" in verse 16, and not to Jacob also. Thus, these two passages mutually confirm each other. But if the age of Terah is rightly given by the Hebrew text (Gen. xi. 32), as two hundred and five years, the coming of Abraham into Canaan must have been sixty years after his departure from Chaldea: but this does not seem consistent with his well-known ready obedience; and on this ground I adopt the age of Terah, as given by the Hebrew Samaritan text, at a hundred and forty-

five years. With this supposition the coming of Abraham into Canaan might have been in the same year in which he came out of Chaldea and out of Charran, and his coming out of Charran might also have been before the death of his father. As to the Hebrew Samaritan text, Dr. Kennicott, in the account of the tenth year of his labours in collating the copies of the Hebrew text, says in his page 145 :—"And indeed the Samaritan Pentateuch should, in my opinion, be held very precious, because I apprehend that some places in the Hebrew Pentateuch will never be intelligible, nor others ever become defensible, till corrected agreeably to the Samaritan."

But the difficulty which we have thus far noticed, is not the only one which occurs as to the sepulchre in Sychem.

According to St. Stephen, the sepulchre in Sychem was bought by Abraham, and the objection is, we read in Genesis xxxiii. 18, 19, "And Jacob came to Shalem, a city of Shechem, which is in the land of Canaan, when he came from Padan-Aram, and pitched his tent before the city, and he bought a parcel of a field where he had spread his tent, at the hand of the children of Hamor, Shechem's father, for a hundred pieces of money." We also read in Genesis xxiii. 16, 18, "And Abraham hearkened unto Ephron, and Abraham weighed to Ephron the silver which he had named in the audience of the sons of Heth, four hundred shekels of silver, current *money* with the merchants. And the field of Ephron, which was in Machpelah, which was before Mamre, the field and the cave which was therein, and all the trees that were in the field, that were in all the borders round about, were made sure unto Abraham for a possession in the presence of the children of Heth, before all that went in at the gate of the city." This purchase by Abraham is also mentioned in Genesis xxv. 9, 10; xlix. 29, 30; and i. 13: but we find no mention in Holy Scripture, or in Josephus, of any purchase made by Abraham of any sepulchre in Sychem; and the inference drawn from this silence is, that St. Stephen has confounded the purchase by Abraham at Hebron, with the purchase by Jacob in Sychem. But the wide and well-known distinction between the two, and the acquaintance with the history of the Jews, which St. Stephen has shewn in his speech before the council, should forbid the suspicion that St. Stephen could have made any confusion in the matter; and the solution of the difficulty may be, that the sepulchre in Shechem was first purchased by Abraham, then retaken possession of by the sons of Emmor, and then repurchased by Jacob. That Jacob had an altercation with the Amorites, is stated in Genesis xlviii. 22, as Jacob said to Joseph, "Moreover, I have given to thee one portion above

thy brethren, which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow." Nor would the time at which this sepulchre might have been purchased by Abraham, forbid the supposition that it was also purchased by Jacob of the same party. The record of the purchase by Jacob is after the record of his return from Padan-Aram, that is, eighty-two years after the death of Abraham, when Jacob was ninety-seven years old. But the purchase itself by Jacob might have been before this time; as the party from whom it was purchased by Abraham might have lived on until Jacob's return from Padan-Aram. Abraham lived to the age of a hundred and seventy-five years, and Jacob lived to the age of one hundred and forty-seven years. If it be asked, Why should Abraham purchase a sepulchre in Sychem, when he had previously purchased a burial-place at Hebron? the answer would be, There must have been the same reason for its being purchased by Abraham, as there was for its being purchased by Jacob: for the burial-place at Hebron descended to Jacob. That there was some special reason for the purchase, we conclude from the circumstance that Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebekah, and Jacob and Leah, the three great patriarchs and their wives, only are mentioned in Scripture as having been buried in the cave of Machpelah at Hebron. The letter from Jerusalem, as we have noticed, speaks of an ambiguous expression in Josephus, and of a tradition that the body of Joseph, after having been deposited first at Shechem (Joshua xxiv. 32), was subsequently transported to Hebron. The statement in Joshua xxiv. 32 is, "The bones of Joseph, which the children of Israel brought up out of Egypt, *buried* they in Shechem, in a parcel of ground which Jacob bought of the sons of Hamor, the father of Shechem, for a hundred pieces of silver;" and the statement in Josephus (*Ant.*, ii., 8, 2) is, "At length his (Joseph's) brethren died after they had lived happily in Egypt. Now, the posterity and sons of these men after some time carried their bodies and buried them at Hebron: but, as for the bones of Joseph, they carried them into the land of Canaan afterward, when the Hebrews went out of Egypt, for so had Joseph made them promise upon oath." This would lead us to suppose that Joseph's brethren were buried at Hebron; but the statement as to Joseph's bones, is quite consistent with the supposition, that though they were carried into Canaan, they were not buried at Hebron, and Dean Stanley in his page 148 says, "The tomb of Joseph must be near one of the two monuments pointed out as such in the opening of the vale of Shechem." Nor is the cave of Machpelah at present regarded as the sepulchre of Joseph's brethren. The Dean also says in his page 148, "If the graves

of Rameses and Osirei can still be ascertained, there is nothing improbable in the thought that the tombs of the patriarchs may have survived the lapse of twenty or thirty centuries." But, where is the history that is confirmed by the graves of Rameses and Osirei? The perpetuation and identification of the last earthly resting-place of the three great patriarchs and their wives, from whom Jesus Christ descended, is a singular testimony to the historical truth of the Mosaic narrative, and we may easily suppose that Abraham, who was especially called the friend of God, was made acquainted with the purpose of God in devoting the cave of Machpelah exclusively to him and his two immediate successors and their wives, and so he may have been the first purchaser of the burial-place in Shechem. At all events, the purchase of this sepulchre by Abraham is not the only circumstance mentioned by St. Stephen, of which we find no other record, either in Holy Scripture or in Josephus.

In Acts vii. 23 St. Stephen says, "And when he (Moses) was full forty years old, it came into his heart to visit his brethren the children of Israel." Of this date we have no record, either in Holy Scripture or Josephus. Nor is this a date of no importance: for, as I have shewn in my *Reply to the Bishop of Natal*, it assists us in shewing that there was a month between the appearance of the angel at the bush and the infliction of the first plague on Pharaoh, and so there must have been sufficient time for the occurrence of all the events which are recorded by Moses as having occurred between the appearance of the angel and the infliction of the first plague. This would give an air of truth to the Mosaic narrative, and receive in return a similar attestation to its own veracity. Thus, the silence of Holy Scripture would be no evidence that the burial-place at Shechem was not first purchased by Abraham.

But we need not insist that such must be the solution of the difficulty. The text of Acts vii. 16 may have been corrupted in its transmission to us. Hear the extraordinary confession of the very learned and laborious Hebrew scholar, Dr. Kennicott, who devoted ten years to the collation of various copies (MSS. and printed) of the Hebrew text. In the account of his tenth year (1769), page 134, he says:—

"When I learnt the Hebrew language, and for some years afterwards, I was of the same opinion with most divines, that *every word and letter in the printed Hebrew text was pure and genuine*. I therefore concluded, that neither the real obscurities nor the apparent inconsistencies were at all chargeable to the inaccuracy of transcribers, and, of course, that a remedy was not to be sought, or would be sought to no good purpose, in any attempt to correct the present Hebrew text."

In his *Dissertation on 1 Chron. xi.*, page 397, Dr. Kennicott, speaking of the Hebrew text of Exod. xii. 40, says:—

“The *stone of stumbling* in this and many other instances, is evidently the notion of the integrity of the present Hebrew text, which leads its votaries for ever into inextricable difficulties—*puzzled with mazes and perplexed with errors*; while the inspiration and authority of the Holy Scriptures lose more credit than they gain by such indefensible and unprecedented illustrations. Strange! that good men should permit absurdity or contradiction to be charged upon an *inspired writer*, rather than allow fallibility or mistake to be imputed to a Rabbinical transcriber.”

In the account of his ninth year (1768), page 130, Dr. Kennicott says:—

“I shall close this annual account with an article of intelligence, which I have reserved for the last, because it is the most important. The very *first* edition of the Hebrew Bible, printed in 1488, and fortunately purchased by my friend Mr. Sanford (as mentioned in the last annual account), has been now completely collated with the edition of Van Hooght, in 1705; and the variations between the editions (the former printed more agreeably to the oldest and best MSS., and the latter to the latest and worst) have been carefully computed. And now, to the great surprise of the learned through Europe—of those who acknowledged some differences and corruptions in the printed copies, as well as of those who insisted on their absolute agreement and integrity,—I say, to the surprise of the learned universally, I acquaint them, that the words which here vary either in the whole or in some part, amount to above twelve thousand. Now, from this discovery arise the following very interesting questions. How are we to determine between these two editions in these twelve thousand instances? Are we, without any reason, to prefer either edition *universally*; or to prefer *sometimes* the one, *sometimes* the other? If neither, without a reason; what reason can there be so good, as *the concurrence of MSS.*? And if the authority of MSS. (together with that of the ancient versions, context, etc.) is to determine, does not this demonstrate—I will not say, the great *expediency*, but—the absolute *necessity* of collating such MSS., that so the learned may judge the more safely between these printed editions of a book which is of such vast importance.”

In his page 147 Dr. Kennicott says of these twelve thousand variations, “Very many of which variations greatly affect, the sense.” Also in page 22 he says:—

“Should it be enquired, whether there be in *any other* ancient MS. a number of variations at all proportionable in *other* parts of the Old Testament; it may be answered, that in another MS. (also one of the most ancient and valuable now known) there are, in the evangelical prophet Isaiah, above a thousand readings different from the printed text; and of these several have a considerable influence upon the sense.”

A most important corruption has taken place in Psalm xl. 6. This, as it stands in the Hebrew text, is, “Sacrifice and offering

thou didst not desire: *mine ears hast thou opened.*" But it is quoted by St. Paul (Heb. x. 5) as, "Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not: *but a body hast thou prepared me.*" This, as it is quoted by St. Paul, contains a most explicit prophecy of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, and not only of His Incarnation, but also of His Atonement for our sins. Happily, this corruption is also proved by the LXX. version, which gives the passage in the identical words which are used by St. Paul, and the words of St. Paul are abundantly supported by the context. But, in the Hebrew texts, these great doctrines are quite kept out of sight.

Another corruption has taken place in Isaiah xlv. 23. This, as it appears in the Hebrew text, is, "I (the Lord Jehovah) have sworn by myself, the word is gone out of my mouth in righteousness and shall not return, That unto Me every knee shall bow, every tongue *shall swear.*" The passage is quoted by St. Paul (Romans xiv. 11) as, "For it is written, As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to Me, and every tongue *shall confess* to God." In this instance the various reading, *shall confess*, as given by St. Paul, instead of the reading *shall swear*, as given by the Hebrew text and some copies of the LXX. version, is supported by the Alexandrian MS. and other copies of the LXX. version, and also by Justin Martyr, Origen, Chrysostom and Theodoret, and by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Philippians, ii. 11. But the variation does not affect the sense materially, and therefore is not of the great importance that the passage itself is, in which it is found. This passage, as used by St. Paul, must be regarded as a singular and unanswerable testimony to the Divinity of Jesus Christ. According to Isaiah, every knee shall bow and every tongue shall confess to the Lord (Jehovah), and Isaiah represents Jehovah as saying of Himself, "*There is no God else beside Me, a just God and a Saviour; there is none beside Me.*" But, according to St. Paul (Philip. ii. 9—11), "God hath highly exalted Him (Christ Jesus), and given Him a name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of *things* in heaven and *things* in earth, and things under the earth." Could we have a plainer testimony, that, in the mind of St. Paul, Jesus Christ was the Lord, Jehovah, a just God, and a Saviour, and that there was no God else beside Him, to whom every knee should bow? And so St. Paul goes on and gives an additional reason why God had highly exalted Him, and given Him a name which is above every name, and the additional reason is, that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ was Lord (Jehovah), to the glory of God the Father. The same great doctrine is also plainly involved in the statement of St. Paul to the Romans. St. Paul gives them a

reason why they were not to judge their brethren. The reason is, because they would all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ. Why?—to give, as St. Paul says in his verse 12, account of themselves to God; and how does St. Paul prove to the Romans that they were to stand before the judgment-seat of Christ, to give account of themselves to God? He says, "It is written, 'As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to Me, and every tongue shall confess to God.'"

Thus, the standing before the judgment-seat of Christ to give account of themselves to God, is plainly used by St. Paul as being equivalent to bowing the knee and confessing with the tongue to God. Thus, as in the Epistle to the Philippians, in the mind of St. Paul, Jesus Christ was God. As in this passage of Isaiah, the Lord (Jehovah) commanded every knee to bow and every tongue to confess to Himself, St. Paul could not have produced it as Scripture, the written Word of God, to prove that every knee should bow and every tongue should confess to Jesus Christ, and especially to confess that Jesus Christ was Lord, to the glory of God the Father, if he had not believed that Jesus Christ was the Lord, Jehovah, the only God, to whom every knee was commanded to bow and every tongue was commanded to confess. St. Paul was too close a reasoner not to perceive that a command from Jehovah for bowing and confession to Himself, could not be regarded as a command for bowing and confession to any other being than the one only God. Nor could St. Paul have said that God had given Jesus Christ a name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow and every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ was Lord, to the glory of God the Father, if he had not believed that the name which was given was the name of God: for the name of God only, is above every name, and so above every name, that every knee should bow and every tongue should confess to it, to the glory of God the Father.

And in strict accordance with this, we find that the name Jesus, which was given, is the translation of Jehoshua (Numb. xiii. 17), as given by the LXX. version, and Jehoshua, as admitted by the Bishop of Natal, is compounded of Jehovah. Thus, we see that Jesus is the name of God.

Another corruption has taken place in Genesis xli. 27; Exod. i. 5; Deut. x. 22; in reference to the number that went down into Egypt with Jacob. According to the Hebrew text, in each of these passages, the number was only seventy: but St. Stephen, in his speech before the council, says (verse 14), "Then sent Joseph, and called his father Jacob to him, and all his kindred, threescore and fifteen souls;" and this various read-

ing, as given by St. Stephen, is supported by the LXX. version in each of the above passages.

This correction of the corruption is also of importance, as giving a larger number for the seed, from whom the large numbers at the Exodus descended. To this I have also referred in my *Reply to the Bishop of Natal*, and shewn how the six hundred thousand who came out of Egypt with Moses, and were of an age fit for war, might have sprung from the seventy-five descendants of Jacob. But, it may well be asked, What became of the servants that Jacob had at the time of his going down to Egypt? That Jacob had servants at the time, and that they all went down into Egypt with him, and multiplied there, and that all their descendants came out of Egypt with Moses, must be beyond all doubt. Abraham had three hundred and eighteen men-servants, of an age fit for war, all born in his house, a hundred and ninety years before the descent of Jacob into Egypt (see Gen. xiv. 4; xlvii. i. 12; Exod. xii. 41). These, with the continued prosperity of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, must have gone on increasing, and with their descendants, as part of the seed that went down into Egypt, we need not insist upon seventy-five as being the true number of the descendants of Jacob at his going into Egypt, in order to account for the number who came out of Egypt with Moses. But the authority of St. Stephen, supported as it is by the LXX. version, and its context, must be an assurance of the correctness of the number which he has given. At least, such should be held by all who hold the inspiration of St. Stephen,—“a man full of faith and of the Holy Ghost.”

As Dr. Kennicott, in his *Dissert. on 1 Chron.*, chap. xi., page 272, says, “Wherever in two copies of the same writing, the one differs from the other in word or letter, or in the position of the same words or letters, *every such difference is properly a various reading*. And since every variation from the original of an inspired author is a variation for the worse, every such variation is properly a *corruption*. Consequently, though every various reading proves a corruption to have happened, every various reading is *not itself* a corruption, because one of the various readings may be the true reading, which obtained at first in the original.”

But it may be said that there is no various reading, as evidence of any corruption of the passage relating the purchase of the sepulchre in Sychem by Abraham. True: none has, as yet, been discovered, and my reference to various readings, and my production of some striking instances as evidences of corruption, have been with a view to shew the extent and the nature of the

corruption to which the Holy Scriptures have been subjected; and if their corruption can be proved in so many and such important instances, it is not unreasonable to suppose that they may also have been corrupted in some others, which cannot be proved, and it is surely far more probable, under all these circumstances, that the text of Acts vii. 16 has been corrupted, than that St. Stephen could have confounded the purchase of the cave of Machpelah by Abraham with the purchase of the sepulchre in Sychem by Jacob. If it be suggested that the name of Abraham may have been inserted in Acts vii. 16, instead of Jacob by St. Stephen by inadvertence, surely inadvertence is far more likely to have happened to a transcriber, than to St. Stephen. But it may be, as I have already shewn, that the sepulchre at Sychem was first purchased by Abraham.

We need not decide which of these two solutions of this difficulty is the most probable one. It is enough for us to shew that the difficulty is open to both solutions without in the least affecting the value of the Holy Scriptures, or our reverence for them. Had it pleased Almighty God, He might have handed down to us His Holy Scriptures, both of His Old and of His New Covenant, as perfect as when they respectively came out of the hands of His sacred penmen; but He has not thought fit so to do.

Nor need we murmur or even regret that the Holy Scriptures have come down to us in the imperfect state in which we find them. Rather, we should rely on the wisdom and mercy of God for having handed them down to us as perfect as is needful for our present and eternal happiness. Nor need we fear to confess freely both the extent and the nature of the corruption, to which the Holy Scriptures have been subjected in their transmission to us. By doing this we shall disarm the adversaries of our holy faith, depriving them of a ground of cavilling at every discrepancy which they may discover. By this kind of candour we shall also save the faithful Christian from the disappointment of expecting more of perfection than he will be able to find in the oracles of God. We must not do evil, even the evil of concealment, that good may come, and the advocate who overstates his case, weakens it by his indiscretion. But the scheme of salvation, which is revealed in the Holy Scriptures, is perfect, and suffers not the least obscurity from the imperfection of its records.

To use the language of Dr. Kennicott in his *Dissertation*, page 271 :—

“Every friend of revelation will be full of gratitude to the Supreme Being, who, as *the Author of every good and perfect gift*, gave these books

originally perfect, free from error and universally consistent. And if they have suffered some alterations in the less important articles by being transcribed in so many hundred and perhaps thousand copies during the long period of near two thousand two hundred years since the latest writer in them, he has the utmost reason to be thankful for the preservation of those several *ancient versions* (however imperfectly delivered down themselves in some instances), by the help of which he may be enabled to remove many difficulties found in the printed text of the original—not forgetting a proper thankfulness for the preservation also of such Hebrew MSS. as will either, of themselves, restore the true reading in any instances, however few, or will confirm the authority of the ancient versions, which afford much more plentiful assistance.”

Such an admission of the value of ancient versions from one who devoted so much time and thought to the Hebrew text, should have great weight, as seeming to be dictated solely by the love of truth. Thus, in passages of the Old Covenant, where there are different readings, the true reading must be determined sometimes by the Hebrew text, sometimes by ancient versions, and sometimes by quotations in the New Covenant, as reason shall in each case decide, regard being had to the context and parallel passages. On the same principle reason must decide what reading should be regarded as the true reading, where various readings occur in passages in the New Covenant.

Luffingcott.

FRANKE PARKER.

The Conduit of Mount Sion.—When the English church was building on Mount Sion, some years since, a conduit was discovered. The mouth of it, which is in the incumbent's house, had been hermetically sealed, for fear of accident, for twenty-one years; but by the courtesy of the Rev. Mr. Barclay it was uncovered for Mr. Lewin's gratification. A party of eight made the descent of the shaft by means of a rope ladder. Lighted by candles, they traced the course of the conduit eastwards, and found it about high and wide enough to admit of them passing along in single file, with a roof covered with flat stones having openings in it at intervals, as if for buckets. The stalactites formed by the drip through the limestone soil were soft, and crumbled at the touch. After proceeding some two hundred or three hundred feet, their progress was blocked up by a disruption of the soil, when they faced about and groped their way westwards for some hundred and sixty feet. The sides generally had been cemented; but in one place the cutting was ascertained to be through solid rock. A low and narrow passage brought them to a sharp turn in the conduit, which, at a little distance in advance, was blocked up by a wall built across it. This was the conduit in which the high priest Ananias hid himself in the last days of Jerusalem, before its capture. In a popular tumult his palace in the upper city was fired, but he escaped to the palace of Herod: this was then besieged and taken, when he let himself down into the conduit and hid from his enemies; but on the following day he was discovered, dragged out, and assassinated. And it is also likely to have been the passage into which Simon Bar-Gioras fled, on the successful assault by Titus, intending to work his way out beyond the walls by spade and pickaxe.—*Builder.*

THE TYPICAL CHARACTER OF DAVID: WITH A DIGRESSION CONCERNING CERTAIN WORDS.

WRITERS upon the types of the Old Testament have divided them into a variety of classes; but their different arrangements have not been by any means always equivalent in substance any more than in form. Even those who agree as to the general features of the Old Testament typical system, often disagree when they come to details. In fact scarcely any two writers can probably be found who harmonize in every respect. There are a few leading features nevertheless in which they coincide. All writers who accept the supernatural origin of the patriarchal, Mosaic, and Christian systems, and who believe in the divine inspiration of the canonical Scriptures, concur in finding in the Old Testament types which are realized in the new dispensation. They agree in finding in certain *rites, events, things, and persons*, types of higher and more spiritual realities: at least we do not remember any one who would object to acknowledge types of each of the classes mentioned. Beyond this, they admit, on the faith of the New Testament, the realization of some of the types belonging to these classes. Here, probably, the difference begins: some refuse to accept as typical whatever is not affirmed to be so in the New Testament. Others, however, regard the typical indications of the New Testament as only laying down a foundation, basis or principle, upon which a complete typical system may be built; that is, it only supplies us with examples and illustrations of typical references, for our aid in all analogous cases. The former extreme undoubtedly checks imagination, and is conservative against all the licentiousness of criticism; but so much cannot be said of the latter, the main advantage of which is that it opens a new field for the operations of Christian wisdom as well as fancy, and new sources of spiritual edification. Thus, one party look upon the meaning of types as very much determined, and the number of types as quite decided; the other feel at liberty to interpret many other texts after the same manner, or, as some would say, by "comparing spiritual things with spiritual."

It cannot be doubted that the sympathies of the multitude are and have ever been in favour of making many things in the Old Testament typical of things in the New. These sympathies have given rise to the strange mass of exposition which finds the figurative everywhere, and never satisfied with the grammatical and historical sense, discovers everywhere what is variously designated—the allegorical, hidden, figurative, mysterious, symbolical, metaphorical, typical, spiritual, etc., etc. From the days

of Origen to those of Emanuel Swedenborg, and on to this year of grace 1864, examples of this liberty in all possible degrees are abundant.

An unwillingness to rest in the literal sense of Scripture, and to stop at what may be called its natural interpretation, manifested itself among the Jews, and hence the mysteries of their cabalistic system. So contagious has their example been, that Christian writers are even now continually publishing, as translations and expositions of the sacred Scriptures, works in which every law of grammar and every rule of interpretation and criticism are set at nought. The tone of such books may be very edifying and religious, their writers may be good and sincere men, and the doctrine throughout unobjectionable; but many men, quite as learned and as reverent, think that in these works the ideas are often imposed upon texts, and not taken out of them. Nor can it be otherwise, so long as a verbal or historical parallel is uniformly taken to be typical, symbolical, or prophetic. There are some who rob the Old Testament histories of their body, soul, and substance, by translating them all into allegories. This procedure is a very dangerous one, and is very fairly designated in a phrase we have already used,—as the licentiousness of criticism. To such vagaries there is no check but common sense; and only when men take leave of that, do they indulge in them.

Unquestionably, many things in the Scriptures are typical, many are allegorical, many figurative, in one way or another. But it is unnecessary and unsafe to push figurative interpretations too far, and the best expositors have always been characterized by sobriety and restraint. Of course we hold that the first work of an interpreter is to ascertain the literal sense which every proposition must have; the next is to discover whether or how far the figurative underlies the literal. Perhaps the most common fault of typical expositors is, to treat casual, vague, verbal, or general resemblances and parallels, as necessarily types. There may be correspondences and similarities where there are no substantial identities, and where no symbol or relationship was ever intended. Even of actual types and symbols, their contact with that to which they point may only be in one particular detail, incident, or circumstance. Thus a lamb or a heifer under the law might be typical of Christ, but only in so far as it was offered in sacrifice for sin. The qualifications which constituted the fitness of such an animal for sacrifice, might be also typical of Christ, but only as a sacrifice. The lamb, as a lamb, was no type of the Saviour, nor the heifer as a heifer. When John the Baptist said, "Behold the Lamb of God," he saw in

Christ no antitype to a lamb, but to the lamb-sacrifices of the law. Hence it follows that all pictorial representations of Jesus as a lamb, are based upon a mistaken conception. The passage in Isaiah liii. 7, "He is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so He openeth not His mouth," is therefore in our view a simple prophetic comparison between Christ and a lamb or sheep, in this, that both are led to a violent death without resistance, and that both suffer without complaint. In this example the idea of sacrifice scarcely appears. When St. Peter speaks of the merit of Christ's sacrifice, he draws a comparison between the personal perfections which qualified Jesus to suffer acceptably, and the physical perfections of a lamb fitted for a sacrifice. In this case then, the physical perfection of the lamb refers us to the typical institution of the law bearing upon that particular (1 Pet. i. 19). In the Apocalypse, by a bold metaphor, Christ is often called a Lamb; but the allegories of this book stand very much alone, and scarcely justify us in detaching individual symbols and introducing them into literal compositions.

The preceding remarks will not be wholly useless, if they induce us to exercise sound judgment in enquiring after typical relations. For instance, Was David a typical person? If so, In what respect was he typical, and of what was he a type?

Some would briefly answer to these questions, that David was a typical person, that he was typical in his character and experience, and that he was typical of Christ. They would say that David was by divine ordination a type of Christ, as sprung of Judah, as a shepherd, as a king, as greatly persecuted and afflicted, as triumphant over his enemies, and in various other respects. There have been those who have pushed this typical relation so far as to find it illustrated in almost every event of David's life. A comparatively sober writer upon the subject, viewing David as rightful claimant to the throne, in opposition to Saul, who, by a divine arrangement, was permitted to fill it, and regarding all this as typical of Christ's just claim to the throne among men, in opposition to Satan the usurper, who has been suffered to seize it,—not only makes David a type of Christ, but Saul a type of Satan. Whatever our estimate of Saul may be, we are surely not justified in treating him as a type of the Devil. The very idea of a Biblical type is, that it is of divine appointment and institution; if then Saul was a type of the Devil, he was so by divine appointment. We confess our love of theory is not strong enough to enable us to hazard the consequences of such an opinion. However, as our concern is now more especially with David, we leave the case of Saul, though we shall not forget it.

The first thing to be done towards a solution, is to ask what the Scripture says, for upon its statements, rightly interpreted, our conclusions must be based; and here we shall do well to ascertain the sense of certain words.

The Greek word *type* (τύπος, Latin *typus*), occurs frequently in the Greek Scriptures. It is a word of rather diversified meanings. It may be a pattern or model, after which something is made; a mould in which something is cast; or an example which is or may be followed: it may even be the impression produced by a blow, or the mark left by a wound, and these in fact are its primary uses. From things it is transferred to modes of speech, etc. Under such circumstances, it is apparent that caution and consideration are required when we would explain the word as it occurs in the Bible. The New Testament examples are as follows, with the renderings they bear in the Authorized Version:—

John xx. 25, "The *print* of the nails."

Acts vii. 43, "*Figures* which ye made to worship them."

Ver. 44, "The *fashion* that he had seen."

Chap. xxiii. 25, "A letter after this *manner*."

Rom. v. 14, "The *figure* of him that was to come."

Chap. vi. 17, "That *form* of doctrine which was delivered you."

1 Cor. x. 6, "These things are our *examples*."

Ver. 11, "These things happened unto them for *ensamples*."

Phil. iii. 17, "As ye have us for an *ensample*."

1 Thess. i. 7, "Ye were *ensamples* to all that believe."

2 Thess. iii. 9, "To make ourselves an *ensample* unto you."

1 Tim. iv. 12, "Be thou an *example* of the believers."

Titus ii. 7, "In all things shewing thyself a *pattern* of good works."

Heb. viii. 5, "Who serve unto the *example* and shadow of heavenly things—the *pattern* shewed to thee."

1 Pet. v. 3, "Being *ensamples* to the flock."

In how many of these texts is the word *type* employed in the modern sense of the term?

In Acts vii. 43, it means "models" or "copies," and in the next verse a "model" or "pattern." In chap. xxiii. 25, it is like our "fashion" or "manner;" after this fashion or manner. Rom. v. 14, seems to mean that Adam was a proper type of Christ; *i.e.*, we suppose, as a federal head or in his representative character; but in Rom. vi. 17, it plainly denotes a mould in which anything is cast. 1 Cor. x. 6, must not be understood to say that the experience of the Israelites was typical, for types are as much to be fulfilled as prophecies; here, the types are

warnings, or examples to be avoided. So in ver. 11, the divine judgments upon Israel were warnings to all future time. All the other passages except Heb. viii. 5, plainly have the word in the sense of an example to be imitated; the exception declares that the Jewish priests serve after, or according to the *similitude* and shadow of heavenly things, a view justified by the case of Moses, who was to make everything according to the *pattern* shewed him in the mount. What Moses saw is called a "type," but it was doubtless more perfect than what he made, in which it differed from what we call types, which are less perfect than what they represent, and which are therefore like the Jewish service, the "type and shadow" of *heavenly things*.

We have, then, two places only in the New Testament in which the word *type* is apparently used in its theological sense, and of these two passages one might plausibly be disputed (Heb. viii. 5). However, we readily accept them both as justifying us in speaking of typical *persons* (e.g., Adam), and of typical *things* (e.g., the Mosaic liturgy).

In two places of the New Testament we have the word *antitype* (*ἀντίτυπος*), but merely as equivalent to type.

Heb. ix. 24, "Christ has not entered into the holy places made with hands, which are the *figures* of the true."

1 Pet. iii. 21, "The like *figure* whereunto even baptism doth also now save us."

In the first of these texts the earthly sanctuary is represented as an image or rather as a copy of the heavenly sanctuary. The heavenly sanctuary is the archetype or original, of which the sanctuary below is the shadow, symbol, portrait, or representation. It is manifest that the heavenly exceeds the earthly, as an original excels an inanimate portrait or statue.

The other passage (1 Pet. iii. 21) is more obscure. The Apostle says that by the spirit, Christ preached in the days of Noah, to those spirits which (now in prison) were disobedient when God's long-suffering waited, while the ark was prepared in which eight souls were saved by water. "The like *figure* whereunto" (i.e., water in) "baptism doth also now save us." A reference to the Greek ϕ or δ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀντίτυπον νῦν σώζει βάπτισμα, will shew that our translators have not closely followed their original. They have put a full stop between *ὕδατος* and its relative ϕ or δ , and have given a turn to the words which they will hardly bear by using the word "like" apparently in the sense of "same;" which (same) antitype or "the antitype to which (that is to say) baptism now saves also us." The thought seems to be that as water in Noah's case was symbolical of a greater salvation than that from death, so water in baptism

is symbolical of eternal salvation. That the mere rite, or the water, does not actually save, is evidenced by what follows, and also by the very word *ἀντίτυπον*—a figure or resemblance: those who are saved by a *figure* are only *figuratively saved*; and we wish this expression to bear its full meaning. There is a sense in which the water of the deluge was symbolical of baptism.

There are some other words to which we shall have to refer, but in the meantime we have a remark or two to make upon the two, *type* and *antitype*, already specified. They both often signify a resemblance in the sense of a copy from an original. Hence the *type* may be the original of the antitype (as in Heb. ix. 24), and the *antitype* only secondary and subordinate (1 Pet. iii. 21). This is contrary to the currently received modern phraseology, according to which the tabernacle for example is a *type* of the heavenly temple; whereas in the language of the New Testament, the tabernacle would be the *antitype* of the heavenly temple. And properly so, because in strict propriety of speech, the type, or die, and its original must exist before the antitype, or impression, or copy. No one ever imagined that Antichrist existed before Christ. The type, archetype, or prototype, exists naturally before the antitype. The New Testament writers, like many others, however, do not always adhere to the notion that a type is the *original* from which the copy is taken; an example to be copied or avoided is often represented by “type,” once by *δὲγμα* (Jude 7); more frequently by *ὑπόδειγμα* (John xiii. 5; James v. 10; Heb. iv. 11; 2 Pet. ii. 6). This latter word, however, has the meaning of “copy” in Heb. viii. 5; ix. 23. For a “pattern” again, they have *ὑποτύπωσις* (1 Tim. i. 16), where the idea is rather that of an example, or specimen, and illustration of the power of grace. In 2 Tim. i. 13, we have the same word translated “form;” “Hold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me.” We do not think any creed, symbol, or confession of faith is here meant. Paul would have the teaching of Timothy to bear the stamp of his own, and to be another form of its expression. There is one case (1 Pet. ii. 21) in which the notion of an example to be followed is conveyed by the word *ὑπογραμμὸς*, of which Schleusner gives the following account: “1. Proprie, exemplar, typus, quem artis Scriptoriæ Magistri discipulis, quos, informant, et pictores novitiis quos imbuunt, proponunt et ante oculos sistunt, at ad illud in pingendis litteris et imaginibus respiciant 2. Metaphorice, exemplum, ad imitandum propositum.” It is, therefore, as a copy to be followed by the pupil of the writer or of the painter, and as the master’s example to be followed by his disciples, that this word is used.

Παραβολή is one of the words employed by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews in reference to the spiritual significance of earthly things. Thus Heb. ix. 9, the "tabernacle" was a *figure*—a parable for the times in which it existed; a representation and monitor of something higher and better; we may say, a *type*. Then again, Heb. xi. 19 tells us that Abraham received Isaac from the dead "in a figure," in a parable; *i.e.*, figuratively and not actually; dramatically and not literally, for Isaac had not actually died. Perhaps the full import of the word is only to be perceived when we remember especially these circumstances: 1. The father's intention to put his son to death. 2. The complete preparations made for his death. 3. His own utter inability to deliver himself from death. 4. The divine injunction that he should be offered in sacrifice. 5. The divine acceptance of the will for the deed. 6. The divine reversal of the injunction at the moment when he was about to die. So far as Abraham and Isaac were concerned, "the bitterness of death" was past; and, *comparatively speaking* (*ἐν παραβολῇ*), when the decree was reversed the dead was recalled to life. Some regard "in a figure" here as meaning that Isaac's restoration to the world of life was a type of the resurrection of Christ. St. Paul does not say this; and hence, if the event under consideration was typical, we are as much at liberty to suppose it typical of salvation and the resurrection, as others are to limit its typical allusion to Christ. That he was about to be offered in sacrifice will not meet the difficulty, for all bleeding sacrifices, and perhaps all others had a doubly symbolical reference, one to the giver and one to the receiver. In this case the ram became the substitute for Isaac, and represented him; but it was also a figure or type of the great sacrifice in which all such were to find their realization and efficacy upon the cross.

Image, or *εἰκών*, properly signifies a "likeness," and hence it is applied to anything which is, or is considered, as a representation of something else. The head of Augustus or of Tiberius was his "image" (Matt. xxii. 20); the idols worshipped by the pagans were "images," although certainly they often only represented the creatures of the imagination (Rom. i. 23). Believers are predestinated to be conformed to the "image" of God's Son; by which we understand that they are to be made like him as far as he is imitable. But how are we to understand the phrase which describes a man as "the image and glory of God?" This is no doubt based upon Gen. i. 26, and like passages, but it is spoken of man as distinct from woman, and of man in his actual fallen state. Doubtless there are respects in which the human race still bears the impress and

is the image of the invisible Creator; that is, there are respects in which a resemblance—faint and distant it may be, but still a resemblance—exists between God and man. Not only 1 Cor. xi. 17, but all the anthropomorphic expressions of Scripture justify us in saying that man is on earth a visible type of God. This resemblance will hereafter be made more complete. We are now much more like Adam than Christ, ("We have borne the image of the earthy"); we shall then be like Christ, as much so as Adam himself, ("We shall bear the image of the heavenly," 1 Cor. xv. 49). Even now the assimilative process is going on in believers who are "changed into the same image from glory to glory" (2 Cor. iii. 18). In a high and mysterious sense, Christ is the image of God; surely not merely as we are by nature (1 Cor. xi. 7; comp. 2 Cor. iv. 4; Col. i. 15); nor merely as we are by grace (Col. iii. 10); nor even as we shall be in glory (1 Cor. xv. 49); but rather as in Heb. i. 2—4, where Christ is called the ἀπαύγασμα, or radiance of God's glory and the χαρακτήρ of God's *hypostasis*. The writer of the epistle just quoted (Heb. x. 1) has a singular expression in which he says the law had a *shadow* of good things to come, not the very *image* of the things. Some light is obtained in reference to this text at once by noticing its form in the Greek, "For the law having a shadow of the coming good things (τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν), not the very image of the things," etc. (τῶν πραγμάτων). It will be very apparent that the first neuter plural translated "good things to come," conveys a very different idea from the second, simply rendered "the things." This second neuter means *things done, transactions, business, affairs*, etc. We find it in the New Testament in the following texts (in addition to Heb. x. 1), but in not one of them does it bear the vague sense of the word "thing" in our language: Matt. xviii. 19; Luke i. 1; Acts v. 4; Rom. xvi. 2; 1 Cor. vi. 1; 2 Cor. vii. 11; 1 Thess. iv. 6; Heb. vi. 18 (where it is once more insufficiently rendered "things"); ii. 1; James iii. 16. In every instance it conveys or involves the thought of an event, occurrence, or transaction. We might call the altar, and the shewbread, the golden candlestick and the ephod, "things;" but should never call them *πραγμάτα*. We should reserve this term for the rites and ceremonies, etc., in which they were employed; and for the occupations of the priests who had the care of them. The law then contained within itself a shadow, a mere adumbration of future blessings, but it contained no "lively image and portraiture" of the transactions whereby they were eventually realised. The law foreshadowed and typified the future, but only partially and imperfectly. From all this it

follows that the image may involve more than the symbol, and more even than the type.

"Likeness" or *ὁμολωμα*; "similitude," or *ὁμολωσις*; and *ὁμοιότης*, occur in the New Testament, as descriptions of various resemblances. In Rom. i. 23, we read that the heathens "changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the *likeness* of the image of corruptible man." In Rom. v. 14, we read of "the likeness of the transgression of Adam;" in vi. 5, "the likeness" of the death of Christ is spoken of; in viii. 3, Christ is described as being sent in "the likeness" of sinful flesh; in Phil. ii. 7, He also appears "in the likeness" of men; and in Rev. ix. 7, "the shapes" of the locusts are those of horses prepared for battle. This word then always bears the meaning of resemblance, or similarity. The same is true of *ὁμοιότης* in Heb. iv. 15; and vii. 15; and of *ὁμολωσις* in James iii. 9. All these words, therefore, signify *less* than the word type, as we employ it.

The Greek words already enumerated are all that it seems necessary to consider particularly as bearing most directly upon our enquiry. We might speak a little of their use in the writings of the fathers and the classics, and in the Septuagint, from all which we could gather some further illustrations, but for the present we defer this inquiry, because the New Testament use of the words may be pretty well ascertained from the New Testament itself.

As it regards the Hebrew of the Old Testament, a little must be said, but a little must suffice. The number of words actually employed to describe material resemblances is considerable, but those for higher and typical resemblances are few.

We begin with the word rendered *τύπος* in the LXX., and which appears to stand for two Hebrew terms, *צֶלֶם* and *תְּבִיט*, the former being usually translated "image" (the figure or stature of anything), and the latter properly a structure.

According to some older and more recent etymologists, the word *צֶלֶם* signifies a shadowing forth or adumbration in its original conception. Hence say they, it describes an image or a similitude whether corporeal or incorporeal. Without pledging ourselves to the derivation, we find the word in such passages as Gen. i. 27, for Adam's likeness to God; Gen. v. 3, for Seth's likeness to Adam, and in Amos v. 26, for an image or idol. The passage last referred to is the one quoted in Acts vii. 43, from the LXX.; in both places the Greek has *τύπος* for *צֶלֶם*.

Another Hebrew word rendered *τύπος* is *תְּבִיט* which as

we have said, properly means a structure or building. It is not uncommon in the sense of "pattern," by which word, and "likeness," "similitude," "figure," and "form," it is translated in our version. With scarcely an exception, the word indicates a resemblance to be followed, or actually perceived between material objects; it describes the pattern of an altar, the figure of a man, etc. Partial exceptions occur in Psalm cvi. 20; cxliv. 12. It is very certain that we might render this word sometimes by "type," but not in what we must regard as its theological sense.

The word "image," as represented by the *εἰκών* of the LXX., may be rendered by several terms, viz., *צֶלֶם*, already noticed; *סִמּוּל*, only in Deut. iv. 16; Ezek. viii. 3, 5; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 7, 15; in all which cases nothing is meant but a visible image.

A third word rendered by *εἰκών* is *פֶּסֶל* or *פְּסִיל*, always put for graven or molten images, except in Judges iii. 19, 26, where it is perhaps correctly rendered "quarries." A fourth word is *תְּמוּנָה*, which no doubt describes incorporeal resemblances as well as corporeal ones, Exod. xx. 4; Numb. xii. 8; Job iv. 16 (which is particularly noticeable, as is also the following, Psalm xvii. 15). But in every instance it seems that this word denotes a *visible* resemblance. In Hosea xiii. 2, the LXX. has *εἰκών* where our present text has *תְּמוּנָה*, but we may suppose the ancient reading was *תְּמוּנָה*, as the Syriac version corresponds in sense with the Greek.^a

We add a few other Hebrew words with their English equivalents in our version.

מִשְׁפָּט, literally "judgment," apparently with reference to a *determined* form (Exod. xxvi. 30; 1 Kings vi. 38).

דְּמִיּוּת, a word indicating "likeness," and rendered "fashion" in 2 Kings xvi. 10; on other occasions it is translated "image," "appearance," etc. (Isa. xl. 18; Ezek. i. 5; Dan. x. 16). Compare the Greek of the texts referred to.

צוּרָה, "form" (Ezek. xliii. 11) in which verse the same sense appears to be borne by *תְּמוּנָה* [*perhaps* for *תְּמוּנָה* again].

רֵאִי, "a spectacle, example" (Nah. iii. 6).

רָאָה, regarded as equivalent for *רֵאִי* an appearance, the Chaldee form of the preceding word.

^a The Authorized translation renders it, "according to their own *understanding*," and properly so as the text stands.

It must be confessed that so far as our enquiries have gone, the Old Testament furnishes scarcely any words which actually describe imaginary or arbitrary resemblances. Comparisons are often expressed by verbs and nouns (e.g., *למשל* in its different forms), and by particles, but when something material is to be compared with something spiritual, the language seems to be at a loss. We are aware that others will take a different view of the subject; but no matter, we think it will be very difficult to *prove* the Hebrew vocabulary rich in words descriptive of typical relations. Very often, indeed, where a modern language would institute a comparison between two objects, analogous in some respects, but utterly dissimilar in others, the Hebrew writers unhesitatingly call the one by the name of the other. One or two examples may do as well as a thousand: "Judah is a lion's whelp; Issachar is a strong ass;" "Naphtali is a hind let loose;" "Joseph is a fruitful bough" (Gen. xlix. 9, 14, 21, 22). Jacob no more meant this literally than he meant to predict that Dan would be a serpent (ver. 17). Comparisons of course occur especially in the prophetic and poetical books (Hosea vi. 4; xiii. 3; xiv. 5—8).

It is not our intention to say that the Hebrews had no words which could have been employed to set forth the higher typical and symbolical relations, but simply to say that they did not commonly so use the words they had. The Greeks habitually transferred words expressive of visible, tangible, or physical relations, into the domain of thought, and made them serve for intellectual conceptions more or less analogous. The flexibility and elasticity of their language corresponded with the quickness of their perceptions, and with the poetic cast of their minds.

There has been some misunderstanding in connection with this general view of the subject. It is well known that the Saviour's phraseology, "This is my body—this is my blood," has been explained by the erroneous statement that the Syriac, which is radically the same as the Hebrew, has no words to say, "This is a type, figure, etc., of my body," or "this resembles my body." There is poverty in this respect in these languages, but not by any means to the extent supposed. The true explanation appears to be in this,—that metaphors were more frequent than comparisons, and that symbols were clothed in the language of identification. And the explanation of this again must be sought in mental and psychological peculiarities.

Abundant as were the types of the law, and the symbols and metaphors of the whole Hebrew Scriptures, by a singular inconsistency the popular mind often understood them literally. For example, in Mal. iv. 5, "Behold, I will send you Elijah the pro-

phet," was regarded as a literal declaration that Elijah would return, as is indicated by several passages of the New Testament. This literal explanation was imported into the Christian Church, and was perpetuated among the Jews. In like manner, the highly figurative language of the prophets foretelling the Messiah as a king, and describing his kingdom by material images, has been understood of a temporal king and a temporal kingdom. Sometimes these figurative predictions have been understood partly literally and partly figuratively, without any just discrimination. Instances of this occur in the Messianic prophecies, into several of which the name of David is introduced as that of the future king (Isa. lv. 3, 4; Jer. xxx. 9; Ezek. xxxiv. 23; xxxvii. 24; Hosea iii. 5, etc.). Of course David is no more personally meant in such texts than Jacob in Isa. xl. 27, and like passages, where Jacob is put for his descendants. The common explanation is that for David we must read Messiah, and as a corollary, that David was a type of the Messiah, and this brings us back to the point from which we started.

For David we must read Messiah. To some extent this is true, but we fall into error if we stop at this substitution. The passages where the name of David comes in symbolically are some of them so figurative throughout, that they must be viewed as allegorical or symbolical predictions, and must be wholly interpreted on that principle. The prediction in Ezekiel (chap. xxxiv.) is of this kind. The people of God are his flock, and their shepherds have been unfaithful and shall be punished; but the flock shall be cared for, and no less honoured name than that of David shall be borne by its shepherd. David, therefore, shall be their shepherd and their prince. What is the mystery underlying this allegory? That God's people would be preserved through all dangers and changes, and come to honour and happiness; that He who should be at their head to rule, guide, feed, and protect them, would in some respects be *like* David the shepherd king of Israel, the founder of Judah's throne. The prediction, therefore, reaches in its significance to the Gospel dispensation with Christ as the head of his church, of the tribe of Judah, and king of the true Israel.

Now was David a TYPE of the Messiah? Perhaps in a secondary sense he was, but not in the true and full significance usually attached to the term in our day. In other words, David was *officially* a type of Christ, rather than *personally*. Analogies may be traced between his history and that of Jesus, but contrasts are at least as numerous as resemblances, so numerous in fact that great caution is required in stating the supposed typical relations. The Israelitish religion and polity

was one great type in a certain sense; but there are particular reasons for giving David's name a prominent place in connection with it. The promise of the throne to Judah found its first realization in the person of David. The throne of Judah was therefore by a figure his throne, and that not only because he was its first founder, but because he was the head of a race of kings, none of whom (except Solomon) equalled him in personal greatness. In his relations to the Church, he stood higher than even Solomon,—as the initiator of the building of the temple, and of the remodelling of the liturgical system of the nation, and also as the author of so many of the Psalms, including some that were pre-eminently prophetic. Not one of all the kings was so great as David in his life. He had been a shepherd, a character of no mean importance, as is shewn by the frequent designation of the Lord as a shepherd. He had been personally distinguished as a brave and successful warrior; he had triumphed over extraordinary difficulties; he had raised his nation to a position in which it commanded the respect of surrounding nations; he had extended the national territory, and ruled from Damascus to the Elanitic Gulf, and from the Elanitic Gulf to the river of Egypt. On all accounts, no one bore so great a name as he, and in after-times of misfortune it was natural that memory should revert to him, while hope looked forward to the advent of another David who should restore what had fallen down, and perfect what had been begun. Prophecy affirmed that another such would come, and it is no wonder if to him they gave the name of David, the best and dearest name they knew among their kings. Of Him the angel said, "He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest: and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David" (Luke i. 32). It may possibly help to clear the difficulty in regard to the symbolic or typical allusions to David in his relations to Christ, if the reader will calmly examine every passage in the New Testament in which David's name occurs. So far as we can ascertain, it is not upon these that the truly typical character of David rests; nor is it upon any statements made of him in the historical books; it rests upon the symbolic language of the prophets, and upon the supposed impersonation of Christ by David in certain Psalms. We confess that we are loth to think David a personal type of Christ in the broadest sense; for if so his life must have been a prophecy in action, and every part of it as much inspired of God, as any written prophecy: or if this view is objected to, we may say that David, as a type from first to last, was as much passive as any of the ritual or sacrificial types of the law; and to such a conclusion we can never

come. High as David stood and stands, he was as much responsible as we are, and was actuated by the same motives and influenced by the same things. That in which a typical character may be conceded to him is that which he peculiarly owed to the providence and 'grace of God; but he became symbolical even more than he was typical. We conclude with the apostle that David spoke concerning Christ, and that Christ would descend from him, and rule in the throne of which his was a shadow, but that after all David is "dead and buried," whereas He who rose and reigns is Christ. Q.

The Emir's Wife.—On arriving at Abd-el-Kader's house, our party separated, the gentlemen to be presented to the Emir, whilst we, passing through a small side door, were met by a young man, Abd-el-Kader's second son, who introduced us into the harem court. Like those we had seen, it was filled with flowers, orange trees, and fountains. Our attendant had disappeared, but on the opposite side of the garden we saw a melancholy middle-aged lady, attended by a black woman, who approached to meet us. This was the Emir's chief wife. She motioned us to enter the audience hall, and seated us on the divan by her side. In her youth she must have been handsome, as her features were still fine, the eyes remarkably so; but now the whole countenance was saddened by an expression of the deepest melancholy, as if for years she had been the prey to some great grief. Her complexion was delicate and quite free from paint, the eyebrows, being left untouched, and the eyes only tinged with antimony. The face was in a few places slightly tattooed; the forehead, sides of the nose, and chin, having a small pattern traced in blue. The arms were much more fully covered, being tattooed from the wrist to the elbow, and loaded with gold bracelets; the hands were remarkably small and well shaped, and the fingers unstained with henna. A thick gauze handkerchief, embroidered with gold, was rolled round her head, over which was thrown a large muslin veil, falling down to her feet. The dress consisted of a number of coloured muslin petticoats, the upper one being of very fine white embroidered muslin. She was without shoes, but wore coarse cotton stockings. Probably it was owing to her long residence in France that she had adopted the Frank custom of sitting instead of reclining on the divan in the Eastern fashion. A pretty little child came into the room, whom she took in her arms and caressed with great apparent affection. At first her manner was cold and reserved, as if she thought we had only come to look at her; but after a time she grew friendly, and took more interest in the conversation. She told us she had been four years in Toulon, and disliked it very much, as the Emir never allowed her to go out, and the climate disagreed with her. Her condition as to freedom is no better here, for her husband never permits her to go beyond the court, nor to receive visits from any of the Damascus ladies, whom he pronounces to be very bad people. At last the real grievance was told; her husband, since he has been in Damascus, had married three other wives—one as lately as a few months ago, whom he had bought at Constantinople. She lamented in moving terms the loss of her husband's affection; and when we ventured to offer some consolation, and to hope that his love might yet be restored to her, who had shared with him so many years of trouble, she shook her head, and with tears in her eyes, said, "Allah is great! He may do it, but no one else can." The whole conversation gave us a painful insight into the sorrows and trials of harem life. To any woman possessed of mind or feelings it must be dreadful beyond endurance; and one feels that until some of its great evils are remedied—education, far from being a blessing to these poor creatures, would only make them more fully alive to the degradation of their condition.

SELECTIONS FROM THE SYRIAC.

No. I.—THE CHRONICLE OF EDESSA.

SOME of the early Christian writers refer in very eulogistic terms to the archives of Edessa. The archives were, of course, the public or royal library of the city, the existence and value of which cannot be called in question. It included both Greek and Oriental books, and was therefore a depository from which literary men could largely benefit. Moses of Chorene consulted the books while compiling his history of Armenia. Eusebius of Cæsarea declares himself to have been indebted to this library for his account of the conversion of Edessa, the correspondence between Jesus Christ and king Abgar, and a few other matters true and false, to be read at the end of the first book of the ecclesiastical history. We have substantial reasons for saying that in the particular instance first mentioned, Eusebius was deceived; that the documents he quoted could not have been long written, as appears from further portions of the same story now in the British Museum, under the title of the *Acts of Addi*.^a The estimation in which the Edessene archives were held, is shewn by the following sentence from an old Syriac chronicle, some extracts of which are given in Cowper's *Syrian Miscellanies*:—"In the year 309 of the era of Alexander of Macedon did our Redeemer appear in the world (*i. e.*, about B.C. 2); and he was in the world thirty-three years according to the evidence of the true books of the archives of Edessa, which err in nothing, and which make everything known to us truly."^b This is something like the stereotyped phraseology for allusions to the historical documents at Edessa.

The Maronite, Joseph Simon Assemani, devotes a chapter of his great work, the *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, to the "Chronicle of Edessa."^c He gives the Syriac text of the Chronicle, with a Latin translation, introduction, and notes. Considering that the matter is of some importance, we propose to give a version of Assemani's introduction, and of the Chronicle itself. The introduction is to the following effect:—

The Chronicle of Edessa.

We have hitherto not discovered who was the author of the Edessene Chronicle, nor in what age he flourished. Yet it is

^a For an account of these curious relics see *J. S. L.*, Third Series, Vol. VII., p. 423, for July, 1858.

^b *Syrian Miscellanies*, p. 81.

^c *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, vol. i., cap. ix., p. 387, *et seqq.*

sufficiently plain that he followed the Catholic faith, because he declares that he admits four holy councils down to the year 838 of the Greeks, and also because he expressly rejects the opposers of the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, strongly commending their orthodoxy, which was a most certain mark of the Catholics of the time in which he lived. He seems, indeed, to have lived about the year of Christ 550, for he brought down his history to the year 540, as will shortly appear. That he copied it out of the archives of the Edessene church is shewn by its beginning, course, and end. In the beginning of the history he describes the flood of waters which overflowed Edessa under the emperor Severus and king Abgar, according to the acts formerly drawn up by the notaries, and preserved in the archives, and put by us into their proper place. Moreover, the author is almost wholly occupied in registering the series of bishops of Edessa, and in describing their deeds. He leaves off writing just when the Jacobite pastors began to invade that church.

The epoch which he uses is that of the Greeks, also called that of the Seleucidæ, or the Syro-Macedonian. He affirms that the Christian era was later by 309 years, according to the common opinion of the Edessenens. But if we look closely into the indictions which he sometimes mentions, and the days of the month and of the week, which he often mentions, it becomes evident that the aforesaid years are called 309, but are really 311; and, therefore, the nativity of Christ, according to his view, fell in the three hundred and eleventh year of the Greeks, and not in the three hundred and ninth. That is plainly the case from what he writes of the earthquake at Antioch, and the death of Simeon Stylites, who he affirms was taken to heaven in the year 771 of the Greeks, on the second of September, and on the fourth day of the week, which answers to the vulgar era A.D. 460, not 462. He relates that the earthquake at Antioch happened in the year 837 of the Greeks, on the 29th of May, and on the sixth day of the week, which will be A.D. 526, when May 29th fell on the Friday, not A.D. 528, when it could not happen on a Friday. To the year of the Greeks 850 he also adds the "second indiction," which nevertheless answers to 539 A.D., and not to 541. Therefore the vulgar Christian epoch, according to his view, must be later than the era of the Greeks 311 years, and not 309.

He starts at the beginning of the kingdom of Edessa, which he ascribes to the year 180 of the Greeks. He ends at the year of Christ 540, when the Persian war was waged between Justinian and Chosroes. Although he sometimes neglects the order of time or disturbs it, I think this is to be attributed rather to

the copyist than to the author. In publishing it, therefore, I shall first restore the events to their own place and order. Some notes which seem to throw light upon it or other histories I shall place in the margin. The Chronicle is intitled *A history of events by way of compendium.*

[Translation.]

1. In the year 180 kings began to rule in Edessa.
2. In the year 266 Augustus Cæsar was made emperor.
3. In the year 309 our Lord was born.
4. In the year 400 Abgar the king built a mausoleum for himself.
5. In the year 449 Marcion forsook the Catholic Church.
6. The year 465, in the month Tammuz, on the eleventh day (*i. e.*, July 11th, 154 A.D.), Bardesanes was born.
7. Lucius Cæsar, with his brother, subjugated the Parthians to the Romans in the fifth year of his reign.
8. In the year 513, in the reign of Severus, and in the reign of Abgar the king, son of Maano the king, in the month Tishrin the latter (*i. e.*, November), the fountain of water which proceeds from the great palace of Abgar the great king increased, and it prevailed, and it went up according to its former manner, and overflowed and ran out on all sides, so that the courts and the porches and the royal houses began to be filled with water. And when our lord Abgar the king saw it, he went up to the level ground on the hill above his palace, where dwell and reside those who do the work for the government. And while the wise men considered what to do to the waters which had so greatly increased, it happened that there was a great and violent rain in the night, and the Daisan (river) came, neither in its day, nor in its month. And strange waters came; and they encountered the *cataracts* (? flood gates) which were fastened with great pieces of iron which were overlaid upon them, and with bars of iron which supported them. But not prevailing against them, the waters rose like a great sea beyond the walls of the city. And the waters began to come down from the apertures of the wall into the city. And Abgar the king stood on the great tower which was called that of the Persians, and saw the water by the light of torches, and he commanded, and they took away the gates and the eight *cataracts* (? flood-gates) of the western wall of the city where the river flowed out. But that very hour the waters broke down the western wall of the city, and entered the city, and overthrew the great and beautiful palace of our lord the king, and they carried away everything that was found before them, the desirable and beautiful edifices of the city, whatever

was near the river on the south and on the north of it. And they destroyed the temple of the church of the Christians. And there were killed by that occurrence more than two thousand men, upon many of whom as they slept in the night the waters came suddenly, and they were drowned, and the city was filled with the sound of lamentation.

And when Abgar the king saw this destruction which had befallen, he commanded that all the craftsmen of the city should remove their cottages (or huts) from near the river, and that no man should build near the river any cottage. And by the wisdom of measurers and men of skill the cottages were placed so that the breadth of the river might be increased, and they added to its former measure. For if the waters were many and strong, the width of the river was too small to receive the water of twenty-five brooks with what they gathered from all sides. And Abgar the king commanded that all who lived in the porch, and were occupied over against the river, from Tishrin the former to Nisan (October to April), should not lodge in their cottages, except the islanders (Gazireans) who kept the city, five of whom should lodge on the wall above the place where the waters entered the city all the time of winter, and when they perceived by night and heard the sound of strange waters, which began to enter the city, and whoever heard the sound and neglected it, and did not publish it, behold the waters should drown the contempt of him that despised the command of the king. And this commandment was decreed from this time wherein it was so to the end of the world.

Our lord Abgar the king commanded, and there was built for him a building for his royal house—a winter house at Tabara—and there he dwelt all the time of winter; and in summer he came down to the new palace which was built for him at the fountain head. And his nobles also built for themselves buildings to live in, in the neighbourhood in which the king was, in the high street (?) which is called Beth Saharoye. And in order to restore the welfare of the former city, Abgar the king commanded, and the tributes due from those within, and from those who dwelt in towns, and in hamlets, were remitted: and tribute was not demanded from them for five years, until the city was enriched with men, and was crowned with buildings.

Now Mar Yahab Bar Shemesh, and Kajuma Bar Magartat, the scribes of Edessa, recorded this event, and the command of Abgar the king: and Bar Din and Bulid, who are prefects over the archives of Edessa, received and deposited it within them as trusted of the city (*i.e.*, archivists.)

9. And in the year 517, Abgar built a palace in his own citadel (? town).

10. The year 551 Manes was born.^d

11. The year 614, were broken down the walls of Edessa the second time in the days of Diocletian the king.^e

12. In the year 624, Conon the bishop laid the foundations of the Church of Edessa; and Sha'ad, the bishop who came after him, built and finished the structure.

13. In the year 635, the cemetery of Edessa was built, in the days of Ethalaha the bishop, the year before the great synod of Nicea was held.

14. The year 635, Ethalaha became bishop in Edessa; and he constructed the cemetery, and the eastern side^f of the church.

15. And the year after, a synod of three hundred and eighteen bishops was assembled at Nicea.

16. The year 639, there was building and enlargement in the church of Edessa.

17. In the year 649, died Mar Jacob, bishop of Nisibis.

18. The year 657, Abraham became bishop in Edessa, and he built the house (or church) of the Confessors.

19. The year 660, Constantius, the son of Constantine, built the city of Amida.

20. And in the year 661, Constantius built Tela, a city which was before called Antipolis.

21. The year 667, Abraham of Chidon, a recluse, became (bishop).

22. In the year 670, Nicomedia was overthrown.

23. In the year 672, Mar Abraham, bishop of Edessa, left the world.

24. And in the same year, Vologesh, bishop of Nisibis, departed from this world.

25. And in the same year came Barses, the bishop from Haran to Edessa by command of the king (*i.e.*, the emperor Constantius, then in that region).

26. And in the year 674, in the month Haziran (June), Julian went down and made war with the Persians, and died there.

27. In the year 675, in the month Shebat (February), Valentinian the Great became king, and Valens his brother.

^d See *Syrian Miscellanies*, p. 87; "In the year 448, Marcion and Manetes (*i.e.*, Manichæus), heretics in Phrygia, were famous (*i.e.*, flourished);" and again, "In the year 573 arose the deceiver Manes."

^e At the end we read, "And again a second time were broken down its walls, in the days of Diocletian who was king,—the year 614, in the month Iyar (May)."

^f Assemani says "southern side," and we may guess why.

28. In the year 678, Mar Julian Saba departed from the world.

29. The year 681, was built the great *Beth-ma'amuditho* (House of Baptizing) of Edessa.

30. In the year 684, in the month Haziran (June), on the ninth in it, departed from the world Mar Ephraim "of his wisdoms" (= the wise).

31. And in the month Elul (September) of that year, the people departed from the church of Edessa, through the persecution of the Arians.

32. In the year 689, in the month Adar, Mar Barses, bishop of Edessa, departed from the world.

33. And on the twenty-seventh day in the month Canun the former (December), of the same year, the orthodox came in and recovered the church of Edessa.

34. And in those days Mar Eulogius became bishop in the year that Theodosius the Great became king; and that Mar Eulogius built the house of Mar Daniel, which was called the house of Mar *Demet*.

35. The year 692, Theodosius the Great built in Osrhoene the city Resaina.

36. The year 693, was gathered the synod of one hundred and fifty bishops in Constantinople.

37. In the year 698, Mar Eulogius the bishop departed from the world on the Friday of the crucifixion.

38. The year 705, in the month Ab (August), on the twenty-second day in it, they brought the *glossocom* (i.e., coffin) of Mar Thomas the Apostle to his great temple in the days of Mar Cyrus the bishop.

39. In the year 706, and on the seventeenth of Canun the latter (January), departed from the world Theodosius the great king; and on the twenty-seventh in Nisan (April), Arcadius entered Constantinople; and on the eighth in Tishrin the latter (November), the body of Theodosius entered Constantinople.

40. And in the month of Tammuz (July) of the same year, the Huns crossed over to the territory of the Romans.

41. In the year 707, in the month Tammuz (July), on its twenty-second, departed from the world Mar Cyrus, bishop of Edessa.

42. And in the year 708 Mar Silvanus became bishop of Edessa.

43. In the year 710, on the seventeenth of Tishrin the former (October), Mar Silvanus, bishop of Edessa, departed from the world.

44. And on the twenty-third of the month Tishrin the latter

(November) of that year, Mar Pakida became bishop in Edessa.

45. And in that year arose Johanan Chrysostomos, bishop in Constantinople.

46. The year 714 began Theodorus, bishop of Mompsesta, to expound the Scriptures.

47. The year 715, 'Absamia *Kashisha* (presbyter), son of the sister of the blessed Mar Ephraim, composed *madroshé* (poems?) and discourses upon the coming of the Huns to the territory of the Romans.

48. The year 720, Mar Diogenes became bishop in Edessa, and he began to build the house of Mar Barlaha.

49. And in that year, in the *neomenia* of Ab (August), Mar Pakida, bishop of Edessa, departed from the world.

50. The year 721, Cyrillus became bishop in Alexandria the great.

51. The year 723, Rabula became bishop in Edessa. And he built the house of Mar Stephanus, which had been formerly a house of Sabbath (synagogue) of the Jews. Now he built it by command of the king.

52. The year 724, the walls of Edessa were again broken down by water the third time, in the days of Honorius and Arcadius the victorious kings.*

53. The year 732, Eutychiuss the monk arose, who rejected the incarnation.

54. At that time the blessed Jacob, the mutilated, was a martyr.

55. The year 739, the heresy of those who say that sin is implanted in nature, became known.

56. The year 740, Andrew, bishop of Samosata, became famous.

57. The year 741, dust came down from heaven.

58. The year 742, was assembled the first synod at Ephesus.

59. The year 746, Rabula, bishop of Edessa, departed from the world on the eighth of Ab (August), and the great Hiba became (bishop) instead of him. He built the new church which now is called the house of the apostles.

60. The year 749, in the days of the excellent Hiba, Senator brought a great table of silver, in which were seven hundred and twenty pounds (of silver), and it was put in the old church of Edessa.

* Lower down, said to have been on Tuesday the eighteenth of March, and the name of Theodosius properly substituted for that of Arcadius, who had been dead five or six years.

61. The year 753, Anatolius, the *stratelates* (military commander) made a coffin of silver, in honour of the bones of Thomas the holy apostle.

62. The year 756, Dioscurus became bishop in Alexandria the great.

63. And there was assembled again at Ephesus another synod. This anathematized the great Flavianus bishop of Constantinople, and Domnus of Antioch, and Irenæus of Tyre, and Hiba of Edessa, and Eusebius of Dorylæum, and Daniel of Haran, and Sophronius of Tela, and Theodoret of Cyrus.

64. The year 759, Hibas the bishop departed from Edessa on the first day in the month Canun the latter (January 1), and on the twenty-first day of the month Tammuz (July), Nonnus came in in his stead, and continued two years, and made a *hierateion* (sacristy) in the church.

65. Anno 760, arose Leo bishop in Rome.

66. Anno 762, a synod was assembled in the city of Chalcedon.

67. An. 763, Mar Isaac, a composer (an author) and abbot (or Archimandrite) was famous.

68. An. 769, in the month Tishrin the former (October), on the twenty-eighth, Hiba, bishop of Edessa, went to rest; and Nonnus came into his place, and built the house of Mar Johanan the Baptist, and (he constructed) a place for poor invalids, outside the gate of Beth Shemesh; and in the place for the poor he built the house of martyrs to Mar Cosma and Mar Damian. Now he built also convents and towers, and made bridges, and levelled the roads.

69. In the year 771, departed the blessed Simeon of "his column" (Stylites) from the world, on Elul the second (September 2), on Wednesday (the fourth day in the week), the time the eleventh hour.

70. The year 777, Leo built Callinicens in Osrhoene, and named it after his own name Leontopolis; and set in it also a bishop.

71. An. 782, Nonnus, bishop of Edessa, rested, and Cyrus became (bishop) in his stead.

72. An. 795, Leontius rebelled against Zeno, and reigned in Antioch two years.

73. An. 800, the school of the Persians was eradicated from Edessa.

74. An. 809, the (tribute of) gold was remitted to the artificers in all the land, in the month Iyar (May).

75. And on the sixth in the month Haziran (June), Cyrus, bishop of Edessa, rested, and Peter became (bishop) in his stead,

and he entered Edessa on the twelfth of Elul (September) of the same year.

76. An. 810, many locusts appeared, but did no great damage that year: but the herbage grew again. And there was a great earthquake. And the warm bath of the Iberians failed three days. And the city of Nicopolis was overthrown, and buried in it all its inhabitants, save the temple, and the bishop, and two Syncelli (sons of his cell). And a sign that was like a spear appeared in heaven many days, in the month Canun the latter (January).

77. Now Anastasius the king deposed Euphemius, bishop of Constantinople, from his place, and Macedon became bishop in his stead.

78. An. 811, many locusts came and destroyed and devoured all the produce.

79. An. 813, a great fire appeared on the side of the north, which blazed all night on the twenty-second of Ab (August).

80. An. 814, Cavades, king of the Persians, encamped against Amida, a city of Beth Naharotha (Mesopotamia), on the fifth day in the month Tishrin the former (October), and fought with it, and took it in ninety-seven days.

81. And in the month Elul (September) of that year, he came and encamped against Edessa, and by the grace of God did it no harm, except that he burnt the house of Mar Sergius and the northern basilica of *Beth-maudiné* (the House of Confessors, see above, No. 18.)

82. An. 821, Peter, bishop of Edessa, rested on the day of the Sabbath of the resurrection (Saturday, April 10, 510 A.D.), and Paul was appointed instead of him.

83. And in the year twenty-one of the reign of Anastus (Anastasius), he commanded them to open the coffin of Euphemia the martyr, and to bring forth from thence the book which the synod that was assembled at Chalcedon had put there, and to burn it; and there came forth fire from thence, and smote upon the faces of those who wished to bring it out, and because of this Anastasius refrained from taking it away from thence and burning it.

84. But he removed Macedon, the bishop of Constantinople, because he did not anathematize the synod, and Timothy became (bishop) instead of him.

85. And in the twenty-fourth of the same Anastasius Vitalian rebelled against him.

86. An. 829, in the month Tammuz (July), on the ninth, Anastasius the king departed from the world, and Justin became (king) in his stead.

87. And in the second year of the reign of Justin, which was An. 830, he thrust out of Antioch Severus, and Xenaïas from Mabug, and everybody that received not the four synods.

88. Now such was the care and concern of the friend of God, king Justinian, that he wrote in the *diptychs* of the church the four holy synods, that is to say, that of Nicea, and that of Constantinople, and the first of Ephesus, and that of Chalcedon.

89. And in An. 831 came the patrician (or Patricius) to Edessa to remove Paul in the month Tishrin the latter (November) on the fourth, and he urged him to do one of two things, either to receive the synod and continue on his seat, or if he would not be persuaded he would remove him from his seat. But he was not persuaded to do one of these, but fled and went in and stayed in the House of Baptism. Now when the patrician (or Patricius) saw that he was unpersuaded to do one of these, and was afraid of the command of the king, he was compelled to remove him from the House of Baptism, and conveyed him to Seleucia. And when the king heard that he had taken him from the House of Baptism, he commanded that he should return to his seat, in hope that he would repent and receive the synod. And Paul re-entered his seat in forty-four days, and he was a long time without receiving the synod, and when the king saw that he was not persuaded, he sent him to Euchata. And Paul departed from Edessa on Tammuz (July) 27, of the year 833, and Asclepius was (bishop) instead of him, and entered Edessa on the 23rd of Tishrin the former (October), of the year 834, three months after Paul the bishop departed from Edessa.^a

90. And in the month Canun the former (December), on the 24th in it, after the entering of Asclepius the bishop to Edessa, he expelled the Oriental monks, and all the monks their allies who were like them, because they did not consent to the synod of Chalcedon.

91. And in the year 836 many waters entered Edessa, the fourth time, and broke down the walls of it, and overturned its dwellings and drowned its children, and made in it much destruction.

92. And through this circumstance Asclepius fled from Edessa, and went up to Antioch the city to Euphrasius the patriarch, and he was there, more or less, seventy days, and he died there in Antioch on the 27th in the month Haziran of that year, and was buried there in Antioch. And on the 4th in the month Elul of the same year they brought his body from Antioch and buried it at Beth Mar Barlaha, by Mar Nonnus the bishop.

^a Observe, July was in 833, and October in 834.

93. And when Paul heard that Asclepius was dead he repented and offered a petition to Mar Justinian the patrician (*Patricius*), and he made also a *libellum* to Euphrasius the patriarch, and because of the *libellum* that he made, and because of the epistle of the illustrious and friend of God, Mar Justinian the patrician (*Patricius*), he was returned and restored to his seat, and he entered Edessa on the 8th in Adar (March) of the year 837, eight months after the death of Asclepius.

94. Now Paul the bishop lived after he returned to his seat the third time, eight months *minus* eight days; and on the 30th in the month Tishrin the former (October) of the year 838 Paul the bishop rested.

95. And Andreas became (bishop) in his stead, and entered Edessa on the 7th of the month Shebat of the same year 838.

96. And in the year 837 in the month Iyar (May), on the 29th in it on Friday at the seventh hour, there was a great and violent earthquake, and there fell by it much of Antioch, and overwhelmed its children, and suffocated its inhabitants.

97. And in that earthquake died also Euphrasius the patriarch, and was buried under the houses, and as they say he was crying out all day beneath the houses. Now after him Ephraim of Amida became bishop in Antioch, who had been *Comes* of the East.

98. An. 838 on day 1 in the month of Nisan, Mar Justinian became Cæsar, and on the 10th in the month Ab of the same year king Justinian (Justin) rested, and Mar Justinian reigned alone.

99. And in An. 839, in the month Tishrin the latter, on the 15th in it, a great fire happened at Antioch, and burned much of what remained from the earthquake; but whence the origin of the fire remains unknown.

100. An. 842, in the month Tammuz, came down Mar Demosthenes to Edessa to command the Roman forces.

101. And in the month Canun the former of An. 843, on the 18th in the month, the Huns entered the Roman territory, and plundered and wasted as far as the country of the Aleponians, and to the *dodecaton* [twelfth milestone] from Antioch. And through this affliction Mar Demosthenes fell sick and died at the city of Tela, on the 10th in the month Canun the latter of the same year.

102. And in An. 843, in the month Elul of the same year, Mar Rufinus the patrician made peace between the Persians and the Romans, and this peace was prolonged to the year 851.

103. And in An. 844, in the month Canun the former in that year, Mar Andreas, bishop, departed from the world, and he

was deposited at Mar Barlaha's by the bones of Mar Nonnus and Mar Asclepius; and Addi became bishop instead of him, and entered Edessa on the 28th in the month Ab of An. 844.

104. In An. 13 of the reign of Justinian, which was the year 850, indiction *deutra* (the second), a sign like a spear appeared in heaven on the 5th of Tishrin the former (October).

105. And in the same year in the month Iyar (May) Chosroes king of the Persians broke the peace, and crossed over to the territory of the Romans, and laid waste Shura, and Haleb (Aleppo) and Antioch, and also took possession of Apamea, and turned and came as far as Edessa, but by the grace of God protecting it, he did no harm in it; but the great men of the city brought out to him, and he took away two *centenaria* (hundreds of pounds or talents) of gold, and he returned to his place.

106. As we learn from the former histories, behold the waters have four times broken down the walls of the blessed [city] and overthrown its towers, and choked its children, since Messiah ascended to his glorious Father. The first time its walls were broken down was in the days of Severus the king of the Romans, which was An. 513, by the reckoning of the Ionians (Greeks), in the month Tishrin the latter. And the second time its walls were broken down was in the days of Diocletian the king, which was the year 614 in the month Iyar. And the third time its walls were broken down was in the days of Honorius and Theodosius the illustrious kings, which was An. 724 in the month Adar, on the 18th in it, on the 3rd in the week (Tuesday), when Mar Rabula had become bishop in Edessa. And the fourth time they were broken down was in the days of Justin the king, which was the year 836, when Asclepius had become bishop in Edessa.ⁱ

ⁱ In the later portions of the translation we have put "An." where the text has "the year," or "in the year;" and we have not always explained the month. The year A.D. may of course be ascertained by deducting 311; care being taken to remember that the years properly commence in September. Hence Haziran 636 is A.D. 325; but so is Canun the former 637. Therefore, when an occurrence falls in the first eight months of the year we must deduct 311 to reduce it to A.D.; but when an event belongs to the four last months we must deduct 312. There are irregularities, but the year properly began on the Calends of September. For the benefit of some readers we append the months which generally correspond. At present the Persian Nestorians follow the old style, like the Russians, but we may regard the ancient months as agreeing with the Roman:—

Elul.....	September.
Tishrin 1	October.
Tishrin 2	November.
Canun 1	December.
Canun 2	January.
Shebat.....	February.

Adar	March.
Nisan	April.
Iyar.....	May.
Haziran	June.
Tammuz.....	July.
Ab	August.

NOTES.

The numbers of the Notes correspond with the sections of the translation.

1. The year 180, *i.e.* of the Greeks, of the Seleucidæ, or of the Syro-Macedonians, coincides, says Assemani, with B.C. 129. Dionysius places the commencement of the Edessene kingdom in B.C. 136, or, as he calls it, in the year of Abraham 1880.—“The year 1880 of Abraham, there began to reign over Edessa (Urhoi) the first King Orhoi, son of Hevia, five years, and after his name it was called Urhoi.” No great antiquity is ascribed to the name of the city by this version of its story.

3. The chronicle of Edessa says, “In the year 309 our Lord was born,” *i.e.*, in the forty-fourth of Augustus. See Pagi in *Apparatu*, No. 157.

4. The Syriac is remarkable. Abgar “built a *naphsho* in honour of his death.” The word *naphsho* is usually translated “soul,” or “self,” but is said sometimes to denote a sepulchre or mausoleum. Perhaps the word should be *nauso*, a shrine or temple. Assemani says this Abgar was Abgar Bar Ajazat, the nineteenth King of Edessa. Bayer thinks he was old when he began to reign, because he built a mausoleum for himself. *Bibl. Or.*, i., 421; Bayer, *Hist. Osrhoena*, p. 147.

5. Marcion is joined with Manetes in the extracts from the Syriac Chronicle quoted in *Syriac Miscellanies*, p. 87. “In the year 448, Marcion and Manetes, heretics in Phrygia, were famous.” This is a year earlier than the date above given.

6. Other dates have been given for Bardesanes. Thus in *Syriac Miscellanies*, p. 87, we read that Bardesanes, who promulgated the doctrine of Valentinus, was famous or flourished in the year 479. If he were only born in 465 (A.D. 154) this can hardly be correct; but other authorities clearly imply an earlier date than that of the Edessene Chronicle.

7. This event really occupies an earlier place in the chronicle under the year 449, which Assemani says is wrong, and he has therefore corrected it.

8. Dionysius places this flood in A.D. 216.

9. This palace probably stood upon the hill where the citadel of modern Urfah now stands.

11. This overthrow of the walls in 303 was also caused by a flood, as shewn by Dionysius in his chronicle, and as stated below. The account of Dionysius, as quoted by Assemani, is to this effect,—“In the year 614 of Alexander, Edessa was taken by the waters, and its eastern walls were broken down and fell, and (the river) carried away and removed all that was in it; and the flood made great havoc in it, both upon men and cattle, and in all the plain of Edessa and Haran.”

13. This cemetery is perhaps the first on record constructed for the special use of Christians.

17. Jacob of Nisibis was one of the most famous of the bishops of his time. He was at the council of Nicea, and so was Ethilhas or Ethalaha of Edessa.

20. Constantius is said to have built Tela, but probably he restored or enlarged it, and called it Constantina. Dionysius refers this restoration to Constantine. Assemani says the new name was Constantina, and not Constantinople, as Dionysius affirms.

21. Chidon was not far from Edessa.

22. This happened in consequence of an earthquake, at the very time a council was being held in the city. The bishops removed to Seleucia, in Isauria, and finished their business there.

25. Barses seems to have been translated from Haran to Edessa simply by the command of the emperor.

29. The great baptistry may have stood where Mr. Badger says a mosque now stands,—“The mosque called Oloor Jamesi was an old Christian church, as is evident from the hexangular belfry which is now converted into a minaret, and from the lower parts of the building. As in the case of the Great Mosque at Diarbekir, the nave of the church has been turned into a court-yard, in which a fountain has been introduced for the religious ablutions of the Mussulmans; and the southern wall of the church is now the northern wall of the mosque. The fountain is surmounted by a dome raised upon four Corinthian pillars taken from some more ancient building.” (Nestorians, i., 326). May not the fountain be really of ancient origin?

30. The grave of Ephraim, or rather his tomb in a cave, is still shewn at Urfah, and upon it the Jacobites consecrate the Eucharistic elements.

33. Certainly not in the same year as the death of Barses. It is not clear when these years begin. They are usually supposed to begin Sept. 1, but our author seems to have some other day, as several of his entries suggest. Above in No. 31 he reckons September, as in the same year with the preceding June. Assemani says this belongs to the year 690.

34. Mar Demet is rendered by Assemani as if it were a contraction of Domitius, “*Domus Mar Domitii*.” He prints it in italics, apparently as if in doubt. The vowels are as we give them, and therefore we prefer to think *Demetrius* is meant, both here and elsewhere (B. O., i., 215).

35. Resaina signifies Fountain-head, and was restored by Theodosius.

36. The second general council in A.D. 381. It began in October, hence the author assigns it to 693, and not 692; Assemani at least puts it in October, with which however others do not agree. Socrates assigns it to May; and the very ancient MS. quoted in *Syriac Miscellanies* (A.D. 500) refers it to August. So also the Syriac Chronicle quoted, in *Syriac Miscellanies*, p. 89. Eulogius of Edessa attended the council.

37. Eulogius died on Good Friday.

38. It does not appear where they obtained the relics of the Apostle. They were, however, deposited in "his great temple," i.e., a church dedicated to his name, or called after him.

40. This invasion of the Huns or Asiatic Tartars (A.D. 395) was probably the first in that direction; it was not the last.

47. The Madrashé of Absamia may have been poems, but the word is also used of prose. Assemani says "*odas et sermones composuit.*"

48. Who was Barlaha, "the son of God?" A writer of the name copied Ephraim's works in A.D. 551, and is spoken of by Assemani as an "egregius scriptor." *B. O. i.*, 83.

49. The Syriac text has the word *neomenia*.

51. This adaptation of a Jewish synagogue for Christian worship at the emperor's bidding, was probably an act of spoliation perpetrated upon the Jews.

53. The Eutychiean heresy began later than A.D. 421, and probably later than 431 by a few years at least. Eutyches affirmed that there was but one nature in Christ, and there are many Monophysites to this day.

54. Possibly Jacob the "mutilated," had misunderstood and misapplied Matthew xix. 12. Jacob was, however, doubtless a real martyr; as he was certainly a famous one.

55. Assemani understands this to allude to the heresy of Theodore of Mopsuestia, and thinks the writer favoured him and Pelagius, from the form in which he puts the record. The orthodox held that "sin was implanted in nature;" it was the heterodox who maintained that it was not. The scribe then makes the orthodox the heretics.

57. A shower of dust at Edessa must have been a rare event.

58. For 742 the MS. had 744, which Assemani corrected.

60. The weight of the table offered by Senator is put down at 720 *litra*, the same as the Latin *libra*, a pound of about twelve ounces avoirdupois. This would make about 540 lbs. avoirdupois.

61. In the Syriac we read that Anatol the *Stratelates* made a *nauso* of silver. The name Anatol is, of course, a shortened form of Anatolius,—proper names are frequently abbreviated in

this chronicle, but we have not always indicated the fact. The *Nauso* seems to be a mere variation of *Naos*, a temple or shrine. Christianity was now looking up the trappings of exploded idolatry. The reader will be reminded of the silver shrines of Artemis in Acts xix. 24, where the Greek has this very word, and so has the Syriac Peshito. The other word *Stratelates*, = στρατηλάτης, a commander of soldiers, is as old as Sophocles and Euripides.

63. The second synod of Ephesus, says Assemani, was held, not in 756, but in 760, or A.D. 449. Although Ibas of Edessa was anathematised on that occasion, the fact is recorded without a remark. The bishop, we are told in the following article, left Edessa on January 1st, 759; if, however, the synod was held in 760, the bishop could not have been removed till the next year. Nonnus, called Nono in the Syriac text, "made a *hierateion* in the church." A "*hierateion*" is a "locus sacer ac venerandus, tabulato inclusus, clericis tantum, viris sæcularibus raro, mulieribus nunquam penetrabilis."

65. This reference to a "bishop in Rome" (as the Syriac has it), is the first and only indication given by the chronicle that there were bishops there at all. From first to last there is no sign of dependence upon Rome, or of any connection with it.

67. Mar Isaac is called an Archimandrite by Assemani, but the Syriac is "head of a convent," or monastery,—the Greek word is not used.

68. Ibas was restored and Nonnus removed; but when Ibas died Nonnus resumed episcopal functions. Nonnus was no doubt a zealous churchman, for he not only made a sacristy in the church, he built the Church of John the Baptist, etc. As Assemani renders it, he also built a "*nosocomium pauperum invalidorum extra portam Beth-Semes*." The Syriac is here peculiar, and might be rendered "the field of the house of poor invalids." Michaelis says "*videtur significare hortos, subdio sed porticibus cinctos, in quibus obambulari ægroti poterant*." Within this inclosure Nonnus built a church. His philanthropy and religious zeal further appear in his erection of convents, towers and bridges, and in the improvement of the highways. These things certainly indicate wealth, influence and public spirit.

69. The death of this famous enthusiast, whom Assemani calls "*Sanctissimum Stylitam*," is said to have happened in the year 770, or A.D. 459. So the Chronicle quoted in *Syriac Miscellanies* (p. 83), "In 730 Mar Simeon ascended the pillar, and in 770 he died on the 2nd of Elul."

74. All artificers were required to pay a tax of one *Aureus*

every fourth year. The taxes levied are enumerated in the extracts given by Assemani (*B. O.*, i., 268), and are very curious, including horses, oxen, mules, asses, dogs, beggars, and dunghills.

76. The *Syncelli* were the personal attendants and assistants of the bishop. Assemani overlooks in his translation the clause about the sign which appeared in the sky, and which was probably a comet.

79. The great fire in the north was no doubt the *aurora borealis*. From this record we should infer that it is seldom seen in those parts.

82. The sabbath of the resurrection is, of course, the day before Easter Sunday. In the tables of lessons appended by Widmanstadt to his Syriac Testament, the day after Good Friday is called the "sabbath of the annunciation."

83. The receptacle in question was probably the shrine of St. Euphemia. According to Theophanes, the book was laid up in the altar, and was actually conveyed to the emperor. The miracle was of course an after-thought.

87. To this item Assemani appends the words "*exilio multavit*," probably because he supposed this implied by the previous verb.

89. This Paul was Bishop of Edessa twice. The Syrians call him an "interpreter of books," either because he translated out of Greek into Syriac, or because he wrote expositions of Scripture. Respecting him Assemani gives an interesting extract from John of Asia (or of Ephesus) preserved by Dionysius in his Chronicle. The baptistery alluded to in the text is probably the one mentioned above, number 29.

90. For "December" Assemani has "October" by mistake. Who were the *oriental* monks so summarily ejected? They were monophysites, but how came they to be styled "orientals" at Edessa?

92. The remains of Asclepius were exhumed and transferred to Edessa to be buried in the Church of St. Barlaha, *upon* or *beside* those of Nonnus.

97. Ephraim of Amida is called "*Comes Orientis*," a dignity which he appears not to have retained, although Assemani passes over the verbs which we translate "had been."

101. The Huns who thus come upon the scene, it is needless to say, were Asiatic Tartars.

102. Rufinus is called "patricius" or the patrician, a name borne by the presidents or prefects of Edessa. (See Nos. 89, 93.)

104. The word "indiction" occurs in the text. This mode of reckoning is often given in old Syriac writers. Procopius

says that a comet appeared in the thirteenth of Justinian, and hence Assemani infers that for 850 we should read 851 in the text.

105. Shura or Sura is mentioned by Procopius, *De Edific. Justin*, ii. 9. See Martiniere *sub voc.* Surum. D'Anville places it on the Euphrates, and with others calls it Sura. Procopius terms it *Συρων πολισμα*—the town of Surōn. The Syriac word means usually "a wall." Instead of two hundred pounds of gold, or, as the Syriac text has it, "two centenaria of gold," Assemani writes "*duobus auri pondo*," but surely "pondo" does not equal "centenaria;" probably we should read "*ducentis auri pondo*."

106. This Chronicle is followed in Assemani by a list of the kings of Edessa, and a list of its bishops from A.D. 313 to 769. We may note that the Chronicle mentions no Bishop of Edessa before Conon, "who laid the foundation of the Church of Edessa" in A.D. 313. But we must not misinterpret this indication. There had long been Christians in Edessa, as authentic records prove. Not only so, this very Chronicle, in recording the overthrow of the city by water in 513 (A.D. 202), mentions the destruction of the "temple of the church of the Christians." This remarkable phrase shews not only that the disciples had a house of worship then, but that it was called a temple. More than this, the Christian community seems to monopolize the word Church, which was not yet applied to the building in which they assembled. Assemani observes that the words under notice shew that the Archivists were still heathen, although the king was a Christian, as Eusebius notes from Africanus (in Chron). Conon, above-named, refounded the church at Edessa, and hoped to rebuild it, but this work was accomplished by his successor. It can hardly be supposed that the reference is to the restoration of the "temple" destroyed in A.D. 202; it is rather to what is called "the old church" in number 60; restored by Justinian with immense splendour.—(Vid. Bayer, p. 250).

B. H. C.



CORNELIUS THE CENTURION.

If the scriptural record says nothing of the previous history of Cornelius, yet enough is indirectly brought before us to make it sufficiently plain that he was by birth and education a Roman citizen and Gentile idolater. And while the name suggests the idea that he was of the Cornelian family, the narrative is itself not unfavourable to this supposition, since he is there described as "a centurion of the band called the Italian band," and as residing in the city of Cæsarea, the seat of the Roman government in Judæa.

The tenor of the record leaves us also in little doubt that he had continued to worship his country's idols up to the time of his arrival in Palestine; that, in that eastern region, his attention was turned to the Jewish religion, whose professed origin was centuries more ancient than even the Roman name; and that his inquiries (in spite of all plausible human reasonings and *à priori* speculations) resulted in the sincere conviction that the Jehovah of the despised and subject Jews was indeed the living and true God, the creator of heaven and earth.

At all events, before the period at which the sacred writer takes up the centurion's history, Cornelius had already, through the grace of God, become one of those of whom the Apostle testifies, "He that cometh to God must believe that He is, and that He is the rewarder of them that diligently seek Him." The Book of Nature can never produce in us this conviction. It can raise in us conjecture, wishes, and even faint and uncertain hopes. It is only the Book of Revelation which, as a truly divine instrument fitted for that very purpose, can make us firm believers. When Peter was at Joppa, Cornelius had already made no slight progress in the right way. Already having forsaken the creed of his fathers (how difficult a step this is we may learn, when we look at the hesitation and shrinking of doubting Jews and Papists in our own day), Cornelius was become a conscientious believer in, and a devout and habitual worshipper of, the *revealed* God of Israel. Consistently with this faith and worship, the centurion of the Italian band was a liberal giver of alms (Acts x. 2) to those poor Jews who stood in need of his assistance. And, doubtless, if his aid had been required in a similar case, he would, to the utmost of his ability, have cheerfully followed the example of another centurion, of whom certain Jewish elders said to the Lord, "He loveth our nation, and hath built us a synagogue" (Luke vii. 5). How beautiful is the testimony of the inspired penman to this sincere and seeking Gentile (a testimony which may be accepted as bearing

the stamp of divine authority), that "he was a devout man, and one that feared God with all his house." The candid reader of the whole of this simple scriptural narrative will believe that it was not a vague deistical notion of an unknown God which had won the homage of Cornelius; but that it was no other than the revealed God of Abraham and of Israel who was feared and worshipped by him and his house. Such testimony may be considered as raising the godly Roman soldier, so far as sincerity of spirit in seeking after divine truth is concerned, fully to the level of such upright and inquiring Jews as Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathæa.

We pause here a moment to contemplate the divinely delineated portrait of an earnest Gentile inquirer, residing in the immediate vicinity of the ordinances of Moses and the worship of the Jewish synagogue. "He was a devout man, and one that feared God with all his house, which gave much alms to the people, and prayed to God always." The last clause may fairly seem to include, in the present instance, not only the idea of earnest, daily, habitual prayer, and, when his secular duties permitted him, at the sixth and ninth hour, the special hours of Jewish prayer, but also the renunciation of all his former idolatrous objects of worship. He prayed to the revealed Jehovah of Israel always, and to Him only.

The reader's attention is now called to the more eventful portion of this Gentile's history, in which we, who are also Gentiles, may well feel a deep interest. Let us carefully notice how Cornelius, just before the appearance of the angel, is seeking the Most High not only by prayer, but also by the addition of fasting to his supplications. As we read, we can accept it as by no means improbable, that the devout and God-fearing Gentile was, on that memorable day, praying and fasting before the God of Israel with earnest reference to some special^a object of thoughtful inquiry then engaging all the time and attention that he was able to devote to an absorbing theme, in which, as plainly appears from his conduct, light and aid were to be looked for rather from God than from men.

If we are disposed to regard this supposition with favour, we may proceed to ascertain how it was that, on this particular occasion, a merciful and gracious God answered the centurion's fasting and prayers: for we shall thus learn, with much probability, what the special blessing was, which he was apparently so

^a Cornelius, in his confidential intercourse with the devout members of his household, could not fail to hear much of the history of Christ and his disciples. In Acts viii. 40 we read that Philip "passing from Azotus preached in all the cities till he came to *Cæsarea*."

desirous to obtain. Now the God of Israel, whom he was thus sincerely seeking according to the light vouchsafed to him through the Jewish Scriptures, was pleased to answer the earnest petitions of his Gentile servant in the following manner. He sent an angel to enjoin the suppliant immediately to summon Peter from Joppa, who would remove his perplexities: for he would tell him, on divine and unerring authority, what course to take, and "speak to him words whereby he and his house might be saved."

Now we are well aware that it was Peter's one great mission to preach the good tidings of eternal salvation through Jesus Christ. Hence, thus to summon Peter from Joppa to Cæsarea, at the express command of Him whom Cornelius had been seeking by prayer and fasting, was nothing less than to send for an apostle of Christ, at the divine command and with the divine approbation (that apostle being thus explicitly recognized by the Most High as a heaven-inspired teacher), in order to be fully instructed by him in the way of eternal life through Jesus of Nazareth, as the only and all-sufficient Saviour of fallen and lost man. It is not easy then to avoid the inference, that the subject of anxious thought and inquiry to Cornelius (already as devout and sincere an Israelite as Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathæa, so far, at least, as his religious creed and personal piety were concerned, and, doubtless, sharing with them in the belief of a *promised* Messiah), was neither more nor less than the all-important question which had for some time agitated Judæa, and by which his own mind was exercised,—“Is Jesus of Nazareth the Messiah promised to, and expected by, the descendants of Abraham?”

If we carefully reflect upon the particulars of this brief but striking narrative, there would seem to be little, if any, difficulty in receiving the view which has just been advanced. As the attention of Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathæa had been arrested by the miracles and teaching of Jesus, and as they had thus been compelled, as honest inquirers, on the strength of such evidence, to believe that he could not but be a teacher sent from God, so would such a conscientious proselyte to the Jewish faith as Cornelius (that faith embracing the promise of the King Messiah) be deeply moved by what he must have frequently heard from trustworthy sources of the wonderful works, and hitherto unheard-of doctrines, of the apostles of the crucified Jesus. For in Jerusalem and throughout Judæa they had fearlessly proclaimed, as heralds sent by God, that Jesus of Nazareth, having been rejected, *crucified* and buried, had risen from the dead on the third day, according to his own prophetic assur-

ance while yet living among them, had appeared to them several times during forty days, and had, finally, ascended in their presence into heaven. The single-hearted Gentile inquirer would also be told that, in confirmation of their strange doctrine of a *crucified* Messiah—of a Saviour of the world who had been nailed to a cross at Jerusalem, the infamous Roman gibbet—they had wrought numerous and extraordinary miracles openly, and in sight of all the people, which the chief priests and rulers could not deny, in the name, and as the disciples, of this rejected, *crucified*, and risen Jesus.

We do not here presume to offer from our own imagination a detailed account of the several steps through which the mind of Cornelius passed in his path from Roman idolatry to the acknowledgment and daily worship of the living and true God, as revealed to men in the Hebrew Scriptures. Yet we cannot refrain from touching upon one salient point in connection with this subject, of which the probability is so great that it would be most unfair to regard it as imaginative conjecture. For how can we suppose such an earnest inquirer to have continued wholly ignorant of some of the most important and prominent portions of the prophetic Scriptures, accessible as they had long been in the Septuagint Version to the Gentile nations? Nor can we reasonably refuse to believe that this pious centurion, with a far greater knowledge of the history of Jesus than the Ethiopian eunuch possessed when accosted by Philip, must in the course of his study of the Old Testament have discovered and dwelt with deep interest upon the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah. Nay, what can well be more reasonably and scripturally probable, in connection with this subject, than that, in the course of his endeavours to ascertain how the apostles of Jesus reconciled their marvellous teaching with the Scriptures, so long received and honoured as of divine origin by the Hebrew nation, Cornelius should learn that they confidently appealed, in support of their Master's claims, to this very portion of Isaiah's prophecies,¹ which may thus have had a very important influence on the mind and conscience of Cornelius, and on the fasting and prayers in which the angel of God found him engaged. For we must

¹ Can the devout believer in the Holy Scriptures carefully meditate on such passages as Luke xxiv. 26, 27, and 44, 47, and doubt that Jesus, on those occasions, appealed, among other prophetic Scriptures, to the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, as to predictions relating to Himself? With what a wondrous panoply from the Old Testament must the disciples have been furnished by their Master, at those memorable interviews, for future evangelical warfare. This view will certainly not be weakened if we refer to Matt. viii. 17; Acts vii. 35; and to 1 Peter ii. 24. Probably much of what we have in the Epistle to the Hebrews had been previously delivered by Jesus himself after his resurrection.

carefully bear in mind that Cornelius, as a sincere believer in the Hebrew Scriptures of the Old Testament, would shrink from accepting the religion of Jesus as of heavenly origin and divine authority, unless it could be shewn to be in harmony with the law and the prophets.

It does not appear a difficult task to realize to ourselves how the devout centurion, already a proselyte to the Jewish faith, would first listen to a strange and marvellous tale, and how awakened interest would lead him to seek further information. Having acquired an ample store of important facts, as he sought patiently and conscientiously to sift and weigh the evidence thus brought before him, do we not spontaneously think of him as reasoning with himself somewhat after the following manner?—"Well authenticated and superhuman miracles of a benevolent and merciful character, wise and holy teaching, blamelessness of life, a frank and open appeal to Moses and the prophets, and patient endurance of cruel persecution on the part, both of the Master who was crucified, and of his followers who seem to glory in that Master's *cross*, may well challenge serious attention and inquiry at least from me. The Jewish religion, for which I have renounced the idolatry of my fathers, is intimately and essentially connected with direct miraculous interposition from the God of Israel. What is it, then, that these devoted followers of the crucified Jesus say in support of the marvellous doctrine, which heaven itself seems to confirm by miracles wrought, not in secret corners, where only partisans and credulous dupes are present, but in the light of day, and in the presence of malignant and watchful enemies? And, above all, how is such teaching consistent, not merely with one or two solitary passages selected here and there, but with the general tenor of the inspired writings of Moses and the prophets, as contained in that Book, which these Galilean teachers still profess to reverence, and appeal to, as comprising the revealed word and will of the Most High? For they declare with one voice, that Jesus came not to overthrow, but to confirm and fulfil, the law and the prophets."

We who have access to the Old Testament (and who, with Cornelius, regard it as containing that portion of the revelation of the divine will, which was given before the incarnation of Jesus Christ), and to the four Gospels, and to the Acts of the Apostles, find it not a difficult task to understand how the replies which this God-fearing and inquiring soldier would receive from time to time, would be such as very soon to constrain him to say with Agrippa, though with far more sincerity and earnestness:—"Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian."

It is surely, then, very far from being any mere figment of the imagination to suppose that when the angel presented himself to Cornelius, the latter was already strongly inclined, in judgment and conscience, to regard Jesus of Nazareth as the promised Messiah, and that he was on that very occasion earnestly praying to God for fuller light and guidance in reference to this great question, in which the present and eternal welfare of Jew and Gentile was alike concerned.

We are disposed to think that this view can almost be proved from the subsequent context. For it must be borne in mind that Peter, not only during the afternoon and evening which the three messengers from Cornelius spent with him under Simon's roof at Joppa, but also on the following day, while journeying with them on their return to Cæsareæ, had the most favourable opportunities of learning how far Cornelius and his household had become acquainted with the history of Jesus of Nazareth, and what these Gentiles thought of the claims of the *crucified* and risen One to be the promised Messiah. Accordingly, we may rather believe than conjecture, that Peter, in consequence of what he had learned from the three messengers, felt himself entitled to address the Gentile congregation which Cornelius had assembled to hear him, in language which assumed that they had already acquired and reflected upon much preparatory information on the great subject which he was about to set before them. "The word which God sent unto the children of Israel, *preaching peace through Jesus Christ* (He is Lord of all), that word I say, YE KNOW, which was published throughout all Judæa, and began from Galilee after the baptism which John preached; how God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power, who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil; for God was with him." Such language may surely be accepted as no light presumptive evidence that Peter regarded Cornelius and his Gentile^c congrega-

^c Before Cornelius sent "his two household servants and a devout soldier" to Joppa, he declared to them all that had passed between the angel and himself; they were thus aware that Peter was a servant of God fully instructed in the divine will and truth. Accordingly, these three messengers may very probably have become convinced of the Messiahship of Jesus of Nazareth before they left Joppa to return home, through their conversation with Peter. The friends of Cornelius also, who were assembled by him to meet the apostle, were doubtless acquainted with the particulars of the vision, and with the testimony borne by the angel to Peter. The depth of the impression made upon the mind of the Roman centurion by his conviction of the reality of the vision which he saw *evidently* (Acts x. 3), appears from the manner in which he received Peter. "And as Peter was coming in, Cornelius met him, and fell down at his feet and worshipped him."

tion, not only as well acquainted with the leading facts in the life of Jesus, but as already inclined to receive Him whom the Jews slew and hanged upon a tree, as the risen One who is ordained of God to be the judge of the quick and the dead.

Thus we think few candid students of this scriptural narrative of the conversion of the first Gentile who was admitted by baptism into the Church of Christ, will refuse to look upon it as highly probable that before the arrival of Peter at Cæsarea, and even before the appearance of the angel in the vision, the inquiring and God-fearing centurion had not only turned with his whole heart from Jupiter and Apollo to the faith and worship of the God of Abraham, as the *revealed* Creator of heaven and earth and God of Israel, but had also even advanced, in his path of inquiry, into the earnest and prayerful consideration of the claims of the religion of Jesus to be accepted as divine and heavenly truth—at least as far as Nicodemus had done, when he came by night to the Lord and said: “Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God, for no man can do these miracles which thou doest, except God be with him.”

The visit of the angel, together with the gracious influence that accompanied it, lifted Cornelius above that fear of man’s opinion which held Nicodemus in bondage. The centurion assembled his friends, not secretly by night, but in the open day, to welcome and listen to the Galilean fisherman. Having “received the Holy Ghost,” while attentively hearkening to Peter’s discourse, he became yet more courageous in the cause of truth, and, with his Gentile fellow converts, having been baptized, “prayed Peter to tarry certain days.” And so far was Cornelius from enjoining secrecy upon his Christian teacher, that the tidings of his conversion were soon carried to Jerusalem; and shortly after, on arriving in that city, Peter, in a public assembly of the brethren, gave a full account of what had passed at Cæsarea.

We rejoice to see that Cornelius, the centurion of the Italian band, residing in Cæsarea, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Roman governor of the province and his court, was not ashamed to be known as a baptized disciple of the *crucified* and risen Jesus. And if we reverence the warning voice—by their fruits ye shall “know them”—we shall deem this frank avowal of his faith as no light proof of the godly centurion’s heartfelt sincerity. Does not his conduct remind us of the Apostle’s declaration: “If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised Him from the dead, thou shalt be saved.”

What a seemingly impossible task, for a Roman centurion in the city of Cæsarea to believe, and to avow and act upon his belief, that Jesus of Nazareth, who had been *scourged* and *crucified* some twelve years previously, at the command of Pontius Pilate, who had himself resided at Cæsarea (the cross being a more ignominious term than our gibbet), had risen from the dead on the third day as the author of eternal salvation to all who believe in Him. His renunciation of idolatry for the religion of Abraham and Moses had perhaps exposed him to Roman pity and contempt; this second change would bring down upon him the malignant scorn of the very Jews who had hitherto esteemed and honoured him.

In these days of infidel assaults upon Christian truth, it will be wise to study well the brief history of this single-hearted centurion. With regard to his worldly interests, so far as we can see, he had everything to lose and nothing to gain by becoming a Christian. Shallow scoffers have nothing to spare for the Gospels and the Acts but doubts, cavils, and sneers, at a distance of eighteen centuries from the events which they call in question. Yet here we see how differently these things were regarded by a Roman gentleman and soldier, not more than twelve years after the crucifixion of Jesus of Nazareth. Let us pause, as we read, and seriously reflect how invincibly clear and powerful must the evidence for the resurrection and ascension of the scourged and crucified Jesus have appeared to Cornelius, to make him take a step which involved such important consequences. Let us be permitted to wish that the clerical authors of that disreputable volume of *Essays and Reviews*, of which the dishonesty has met with far more general condemnation than its barefaced scepticism, would study with patience, humility, and prayer, in the New Testament, the simple narrative which we have been discussing, that weary and ashamed of vain speculations, they may return to the scriptural faith of Cornelius; the faith which strengthened our martyred reformers to testify unto death for the religion of Jesus Christ, and which we may safely assert to be the faith that is declared and upheld in the Liturgy and Articles of our Book of Common Prayer, and in the Homilies of our Church.

One point in the narrative must not be passed over unnoticed. At what particular moment, while Peter was preaching, did Cornelius and his Gentile friends—the first Gentile congregation mentioned in the New Testament—receive the Holy Ghost? It was when the apostle, in addressing them, said,—“To JESUS give all the prophets witness, that through his name WHOSOEVER BELIEVETH IN HIM SHALL RECEIVE REMIS-

SION OF SINS. While Peter yet spake THESE WORDS, the Holy Ghost fell upon all them which heard the word."

This is consistent with the declaration which Peter had fearlessly made a few years before at Jerusalem, in the presence of Annas the high priest, Caiaphas, and others. "Neither is there salvation in any other (than in Jesus Christ of Nazareth): for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved." And this too is quite consistent with what he, many years after, wrote to the strangers scattered "throughout Pontus, Galatia," and other parts of Asia, when he urged them to follow after holiness, and admonished and encouraged them thereto by assuring them "ye were redeemed with the precious BLOOD OF CHRIST, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot." Salvation in the name, and redemption through the blood of Jesus Christ, are truths in perfect harmony with each other.

Is it not, then, an awful error, even if they who have fallen into it be as sincere as was Saul of Tarsus, who, acting "ignorantly and in unbelief, verily thought with himself that he ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth," though he afterwards acknowledged himself to have been a blasphemer in so doing—to put, as it were, their feet, with a scarcely disguised contemptuous pity for those whom they regard as the dupes or victims of a (supposed) wide-spread popular delusion, upon the solemn testimony of Him who said, "This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins."

We may talk of the sincerity of those who, after having taken upon themselves the solemn responsibility⁴ of clerical subscription to our Articles, publicly plead the cause of German rationalism and infidelity. We are to remember, in these perilous times, that there is such a thing as a fearful judicial sincerity in the reception and propagation of infidel errors—and this judicial sincerity is the righteous retribution due to the loving, and sometimes doting, preference of the darkness of a proud human philosophy over the light and simplicity of scriptural truth. Such men may be given over, at least for a time, as a punishment for such love and preference; a righteous God sending upon them "strong delusion, that they should believe the lie" of which they are the restless champions and advocates. And even if they should themselves be afterwards enlightened to retrace their steps, their public and printed arguings and

⁴ We are not here offering any remarks upon *lay* opponents of the Scriptures. They may be both sincere and honest in their opinions, and in their maintenance of them.

pleadings for an infidel and Christ-dishonouring philosophy, may have already spread, like a contagious poison, through the length and breadth of the land, leading many, who may never retrace their steps, to begin by scorning the religion of Jesus, and to end in renouncing the truth of a personal God for the darkness and impiety of Pantheism and Atheism.

But the narrative of the conversion of Cornelius furnishes us with an antidote to tractarian as well as to neologian errors. The reader will smile, if indeed the subject be not too serious for such treatment, when he sees how directly opposed is this scriptural history to a statement advanced erroneously, though doubtless sincerely, by Dr. Pusey in a sermon preached at Oxford in the Lent season of 1857, and afterwards published under the title of "*Repentance from love of God life-long.*" We here present the learned Professor's mythical statement:—"Morning after morning, cock-crowing after cock-crowing, St. Peter wept his fall. Some lentile broth of the daily value of a farthing was for his whole life long the penitential food of him by whose hands God wrought special miracles, by whose shadow passing by he healed the sick, through whom he first admitted both Jews and Gentiles into the Church, to whom first in dignity among the other apostles he gave the keys of the kingdom of heaven."

Plain New Testament facts will easily furnish a satisfactory reply to this childish legend, so deliberately and earnestly recommended to the acceptance of a Protestant congregation by a Protestant professor of Hebrew in one of our national universities.

What do we read in the history of St. Luke? This evangelist tells us that after the apostle's thrice repeated denial of his Master, "the Lord turned and looked upon Peter. And Peter remembered the word of the Lord, how he had said unto him, Before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice. And Peter went out and wept bitterly" (Luke xxii. 61). Such weeping may remind us of the Psalmist's words, "The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit; a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise" (Psalm li. 17). Such tears are not followed by abject superstitious bondage to lentile pottage, but rather by "peace and joy in believing."

Let us turn to the history of the conversion of Cornelius. We find in the last verse of the tenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, that this Roman centurion, after he had been baptized, "prayed Peter to tarry (with him at Cæsarea) certain days." We have no reason to doubt Peter's compliance with this request, as the new converts would require further instruction

from the apostle in the truth and doctrine of the Gospel. Nothing, indeed, is here said of his having been a guest at the table of the converted Gentile. This omission is, however, supplied elsewhere. For we read that shortly afterwards, the Hebrew Christians at Jerusalem brought the following charge against Peter,—“Thou wentest in unto men uncircumcised, and didst eat with them” (Acts xi. 3).

It would appear from the whole scriptural narrative, from the vision compared with all the recorded events that followed after it, that God was pleased to select Peter to be his honoured instrument for breaking down the barrier of social as well as religious prejudice, which separated the Jews from the Gentiles. It seems to have been the divine purpose that Peter should preach successfully to the Gentiles; should witness, to his astonishment, extraordinary honour put upon the simple preaching of Jesus Christ, in the descent of the Holy Spirit upon these converted Gentiles without the intervention of circumcision or baptism; and that he should eat with baptized but uncircumcised Gentiles. How unfit would he have been for such a work if he had been in abject superstitious bondage to the ascetic penance of a daily farthing's worth of lentile pottage.

G. B.

* St. Paul, also, in writing to the Galatians, says,—“When Peter was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed; for before that certain came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles” (Gal. ii. 11, 12). St. Paul's faithful reproof of Peter's unworthy and unchristian vacillation (at such moments Simon seemed to forget that his Master had surnamed him Cephas) does not altogether harmonize with the Romish notion (apparently held by Dr. Pusey), of “Peter's being first in dignity among the other apostles,” and the special and exclusive possessor of the keys of the kingdom of heaven. In Acts x. 9, 10, we read, “Peter went up upon the housetop to pray about the sixth hour: and he became very hungry, and would have eaten; but while they made ready he fell into a trance.” A farthing's worth of lentile pottage would have been a sorry meal for a very hungry man, who thought the appeasing of hunger might follow immediately after earnest prayer.

THE TRUMPET OF THE SOUL SOUNDING TO JUDGMENT. A Sermon by Henry Smith.*

The Text. ECCLESIASTES, chap. xi., verse 9.

"Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth, and let thy heart be merry in thy young days, follow the ways of thine own heart, and the lusts of thine eyes. But remember for all these things thou must come to judgment."

WHEN I should have preached under the Cross, I mused what text to take in hand, to please all, and to keep myself out of danger: and musing, I could not find any text in the Scripture, that did not reprove sin, unless it were in the Apocrypha, which is not of the Scripture: this text bids them that be voluptuous, be voluptuous still: let them that be vain-glorious, be vain-glorious still: let them that be covetous, be covetous still: let them that be drunkards, be drunkards still: let them that be swearers, be swearers still: let them that be wantons, be wantons still: let them that be careless prelates, be careless still: let them that be usurers, be usurers still: but saith Solomon, "Remember thy end, that thou shalt be called to judgment at

* The following notice of this celebrated preacher appeared in *Notes and Queries* for Aug. 7, 1852, pp. 129-130:—

"Henry Smith was one of the most popular preachers of his age. He was born at Withcock, in Leicestershire, and after pursuing his studies at Oxford, became lecturer at the church of St. Clement Danes, Strand. Wood (*Athenæ Oxon.*, vol. i., p. 603., Bliss) says, that he was 'in great renown among men in 1593,' in which year he thinks he died. Smith's *Sermons, together with other his learned Treatises*, were published in 1675, in 4to, to which Fuller prefixed a Life of the Author. That Wood has dated the death of Henry Smith somewhat after its occurrence, is proved by the following *Encomium Henrici Smithi*, by Thomas Nash, which is not only curious on account of the source whence it is derived, but as referring to metrical compositions nowhere to be found. Speaking of the superiority of those preachers whose minds are imbued with poetical feeling, 'over those dull-headed divines who deem it no more cunning to write an exquisite poem, than to preach pure Calvin, or distil the juice of a commentary into a quarto sermon,' Nash exclaims, 'Silver-tongued Smith, whose well tuned style hath made thy death the general tears of the Muses, quaintly couldst thou devise heavenly ditties to Apollo's lute, and teach stately verse to trip it as smoothly as if Ovid and thou had but one soul. Hence along did it proceed, that thou wert such a plausible pulpit-man; before thou enterest into the wonderful ways of theology, thou refinedst, preparedst, and purifiedst thy wings with sweet poetry. If a simple man's censure may be admitted to speak in such an open theatre of opinions, I never saw abundant reading better mixed with delight, or sentences which no man can challenge of profane affectation, sounding more melodious to the ear, or piercing more deep to the heart.' *Pierres Penless: his supplication to the Devil*, from whence this extract is taken, was entered in the Stationers' registers for Richard Jones, on the 8th of Aug. 1592, being licensed by the archbishop. For a list of Smith's *Sermons and Treatises*, see Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*."

The prospectus of a new edition of Smith's works was issued a few years since, but fell to the ground. It runs thus:—"The Sermons of Master Henry Smith, 'The Silver-tongued Preacher.' Edited by the Rev. W. G. Barrett. This celebrated Puritan Divine was the popular preacher of Queen Elizabeth's

the last for all together." This is the counsel of Solomon the wisest then living; what a counsel is this for a wise man, such a one as was Solomon!

In the beginning of his book he saith, "All is vanity," and in the end he saith, "Fear God and keep his commandments:" in the twelfth chapter he saith, "Remember thy Maker in the days of thy youth:" but here he saith, "Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth." Here he speaketh like an Epicure, which saith, Eat, drink, and be merry; here he counsels, and here he mocks: yet after the manner of scorers, although they deserved it in shewing their foolishness, as in the first of the Proverbs, "He laughed at the wicked in derision;" as in the Second Psalm, God seeing us follow our own ways. For when he bids us pray, we play; and when he bids run, we stand still: and when he bids us fast, we feast, and send for vanities to make us sport: then he laughs at our destruction. Therefore when Solomon giveth a sharp reproof, and maketh you ashamed in one word, he scoffingly bids you do it again, like a schoolmaster which beateth his scholar for playing the truant, he biddeth him play the truant again. O this is the bitterest reproof of all. But lest any libertine should misconster Solomon, and say, that he bids us be merry and make much of ourselves, therefore he shutteth up with a watchword, and setteth a bridle before his lips, and reproveth it as he speaketh it, before he goeth any further, and saith, "But remember that for all these things, thou must come to judgment." But if we will understand his meaning, he meaneth, when he saith, Rejoice, O young man; Repent, O young man, in thy youth; and when he saith, Let thy heart cheer thee, Let thy sins grieve thee; for he meaneth otherwise than he speaketh: he speaketh like Micai in the Book of Kings, the second chapter, "Go up and prosper;" or like as Ezekiel, "Go up and serve other gods;" or as St. John speaketh in the Revelation, "Let them that be wicked, be wicked still." But if there were no judgment-day, that were a merry world,

reign. His church, St. Clement's Danes, in the Strand, was crowded with hearers of this extraordinarily eloquent young man. Fuller, in his *Worthies of England*, says of him, that 'he was commonly called the silver-tongued preacher, which was but one metal below Chrysostom himself.' His sermons are so thoroughly evangelical, yet withal so fresh and powerful, that it is supposed a republication of them will meet with general favour, especially as the collected editions (more than twenty in number) published between 1599 and 1675, are now rarely to be met with. It is proposed to publish the whole of Smith's sermons, the prayers, together with Fuller's life, and Brooke's memoranda, in one volume, 8vo, as soon as five hundred subscribers' names are secured. It will be edited with great care, and no additions to, or alterations of, the original text attempted."

The Sermon here printed is from the edition of 1632.

therefore saith Solomon, when thou art in thy pleasures flaunting in the fields, and in thy brave ruffs, and amongst thy lovers, with thy smiling looks, thy wanton talk, and merry jests, with thy pleasant games and lofty looks, "Remember, for all these things thou shalt come to judgment."

Whilst the thief stealeth, the hemp groweth, and the hook is covered within the bait: we sit down to eat, and rise up to play, and from play to sleep, and a hundred years is counted little enough to sin in: but how many sins thou hast set on the score, so many kinds of punishment shall be provided for thee: how many years of pleasure thou hast taken, so many years of pain: how many drams of delight, so many pounds of dolour: when iniquity hath played her part, vengeance leaps upon the stage; the comedy is short, but the tragedy is longer; the black guard shall attend upon you, you shall eat at the table of sorrow, and the crown of death shall be upon your heads, many glistening faces looking on you, and this is the fear of sinners: when the devil hath enticed them to sin, he persuadeth like the old prophet in the Book of Kings, who when he had enticed the young prophet contrary to the commandment of God, to turn home with him and to eat and drink, he cursed him for his labour, because he disobeyed the commandment of the Lord, and so as a lion devoured him by the way. The foolish virgins think that their oil will never be spent: so Dinah straggled abroad, whilst she was deflowered: what a thing is this to say, Rejoice, and then Repent; what a blank to say, Take thy pleasure, and then thou shalt come to judgment. It is as if he should say, Steal and be hanged, steal and thou dardest, strangle sin in the cradle, for all the wisdom in the world will not help thee else; but thou shalt be in admiration, like dreamers which dream strange things, and know not how they come. He saith, "Remember judgment." If thou remember always, then thou shalt have little list to sin: if thou remember this, then thou shalt have little list to fall down to the devil, though he would give thee all the world, and the glory thereof. Solomon saith, The weed groweth from a weed to a cockle, from a cockle to a bramble, from a bramble to a briar, from a briar to a thorn. Lying breeds perjury, perjury breeds haughtiness of heart, haughtiness of heart breeds contempt, contempt breeds obstinacy, and brings forth much evil. And this is the whole progress of sin, he groweth from a liar to a thief, from a thief to a murderer, and never leaveth until he hath searched all the room in hell, and yet he is never satisfied; the more he sinneth, the more he searcheth to sin: when he hath deceived, nay he hath not deceived thee, as soon as he hath that he desireth, he hath not

that he desireth : when he hath left fighting, he goeth to fighting again : yet a little and a little more, and so we flit from one sin to another. While I preach, you hear iniquity engender within you, and will break forth as soon as you are gone. So Christ wept, Jerusalem laughed : Adam brake one, and we break ten : like children which laugh and cry, so as if we kept a shop of vices, now this sin, and then that, from one sin to another.

“O remember thy end,” saith Solomon, “and that thou must come to judgment.”

What shall become of them that have tried them most ? Be condemned most. “Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth.”

But if thou mark Solomon, he harps upon one string, he doubles it again and again, to shew us things of his own experience, because we are so forgetful thereof in ourselves, like the dreamer that forgetteth his dream, and the swearer his swearing. So we beg of every unclean spirit, until we have bombasted ourselves up to the throat, filling every corner of our hearts with all uncleanness, and then we are like the dog that cometh out of the sink, and maketh every one as foul as himself : therefore saith Solomon, If any one will learn the way to hell, let him take his pleasure.

Methinks I see the dialogue between the flesh and the spirit, the worst speaketh first ; and the flesh saith, Soul, take thine ease, eat, drink, and go brave, lie soft ; what else should you do, but take your pleasure ? thou knowest what a pleasant fellow I have been unto thee, thou knowest what delight thou hast had by my means : but the soul cometh in, burthened with that which hath been spoken before, and saith, I pray thee remember judgment, thou must give account for all these things, for unless you repent, you shall surely perish.

No, saith the flesh, talk not of such grave matters, but tell me of fine matters, of soft beds and pleasant things, and talk to me of brave pastimes, apes, bears, and puppets, for I tell thee, the forbidden fruit is sweetest of all fruits, for I do not like of your telling me of judgment : but take thou thy jewels, thy instrument, and all the strings of vanity will strike at once, for the flesh loves to be brave, and tread upon corks, it cannot tell what fashion to be of, and yet to be of the new fashion.

“Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth.”

O this goes brave, for while wickedness hath cast his rubs, and vengeance casts his spurs, and his foot, and thus she reels, and now she tumbles, and then she falls : therefore this progress is ended.

Pleasure is but a spur, riches but a thorn, glory but a blast, beauty but a flower, sin is but an hypocrite, honey in thy mouth

and poison in thy stomach : therefore let us come again and ask Solomon in good sooth, whether he meaneth in good earnest, when he spake these words : " O (saith Solomon) it is the best life in the world to go brave, lie soft, and live merrily, if there were no judgment." But this judgment mars all, it is the damp that puts out all the light, and like a box that marreth all the ointment : for if this be true, we have spun a fair thread, that we must answer for all, that are not able to answer for one : why Solomon maketh us fools, and giveth us gauds to play withal : what then, shall we not rejoice at all ? Yes, there is godly mirth, and if we could hit on it, which is called, Be merry and wise. Sarah laughed, and was reprov'd : Abraham laughed, and was not reprov'd. And thus much for the first part.

" But remember, for all these things thou shalt come to judgment."

This verse is as it were a dialogue betwixt the flesh and the spirit, as two counsellors, the worst is first, and the flesh speaketh proudly, but the spirit comes in burdened with that which hath been spoken. The flesh goeth laughing and singing to hell : but the spirit casteth rubs in his way, and puts him in mind of judgment, that for all these things now ends rejoice ; and here comes in but : if this but were not, we might rejoice still : if young men must for all the sports of youth, what then shall old men do, being as they are now ? Surely, if Solomon lived to see our old men live now, as here he saith of young men : so high as sin rageth, yet vengeance sits above it, as high as high Babel.

Methinks I see a sword hang in the air by a twine thread, and all the sons of men labour to burst it in sunder. There is a place in hell where the covetous judge sitteth, the greedy lawyer, the griping landlord, the careless bishop, the lusty youth, the wanton dames, the thief, the robbers of the Commonwealth, they are punished in this life, because they ever sinned as long as they could, while mercy was offered unto them : therefore, because they would not be washed, they shall be drowned. Now put together rejoice and remember : thou hast learned to be merry, now learn to be wise : now therefore turn over a new leaf, and take a new lesson, for now Solomon mocked not as he did before, therefore a check to thy ruffs, a check to thy cuffs, a check to thy robes, a check to thy gold, a check to your riches, a check to your beauty, a check to your muck, a check to your graves : woe from above, woe from below, woe unto all the strings of vanity : doest thou not now marvel, that thou hast not a feeling of sin ? For thou now seest Solomon saith true, thine own heart can tell that it is wicked, but it cannot amend :

therefore, it is high time to amend. As Nathan cometh to David after Beelzebub, so cometh accusing conscience after sin. Methinks that every one should have a feeling of sin : though this day be like yesterday, and to-morrow like to-day, yet one day will come for all, and then woe, woe, woe, and nothing but darkness ; and though God came not to Adam until the evening, yet He came ; although the fire came not upon Sodom until evening, yet it came : and so comes the judge, although he be not yet come, though he have leaden feet, he hath iron hands, the arrow slayeth and is not yet fallen ; so is his wrath : the pit is digged, the fire kindled, and all things are made ready and prepared against the day, only the final sentence is to come, which will not long tarry.

You may not think to be like the thief that stealeth, and is not seen ; nothing can be hid from Him, and the judge followeth thee at thy heels : and therefore whatsoever thou art, look about thee, and do nothing but that thou wouldest do openly, for all things are opened unto Him : Sarah may not think to laugh, and not be seen : Gehazi may not think to lie, and not be known : they that will not come to the banquet, must stand at the door.

What? do you think that God doth not remember our sins, which we do not regard : for while we sin, the score runs on, and the judge setteth down all in the table of remembrance, and his scroll reacheth up to heaven.

Item, for lending to usury ; item, for racking of rents ; item, for deceiving thy brethren ; item, for falsehood in wares ; item, for starching thy ruffs ; item, for curling thy hair ; item, for painting thy face ; item, for selling of benefices ; item, for starving of souls ; item, for playing at cards ; item, for sleeping in the church ; item, for profaning the Sabbath-day : with a number more hath God to call to account, for every one must answer for himself. The fornicator, for taking of filthy pleasure : O son, remember thou hast taken thy pleasure, take thy punishment. The careless prelate, for murdering so many thousand souls. The landlord, for getting money from his poor tenants by racking of his rents. See the rest, all they shall come like a very sheep, when the trumpet shall sound, and the heaven and earth shall come to judgment against them, when the heavens shall vanish like a scroll, and the earth shall consume like fire, and all the creatures standing against them : the rocks shall cleave asunder, and the mountains shake, and the foundation of the earth shall tremble. And they shall say to the mountains, Cover us, fall upon us, and hide us from the presence of his anger and wrath, whom we have not cared for to offend.

But they shall not be covered and hid : but then they shall go the black-way, to the snakes and serpents, to be tormented of devils for ever. O pain unspeakable : and yet the more I express it, the more horrible it is : when you think of torment passing all torments, and yet a torment passing all that : yet this torment is greater than they, and passing them all.

Imagine you see a sinner going to hell, and his sumner gape at him, his acquaintance look at him, the angels shout at him, and the saints laugh at him, and the devils rail at him, and many look him in the face, and they that said, they would live and die with him, forsake him, and leave him to pay all the score. Then Judas would restore his bribes : Esau would cast up his pottage : Achan would cast down his gold : and Gehazi would refuse his gifts : Nebuchadnezzar would be humbler : Balaam would be faithful, and the prodigal would be tame.

Methinks I see Achan running about, Where shall I hide my gold that I have stolen, that it might not be seen, nor stand to appear for a witness against me ?

And Judas running to the high priests, saying, Hold, take again your money, I will none of it, I have betrayed the innocent blood.

And Esau crying for the blessing when it is too late, having sold his birthright for a mess of pottage.

Woe, woe, woe that ever we were born. O where is that Dives that would believe this, before he felt the fire in hell, or that would believe the poorest Lazarus in the world to be better than himself, before the dreadful day comes when they cannot help it, if they would never so fain, when repentance is too late. Herod shall then wish that he were John Baptist ; Pharaoh would wish that he were Moses ; and Saul would wish that he had been David ; Nebuchadnezzar, that he had been Daniel ; Haman to have been Mardocheus ; Esau would wish to be Jacob, and Balaam would wish he might die the death of the righteous. Then he would say, I will give more than Ezechias ; cry more than Esau ; fast more than Moses ; pray more than Daniel ; weep more than Mary Magdalen ; suffer more stripes than Paul ; abide more imprisonments than Michai ; abide more cruelty than any mortal man would do, that it might be, "Ite," "Go" ye cursed, might be, Come ye blessed. Yea, I would give all the goods in the world, that I might escape this dreadful day of wrath and judgment, and that I might not stand among the "Go." O that I might live a beggar all my life, and a leper : O that I might endure all plagues and sores from the top of the head to the sole of the foot, sustain all sickness and griefs, that I might escape this judgment.

The guilty conscience cannot abide this day. The silly sheep when she is taken will not bleat, but you may carry her and do what you will with her, and she will be subject. But the swine, if she be once taken, she will roar and cry, and thinks she is never taken, but to be slain. So of all things, the guilty conscience cannot abide to hear of this day, for they know that when they hear of it, they hear of their own condemnation. I think if there were a general collection made through the whole world, that there might be no judgment-day, then God would be so rich, that the world would go a begging, and be as a waste wilderness. Then the covetous judge would bring forth his bribes; then the crafty lawyer would fetch out his bags; the usurer would give his gain; and the idle servant would dig up his talent again, and make a double thereof. But all the money in the world will not serve for our sins; but the judge must answer for his bribes, he that hath money, must answer how he came by it, and just condemnation must come upon every of them: then shall the sinner be ever dying, and never dead; like the salamander, that is ever in the fire and never consumed.

But if you come there, you may say as the Queen of Sheba said of King Solomon, I believed the report that I heard of thee in mine own country, but the one half of thy wisdom was not told me. If you come there, to see what is done, you may say, Now I believe the report that was told me in my own country concerning this place, but the one half as now I feel, I have not heard of. Now choose you whether you will rejoice, or remember; whether you will stand amongst you blessed, or amongst you cursed; whether you will enter while the gate is open, or knock in vain when the gate is shut; whether you will seek the Lord whilst He may be found, or be found of Him when you would not be sought, being run into the bushes with Adam to hide yourselves; whether you will take your heaven now here, or your hell then there; or through tribulation, to enter into the kingdom of God, and thus to take your hell now here, or your heaven then there in the life to come, with the blessed saints and angels; so that hereafter, you may lead a new life, putting on Jesus Christ and His righteousness.

EXEGESIS OF DIFFICULT TEXTS.

Use of πλεονεξία in St. Paul's Epistles.

THERE has been a good deal of controversy of late as to the use made by St. Paul of the word πλεονεξία, and the adequacy or inadequacy of the usual English translation "covetousness." But the dispute has generally lain between the alternatives of "covetousness" and "sensuality," neither of which, in the proper senses of the words, appears to us suitable or even possible. In the first place, as regards the translation "covetousness," on turning to the tenth commandment in the LXX., we do not find it to be οὐ πλεονεκτῆσεις, but οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις, and thus it is quoted by St. Paul in Rom. vii. 7, and xiii. 9. Indeed πλεονεξία must necessarily mean a good deal more than "covetousness." The tenth commandment was intended to repress the tendency to let the mind dwell on the desirable possessions of another, lest the cherished thought should break forth into the overt act. This is properly expressed by οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις, whereas οὐ πλεονεκτῆσεις would imply, Thou shalt not have or claim more than thy due; Thou shalt not take [unfair] advantage of another; Thou shalt not overreach another. Thus πλεονεξία would naturally mean "*grasping, greediness,*" or "*rapacity,*" "*over-reachingness,*" not "covetousness" in the sense of the tenth commandment.

In the second place, it is an error to consider the seventh commandment as primarily directed against the sin of uncleanness or sensuality; a sin, which St. Paul in 1 Cor. vi. 18, declares to be a sin against a man's own body. Like the other commandments of the second table, it prohibits a sin against the neighbour, namely, adultery with his wife. Even our Lord's extension of the seventh commandment in the sermon on the mount does not appear to have any reference, except secondarily, by implication, to the sin of "sensuality" as such. His words are: "Ye have heard that it was said: Thou shalt not commit adultery. But I say unto you, that every one that looks at a woman" (γυναικα, evidently a married woman, for unmarried women do not appear to have enjoyed much liberty in Palestine any more than in Greece), "with a view to desire her (ἐπιθυμεῖν), hath already committed adultery with her in his heart;" and the primary intent of the words, surely, is to shew that the sin of adultery can be committed by a mental as well as by a bodily act. Thus if the word πλεονεξία be applicable to adultery at all, it must be applicable to it exclusively of any idea of "sensuality." It may also be observed that the word used by our

Lord is ἐπιθυμεῖν, not πλεονεκτεῖν, which is employed by St. Paul in 1 Thess. iv. 6 to indicate, not the desire for, but the overt act of adultery. With our further and greater knowledge it is of course legitimate, and indeed necessary, to deduce from our Lord's words a secondary injunction against sensual thoughts, although his immediate hearers would doubtless have understood them as explained above.

Thirdly, if πλεονεξία be not used as an euphemism for adultery by St. Paul, we find indeed the seventh commandment put into the mouth of another in Rom. ii. 22, and once quoted in Rom. xiii. 9; the word μοιχεία occurring in the *textus receptus* though not in the best MSS. of Gal. v. 19, so that we may consider it as not occurring there at all; the word μοιχαλὶς used as an illustration in Rom. vii. 3; and lastly, the word μοιχοὶ occurring in 1 Cor. vi. 9; but, on the whole, the only condemnatory allusion to the sin of adultery, by its proper name, is in the last cited passage; for in the passages in Romans the commandment is cited by way of illustration rather than of caution or prohibition. It is thus a very singular phenomenon, that, unless πλεονεξία be used as an euphemism for adultery, that sin is only alluded to once by St. Paul in terms of condemnation, although he catalogues sins of uncleanness several times with great particularity.

Fourthly, the connection between "covetousness" and "idolatry," said to be indicated in Ephes. iv. 5, and Col. iii. 5, πλεονέκτης ὅς ἐστι εἰδωλολάτρης, and τὴν πλεονεξίαν ἥτις ἐστὶν εἰδωλολατρεία, has exercised many pens and drawn forth a great deal of ingenuity with very little practical result. Indeed attempted proofs of the proposition that "covetousness" is idolatry have never proceeded beyond ingenious trifling.

Let us go through the several passages of the New Covenant Scriptures in which πλεονεξία and its relatives πλεονεκτεῖν and πλεονέκτης occur, examine them separately, and draw our conclusions at the end of the examination.

(1). The verb πλεονεκτεῖν occurs five times in the New Testament. In 2 Cor. ii. 11, we find ἵνα μὴ πλεονεκτηθῶμεν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σατανᾶ, "that we may not be *overreached* by Satan," where our version gives rather the sense of the words than a literal translation: "lest Satan should get an advantage over us." In 2 Cor. vii. 2, we have οὐδένα ἐπλεονεκτήσαμεν, "we have *overreached*," or as our version has it, "*defrauded* no man." In 2 Cor. xii. 17 and 18, we have nearly the same sense, μήτινα ὧν ἀπέσταλκα πρὸς ὑμᾶς, δι' αὐτοῦ ἐπλεονέκτησα ὑμᾶς; παρέκάλεσα Τίτον καὶ συναπέστειλα τὸν ἀδελφόν· μήτι ἐπλεονέκτησεν ὑμᾶς Τίτος; "As to any of those whom I have sent to you, did

I overreach (or take an unfair advantage of) you through him? I exhorted Titus, and sent with him the brother; did Titus in any wise overreach you?" Lastly, in 1 Thess. iv. 6, we have a very singular passage, in which the sense of *πλεονεκτεῖν* is not affected by the interpretation put upon *κτᾶσθαι τὸ σκευὸς αὐτοῦ* in ver. 4. It runs, *τὸ μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν ἐν τῷ πράγματι τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ*, where each is bidden "not to overgo and overreach his brother in the matter;" the matter being, not as our version unfortunately mistranslates, *any* matter, but *the* matter of adultery with a neighbour's wife. The words *ὑπερβαίνειν* and *πλεονεκτεῖν* are clearly used of the overt act of adultery, not of the cherished desire, and in every instance above quoted an overt act, and not a desire, is implied. Hence the uses of the verb *πλεονεκτεῖν* in the New Testament give no countenance to the translation of the substantive *πλεονεξία* by "covetousness." In the last instance, *ὑπερβαίνειν καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν ἐν τῷ πράγματι*, is clearly a kind of euphemism for the sin of adultery, whence a certain probability is derived that *πλεονεξία*, the substantive, may possibly be in some cases an euphemism for *μοιχεία*. But no idea of "sensuality" can be forced into the verb.

(2.) The word *πλεονέκτης* occurs four times in the New Testament. In 1 Cor. v. 9—11, we have, "I wrote to you in my epistle not to associate with fornicators; not absolutely the fornicators of this world, or the overreachers (*πλεονέκταις*) and extortioners or idolaters; since in that case ye ought to go out of the world. But the fact is (*νῦν δε*), I wrote to you not to associate with any person called a brother, who is a fornicator or overreacher (*πλεονέκτης*), or idolater, or railer, or drunkard, or extortioner; with such a one not even to eat." Now, if *πλεονέκτης* were used as an euphemism for "adulterer," it would naturally, though not necessarily, follow *πόρνος* in that sense, and in its own proper sense lead to *ἄρπαξ*. For the adulterer would be a species of *overreacher* according to the use of *πλεονεκτεῖν* in 1 Thess. iv. 6, and would be included among the various kinds of *πλεονέκται*. It certainly makes good sense to translate *οἱ πλεονέκται*, as "the covetous," but we have seen that "covetous" is too weak a word, and that the verb *πλεονεκτεῖν* always implies an overt, and not merely a mental act. So that the translation that we have given appears infinitely preferable to that of the Authorized Version, whether in this passage we apply the word to the sin of adultery or not. In 1 Cor. vi. 10, *πλεονέκται* are clearly "overreachers" in the ordinary sense of the term, as the word *μοιχοὶ* is used in the preceding verse and the same sentence. Ephes. v. 5 will be commented on hereafter.

(3.) We come now to the word *πλεονεξία* itself. This we first find in Matthew vii. 22, where the plural *πλεονεξίαι* is translated by the singular "covetousness" in the Authorized Version. This is of course wrong; especially as a considerable catalogue of sins is given in the plural; neither is the singular introduced till the second word after *πλεονεξίαι*. "Covetousnesses" too would come in but weakly between *κλοπαί*, thefts, and *πονηρίαι*, "rogueseries;" whereas "overreachings," i.e., takings of an unfair advantage, come in exactly in the proper place. The translation should run: "adulteries, fornications, homicides, thefts, overreachings, rogueseries," etc. In Luke xii. 15, we have one of the three passages in which the word "overreaching" is not a suitable translation for *πλεονεξία*. And even there, "covetousness" is too weak a word. "Take heed and beware of rapacity, for it is not by a man's having more than enough that his life is from his property." But the fact is that we have altered the signification of the word "covetousness" to suit that of *πλεονεξία*, and use it quite as often in the senses "rapacity," "greediness," "avarice," as in its own—of a hankering after what is our neighbour's. In Romans i. 29, we have a passage which tells but little either way: "Filled with all injustice [fornication] (omitted by the Sinai MS. and Griesbach), roguery, overreaching, viciousness." The two latter words are transposed in the Sinai MS. It is certainly singular, that, assuming the omission of *πορνεία* to be correct, as it most probably is, sins of uncleanness are not once mentioned in this catalogue. But perhaps St. Paul considered that he had spoken strongly enough about them in the preceding verses 24—27. It is plain that "overreaching" and "covetousness," as far as the sense goes, might have equal claims to stand here; and therefore their respective claims must be determined upon other grounds. In 2 Cor. ix. 5, we find: "I considered it therefore necessary to exhort the brethren to go on before to you, and previously prepare this previously promised bounty (*εὐλογία*) of yours to be ready, as a [matter of free] bounty (on your part), and not as [matter of] rapacity (on ours)." This appears to us to be the only admissible explanation of this passage, considering the care St. Paul took to avoid all suspicion of malversation of his converts' money (compare viii. 19—21). Any such explanation as, that "the covetous man gives less than enough, and thus robs the poor," or that "they were not to give out of self-interest, as looking for a return," seem to us mere trifling. No doubt St. Paul afterwards takes advantage of the word *εὐλογία*, "bounty," and plays upon it in a very beautiful manner; but such a play upon a single word ought scarcely to be taken as the key to the mean-

ing, in preference to the general tenor of the context, in which he defends himself against various charges. In Ephesians iv. 19, "covetousness" is so clearly an improper translation for *πλεονεξία*, that the Authorized Version gives "greediness" instead; and few will be found to quarrel with the change. "Working all uncleanness with greediness," would imply that each man strove to obtain a greater share of uncleanness than his neighbour, which is quite in accordance with the origin and ordinary usage of the word *πλεονεξία*. In Ephesians v. 3, we have one of the crucial passages: "But let not fornication and all uncleanness, or *πλεονεξία*, be even mentioned by name among you, as becomes saints, and obscenity and silly-talking, or [loose-] jesting, which are not befitting, but rather thanksgiving. For ye are aware [or "be aware"] that ye understand this, that no fornicator, or unclean person, or *πλεονέκτης*, who (the Sinai MS. has *which*, *ὃ*, not *ὅς*) is an idolater, has inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and God." Now, how can "covetousness," or even "overreaching" in its ordinary sense, have any place here in the midst of matters which have entire reference to decency? How again can the "covetous" man, or even the "overreacher" in the ordinary sense of the word, be said to be an idolater? If it be said that the covetous person makes an idol of that which he covets, it may be replied that such is not the sense of "covetous," when it is used as a translation of *πλεονέκτης*; and if it be said that the "covetous man" makes an idol of money, it may again be replied that he does not do so any more than the man who makes an idol of ambition or anything else, so that there is little or no point in the connection between "covetousness" and "idolatry." But if *πλεονεξία* and *πλεονέκτης* be euphemisms for "adultery" and "adulterer," it may fairly be said that, as in the prophets the heinousness of idolatry is shewn by comparing it to adultery, so in this and other places the heinousness of adultery, not in the sense of "sensuality," but in that of a sin against the neighbour, may very well be illustrated conversely by comparing it to idolatry. And this is borne out by the undoubted use of *πλεονεκτεῖν ἐν τῷ πράγματι* in 1 Thess. iv. 6. The passage in the Epistle to the Colossians (iii. 5) admits of very similar remarks; besides which we may notice, that after a series of sins enumerated without the article, *πλεονεξία* suddenly appears with the article prefixed to it, and a relative following. "Reduce, therefore, to a state of death, your members which are upon the earth,—fornication, uncleanness, inordinate affection, evil appetite, and *the πλεονεξία*, which is idolatry." Now *the πλεονεξία*, *the* overreaching, which is idolatry, surely cannot be overreaching or covetousness in the

ordinary sense, but must indicate some particular kind of overreaching which amounts to idolatry. And this must surely be adultery, as above explained. In 1 Thess. ii. 5, we have a plain and simple passage. "For neither did we ever come with language of flattery, as ye know, nor with a pretext for *overreaching*;" where "overreaching" is surely a better translation than "covetousness," unless "covetousness" be taken in the sense of "overreaching." In 2 Pet. ii. 3, we find, "And in *rapacity* (or *overreaching* rather than *covetousness*, except as above indicated) with made-up words will they make merchandize of you." Lastly, in 2 Pet. ii. 14, we have, "a heart practised in *overreaching*," or *with overreachings*, if *πλεονεξίας* be read, where the expression, "eyes full of an adulteress," or "of adultery," as the Sinai MS. has it, rather prepares us for an allusion to an euphemistic use of *πλεονεξία*, *overreaching*, which would include adultery as one of its species. But no strong argument either way can be deduced from the Second Epistle of Peter.

On the whole, we think that a very strong case is made out for the occasional euphemistic use of *πλεονεξία* in the sense of adultery, whereas "covetousness" in the strict sense of the word, and with reference to the tenth commandment, and any idea of "sensuality," are equally to be rejected.

1 COR. x. 14—22.

We think that much greater force and vividness would be given to the translation of this passage by a few simple alterations, especially the use of the word "partner" for *κοινωνός*.

"Wherefore, my beloved, flee from idolatry. I am speaking as to wise men; judge yourselves what I say. The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not participation in the blood of Christ? The loaf which we break, is it not participation in the body of Christ? Because we, the many, are one loaf, one body; for we all partake from the one loaf. Consider Israel after the flesh; are not those who eat the sacrifices the altar's partners? What then do I say? That a thing sacrificed to an idol is any [real] thing? [No] but that what the nations sacrifice, they sacrifice to demons and not to God; and I do not wish you to become the demons' partners. Ye cannot drink the Lord's cup, and the demons' cup; ye cannot partake of the Lord's table and demons' table. Or are we to exasperate the Lord to jealousy? Are we stronger than he?"

1 COR. xi. 27.

It has long appeared to us, that the proper explanation of the word *ἀναξίως* is to be found by taking it in connection with

ἐνοχος ἔσται τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Κυρίου. "Consequently whosoever eats the loaf or drinks the cup of the Lord unworthily will be guilty of the body and the blood of the Lord." We may safely put aside such follies as that of which Wordsworth is guilty, in considering the latter part of the passage to mean "will be punished by the body and blood of the Lord," and assume that it signifies "will be held guilty of, or rather liable to, the charge of breaking the body and shedding the blood of the Lord." Thus in all probability the "unworthiness" will consist in possessing the tone and temper of those who were actually more or less concerned in breaking His body and shedding His blood. This transports us back to the scenes of His trial and crucifixion, and leads us to enquire among what class of persons there present we should have ranged ourselves. Should we have been with the Sadducees and Pharisees, who procured His crucifixion, with the Herodians who jeered Him before Herod, with the common people who one day cried, Hosanna, and another, Crucify; or with the Romans, who were comparatively indifferent on the subject,—Pilate, as acting from political motives of expediency, and the soldiers as performing a mere matter of ordinary duty—or with the disciples and relatives of our Lord?

1 COR. xii. 14—16.

Commentators vary considerably in their treatment of the words οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος. The favourite, although not universal, plan appears to be to place a note of interrogation after those words, and to consider the two negatives as strengthening, not cancelling each other. As this is done even by so good a commentator as Dean Alford, it is necessary to protest against it as a violation of the principles of the language, and originating in a misapprehension of a real and well known, though often ill-explained, Greek idiom. Winer, we are happy to say, is guiltless in the matter of this passage itself, although he does not properly explain the Greek idiom into which we are about to enter, so that his words may be construed in favour of the common rendering.

Winer's words are: "If there are two negatives included in a principal sentence, they either—(a) form an affirmation as in Acts iv. 20, οὐ δυνάμεθα ἡμεῖς, ἀ εἵδομεν καὶ ἠκούσαμεν, μὴ λαλεῖν, 'we cannot—not tell,' i. e., 'we must make known' (compare Aristoph., *Ran.* 42, οὗτοι μὰ τὴν Δήμητρα δύναμαι μὴ γελᾶν), and 1 Cor. xii. 15, οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος, 'for all that it is though of the body,' i. e., belongs to it. The negative particles belong in the first passage to different verbs, δύνασθαι

being first denied, and then λαλεῖν; in the second οὐκ ἔστιν forms one idea, which is denied by the first οὐ, the fact of not belonging to the body being denied. Or (b) they reduce themselves all (and this is more common) to a single negation, and serve (originally) merely to give it more decisiveness, and impress the negative character on the sentence in all its parts." He then goes on to quote a number of passages, in not one of which is either the simple οὐ (as in the one under consideration) or the simple μὴ repeated.

If, leaving Winer for the present, we turn to Jelf, we find the real Greek idiom correctly given in the following words. "When in a negative sentence there occur 'indefinite pronouns'—(he should have added, or adverbs)—such as, *any one, any how, any where, at any time*, etc., they are all negative: these negatives neither neutralize nor strengthen each other, but—(and this to our mind spoils his definition, and is indeed utterly unintelligible)—each one is independent of the rest. The negative must be of the same character, either οὐ or μὴ throughout." The rule is stated by Dr. Curtius in his popular Greek Grammar as follows: "A negative is not neutralized by a subsequent compound negative of the same kind, but only continued." Now it appears to us, that the rule would be far better stated by saying, that *in Greek negatives are attended by their own compounds in preference to other indefinite words, whether pronouns or adverbs*. The negative, however, generally precedes and comparatively rarely follows its compounds. There are, however, some undoubted instances of the latter, Plato, *Rep.*, iv., p. 426, B. οὐδ' ἂν ἡ πόλις ἄρα, ὅπερ ἄρτι ἐλέγομεν, ὅλη τοιοῦτον ποιῇ, οὐκ ἐπαινέσει; where the force of "even" in οὐδὲ belongs to the protasis, and the negative force merges in the οὐ of the apodosis. Instances in which οὐδὲ meaning "neither," and having simply a copulative force, is followed by οὐ, are not unfrequent. A similar solution accounts for the repetition of the negative in 1 Cor. vi. 10, where βασιλεῖαν Θεοῦ [οὐ] κληρονομήσουσι follows a string of negative alternatives οὔτε—οὔτε—οὐ—οὐ, where οὐ is simply used towards the end of the series, to avoid the too frequent repetition of οὔτε, and must be considered as equivalent to and not interfering with the construction of οὔτε. But the best MSS. omit the οὐ with κληρονομήσουσι, and we have accordingly enclosed it in brackets. In Rev. xxi. 4, we have οὔτε πένθος οὔτε κραυγὴ οὔτε πόνος οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι, to which the observations made on the use of οὐ after οὐδὲ are evidently applicable at once.

We come now to the grand passages of those commentators, who persist in considering that two negatives of the same kind

strengthen instead of cancelling each other in Greek. In Soph., *Antig.*, 4—6, we have,

“Οὐδὲν γὰρ οὐτ’ ἀλγεινὸν οὐτ’ [ἄγης] ἄτερ
Οὐτ’ αἰσχρὸν οὐτ’ ἄτιμὸν ἐσθ’ ὅποιον οὐ
Τῶν σῶν τε κἀμῶν οὐκ ὅπωπ’ ἐγὼ κακῶν.”

Here it is manifest that but one negative is intended where two appear, in the relative clause ὅποιον οὐ τῶν σῶν τε κἀμῶν οὐκ ὅπωπ’ ἐγὼ κακῶν. With this compare Æsch., *Ag.*, 1635.

“Ὅς οὐκ, ἐπειδὴ τῷδ’ ἐβούλευσας μόνον,
Δράσαι τόδ’ ἔργον οὐκ ἔτλης αὐτοκτόνως.”

In both these passages, which are supposed to be spoken under the influence of powerful emotions, the repetition of οὐ occurs immediately after a relative from which the verb, which especially requires the negative, is separated by a considerable interval. In Herodotus (vii. 101) we have another undoubted instance of the repetition of οὐ, but in this case it occurs after a considerable parenthesis, so considerable, indeed, as to prevent any possibility of mistake. It runs thus: οὐ γὰρ, ὥς ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐδ’ εἰ πάντες Ἕλληνας καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ πρὸς ἐσπέρας οἰκέοντες ἄνθρωποι συλλαχθείησαν, οὐκ ἀξιώμαχοι εἰσι ἐμὲ ἐπιόντα ὑπομεῖναι, μὴ ὄντες ἄρθμοι. Here the οὐ, with which the sentence begins, is repeated with ἀξιώμαχοι; but the observations above made fully account for the repetition, and the phenomenon reduces itself practically to the case of an οὐ preceded by οὐδέ, which needs no further illustration. If manifest instances could be shewn in prose, some argument might be drawn in favour of the principle that two negatives strengthen each other; but when the instances are confined to two poetical passages of the same kind, spoken under circumstances of great emotion, and one parenthetical passage, it is far more natural to consider that the poets in question took somewhat of a liberty with strict grammar for the sake of energy, as the historian did in order to compensate for the obscurity caused by his parenthesis, and that the repetition of οὐ partakes of the nature of an anacoluthon, than to base upon them a principle, and proceed to apply it to a passage of a prose writer, in which a sense at least equally good is given, without having recourse to any such principle.

But, it will be said, there is yet another passage of Sophocles (*Trach.*, 1014), in which οὐ is repeated after οὐ interrogative, as in the passage of 1 Cor. under consideration. In the first place we will ask our opponents to construe that passage of Sophocles, in which every commentator that we have seen has failed egregiously. Hercules in his agony cries out amongst other things:—

“Καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τῷδε νοσοῦντι
Οὐ πῦρ, οὐκ ἔγχος τις ὀνήσιμον οὐκ ἀποτρέψει;”

Brunck wishes to read ἐπιτρέψει, but Hermann is willing to retain ἀποτρέψει, and construes, “Will no one turn a weapon away (from other slaughter) on me?” In this he has not found many followers, and, indeed, any more unnatural use of ἀποτρέψει, with reference to other slaughter, which is in nowise alluded to in the play, or important to the action, can scarcely be imagined. Wunder considers the passage corrupt, and thinks that some word signifying “sending” or “throwing,” lurks in οὐκ ἀποτρέψει. For our own part we cannot but consider the passage to be perfectly sound, and the theory of repeated negatives strengthening each other to be the only impediment in the way of understanding it. When Hercules calls for a spear, ἔγχος, it would surely be a proper stage direction for the bystanders to put their weapons behind them, or otherwise withdraw them from his reach. This would be observed by Hercules, and instead of continuing his sentence with a request that some one will give or lend him a spear, he finishes by asking that some one will “not turn away” his spear, implying the wish that he will give it him. “And now against me in my agony will not some one not turn away, (but bring) fire or a beneficial spear.”

Erfurdt quotes Thucyd., i., 22, where Arnold, Goeller, and Poppo unanimously, on good MS. authority, omit the second negative. Wunder follows him in this quotation without referring to the modern editors. This passage may safely be neglected. Such passages as Herod., iv., 118, ἦκει ὁ Πέρσης οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐπ’ ἡμέας ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐπ’ ὑμέας, and Herod., vi., 106, οὐκ ἐξελεύσεσθαι ἔφασαν μὴ οὐ πλήρεος ἑόντος τοῦ κύκλου, are evidently in *alio genere*, and have no bearing whatever on our present subject, but indicate idiomatic peculiarities rather than any increased force in the negative from repetition. There is a similar abundance of negation after comparatives in French, “Je ne le connais plus que vous ne le connaissez.”

Altogether we think we have shewn, that only three passages out of those cited on behalf of the theory of repeated negatives strengthening each other will hold water at all, and they are of a different class from the passage under consideration (in which the first οὐ is interrogative), and to be explained either from the strong feelings under which they are supposed to be spoken, or from the insertion of a long parenthesis.

We feel very confident that the idea of repeated negatives strengthening each other in Greek is a simple illusion, and that no passage whatever *ejusdem generis*, that can be construed, has been or will be cited in favour of the application of such a prin-

ciple το οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος. Upon the ordinary principles of Greek the passage runs most simply and easily, and we conclude our discussion by subjoining a translation of the whole, verses 14—21.

"For the body too is not one member, but many. If the foot say, 'Because I am not a hand, I am not of the body,' it is not therefore not of the body. And if the ear say, 'Because I am not an eye, I am not of the body,' it is not therefore not of the body. If the whole body were eye, where would be the hearing? If the whole were hearing, where would be the smelling? Whereas, as the case is, God placed the members, each of them in the body as He willed. But if they had all been one member, where would the body have been? Whereas, as the case is, many members, but one body. The eye cannot say to the hand, 'I have no need of thee;' or, again, the head to the feet, 'I have no need of you.'"

A. H. W.

Desecrations at Jerusalem.—The proceedings of M. de Saulcy in the "Tombs of the Kings," Jerusalem, have excited considerable attention, and still greater indignation among the Jews of the Holy Land. The desecrations with which the Frenchman is charged have altogether being denied, and Mr. Williams, of King's College, Cambridge, has written to *The Times* to vindicate M. de Saulcy from this charge. We regret to say Mr. Williams is in error. Authentic news has reached London placing the fact beyond all doubt. In a letter to the Board of Deputies from the heads of the Jewish community of Jerusalem these desecrations are minutely described. We, too, have received a letter to the same effect, bearing the signature of a very respectable Rabbi of Jerusalem—Rabbi Sneersohn—known also in Europe from his extensive travels, in which an account is given of these proceedings. We subjoin a short extract from his letter, which we translate from the Hebrew. Having described the excavations of M. De Saulcy in other places in the holy city, the Rabbi continues, "But before long he entered the Cavern of the Kings, routing out everything from the very foundation. At this our hearts shrank within us, and we called out, 'Woe, woe, that such things should occur in our days. The hand of the Lord has fallen not on our living, but our dead, the righteous kings and princes who have peaceably slept in the ground these two thousand years.' Their bodies were thrown forth from their graves like abominated offal. Alas, alas, the despoiler has entered our borders, and carried off the bones of our fathers. There is no doubt but the bones dug up in this cavern and thrown about are those of our sainted forefathers; for we know by tradition transmitted to us from Rabbi Yizchak Luria, that in this cave were sheltered the remains of Kelba Sabua, mentioned in the treatise of *Gittin* (p. 52), and who was one of the wealthy patricians of Jerusalem, also many of the judges of Israel, and eminent persons who lived in the time of the temple. This cavern is mentioned in the treatise of *Erubin* (p. 61) by the name of the 'Cavern of Zedekiah.' It is about a quarter of an hour's walk from Jerusalem." We may add that, as we are credibly informed, the Porte has put a stop to these proceedings, and that the tombs of Joseph and Joshua, which M. De Saulcy had singled out for his operations, are at present safe from the hands of the despoiler.—*Jewish Chronicle*.

ON THE NATURE OF MAN.

"WERE it fit to trouble thee with the history of this Essay, I should tell thee that five or six friends, meeting at my chamber, and discoursing on a subject very remote from this, found themselves quickly at a stand by the difficulties that rose on every side. After we had awhile puzzled ourselves, without coming any nearer a resolution of those doubts which perplexed us, it came into my thoughts that we took a wrong course; and that, before we set ourselves upon inquiries of that nature, it was necessary to examine our own abilities, and see what objects our understandings were or were not fitted to deal with. This I proposed to the company, who all readily assented; and therefore it was agreed that this should be our first inquiry." This is the account that Locke gives of the origin of his *Essay concerning Human Understanding*. All careful thinkers must have been frequently perplexed by difficulties like those to which he here refers. As all things that we see are but different forms or combinations of very few elements, so even the greatest and most complicated problems in philosophy and religion may be divided into a number of simpler problems, and depend for their solution upon definitions and axioms which are very few and very simple. Yet we can scarcely advance a step either in religious or philosophical controversy, without perceiving that these foundations of all reasonings are often forgotten and sometimes denied. Even divines and philosophers will often argue with much acuteness about human *duty* and human *destiny*, while they are by no means agreed as to what *human nature* itself really is. There can scarcely be the same code of laws for a free spirit, and a creature all whose actions and even thoughts are linked together by the chain of an iron necessity. There can scarcely be the same religion for a creature which is no more nearly related to Almighty God than a watch is to a watchmaker; and a spirit whose relation to God is that of a son to a Father. It would surely be useless to speak of "the things not seen and eternal" to one who had no other source of knowledge or certainty than the bodily senses. The cunning of a fox, or the sagacity of a dog, can by no moral chemistry be changed into the wisdom of self-denying love. In truth the duty of a man, his knowledge of God, the possibility of what is generally meant by "revelation," the existence even of virtue and vice—these and much else must depend upon what human nature itself is.

In any inquiry about human nature, the books, creeds, philosophical systems and religions of mankind will be among the data from which a satisfactory answer may be obtained. We

may hope to ascertain what man is, by carefully examining what he can do, or even what he can appropriate and use. And it will be especially necessary to remember this, when we examine the religions of the world for the purpose of ascertaining from them what human nature is. Most of them would be considered as the mere products of the ordinary faculties of man; but even the very noblest of all religions, even Christianity itself, presents itself to man as a light for which his spiritual eye has been already fitted, a nourishment which his spirit is capable of assimilating. For as the most liberal supply of fresh air would bring no ease to the fish, panting and struggling on the grassy brink of a river out of which it had just been taken; so a religion would be not of the smallest use, if it did not entirely correspond to the necessities and capacities of human nature. However noble a religion may be, it can never make us more than human beings; it does not increase the number of our bodily senses, it does not impart to us a new kind of intellect, it simply secures the complete development and perfect harmony of all our natural faculties. Moreover, the absence of any particular form of religion, whatever that religion may be, is by no means incompatible with humanity; a fact, indeed, perfectly obvious, though disguised and even virtually denied by some of the dogmas that have fastened themselves on the Christian religion. A Mohammedan, a Brahmin, nay, even a cannibal, is still a man. A cannibal would be greatly better for the religion of a Mohammedan, and a Mohammedan for the religion of Jesus Christ; but in the noblest even of Christians we find no more than the development of those germs which exist even in the savage.

It may be worth while also to notice that what human nature is, is not in the least affected by any theory of the origin of species. The hypothesis, for example, of Mr. Darwin may or may not be compatible with the first chapters of Genesis, but it neither increases nor diminishes the nobleness of that human nature which belongs to existing men and women. The silly caricatures of Mr. Darwin's theory which have amused so many ignorant public meetings, and disgraced so many platform orators, bear no kind of resemblance to his theory itself. But if his wise and modest hypothesis were, in fact, the silly dogmatism which even the most ignorant bigot finds it quite easy to refute, it would make not the smallest difference to human nature. It is quite easy to distinguish even the varieties of existing animals, and much more easy to distinguish (at least the most prominent members of) what have hitherto been considered the different species of animals. No one mistakes a

greyhound for a terrier, or a lion for an oyster; and if man had been slowly developed from a sponge or a weed, by a process of which even the very traces have been obliterated in the course of innumerable ages, he would still be man, and not either a weed or a sponge. In a word, what we are is not altered by the remotest of our antecedents, any more than by the nearest; nor are the strength of body and robust intelligence of a full-grown man in the least dishonoured by the utter helplessness of infancy. Whatever may be the physical difficulties of Mr. Darwin's theory, it has certainly not a single moral difficulty which is not to be found also in that region which lies between the germ and the maturity of each separate individual; and nothing can be more foolish or short-sighted than those angry discussions which, at any rate, seem to imply that the chief differences between a man and a beast are to be found not in his spirit, but in his body.

Again, what human nature really is, does by no means depend upon all mankind's having descended from an original pair of ancestors. It is more than enough that men and women are physically so constituted that they might have descended from one pair of ancestors. Whether they did so or not, must be determined by considerations which are exceedingly complicated. It is important to remember this, because the hypothesis or fact of a primæval Adam and Eve is derived chiefly from the Bible; and the Bible can only be considered as *one* of the sources from which our knowledge of human nature must be derived. The Bible cannot exist without human nature; whereas human nature can, and in millions of cases does exist without the Bible. To determine human nature, therefore, from the Bible, would be an example of that very common fallacy which is called reasoning in a circle; because it is first of all necessary to determine what the Bible is by comparing it with human nature.

The perfection of physical science is, at least since the time of Lord Bacon, the triumph which thought and industry in this country have laboured to achieve. He taught that the power of man always coincides with his knowledge; that if we would conquer nature, we can do it only by obeying her; that we can obey her only when we know what she commands; that we can only produce the effect we may desire, by knowing the cause of which it is the effect.* But when men began to perceive that facts were of far more importance than theories; that mere guesses and hypotheses are of no value until they have been

* Bacon's works (Spedding, Ellis, and Heath's edition), i. 157. *Scientia et potentia humana in idem coincidunt, quia ignoratio causæ destituit effectum. Natura enim non nisi parendo vincitur; et quod in contemplatione instar causæ est, id in operatione instar regulæ est.*

verified ("anticipationes Naturæ . . . res temeraria est et præmatúra");^b they came to perceive also that they had often been treating the most complicated of all inquiries as if they were the most simple, and anticipating nature precisely in that region in which the interpretation of nature was most necessary and least complete. The most complicated of all sciences are theology and politics. They are indeed so complicated, that they cannot yet be considered sciences at all. For both of them must include the science, if there be one, of ethics; and the science, if there be one, of history. Even these sciences, elementary as compared with theology and politics, are in the most chaotic condition, only as yet struggling into form and order. The conduct of a society must depend very largely upon those laws which regulate the conduct of individuals. The laws which regulate the conduct of an individual are compounded of the laws which regulate the mind, and the laws which regulate the body. The laws which regulate the body belong to physiology and chemistry and mechanics, and must account for the effects produced by these distinct sets of laws all acting together. It was natural, therefore, and in truth necessary to the progress of science, that the study of the simpler sciences should be allowed to precede the study of the more complex. Any earnest interpreter of nature, questioning her concerning politics or theology, would find himself questioned in return until he was brought back to the very elements of knowledge and certainty. The revival of science, after long neglect and most careless inductions, will always be characterized by an almost exclusive attention to physics; and it is obviously possible to pause at any point whatever in the progress of investigation, however short it may be of the highest and most complicated sciences. The point at which a man will stop will be determined by the effect, or set of effects, which he most earnestly wishes to produce. Unfortunately the majority of men are satisfied with material success, and those comforts and luxuries which are as much as possible independent both of religion and politics. From their point of view the physical sciences are useful; the moral sciences are vague and transcendental—the elegant luxuries of that small portion of the leisurely classes who have an unaccountable preference for the dreamy and unmarketable refinements of thought and intellect. Mechanics, chemistry, and physiology, therefore, have made far greater progress than either psychology or ethics; moreover, they are not content simply to precede these sciences. They are not willing to recognize that they are only masters of districts and provinces in

^b *Novum Organum; Aphoris. de Interpret. Naturæ, etc.,* xxvi.

the great empire of truth, and must do homage to the superior lords of wider territories in which theirs are included, and to the mighty Ruler of the whole. The physiology of the brain, and even the chemistry of digestion, imagine that they can give us all the information we need about thought and conscience.

Yet though these sciences are subordinate, they are still necessary, if we would understand human nature. For in truth, we are subject to the laws of chemistry and mechanics, and can conquer them only by submission. A single glance at some recent works on psychology and ethics, on logic and history, may convince us, not always in the most agreeable manner, that this fact is every day more recognized. "Conceiving," says Mr. Alexander Bain in his book on *The Senses and Intellect*, "that the time has now come when many of the striking discoveries of physiologists relative to the nervous system should find a recognized place in the science of mind, I have devoted a separate chapter to the physiology of the brain and nerves."^c

This paragraph, however, from Mr. Bain's preface, very inadequately expresses the amount of physiology that is to be found in his book. It is surely a sign of the times, that a book on psychology, or rather on the science of mind, should contain large extracts from a standard work on physiological anatomy. So again, in the exceedingly popular *History of Civilization in England*, ended, almost before it was begun, by the untimely death of Mr. Buckle, we find a similar recognition of the strictly animal side of human nature; and are almost persuaded to believe that the difference between virtue and vice is neither more nor less than the difference between rice and beef.^d It is not likely that any human being will believe, on calm reflection, that this is the whole difference between things which he has been accustomed to believe separated by an infinite chasm; but it is quite easy for any one to direct his attention exclusively to one set of phenomena until he entirely loses sight of every other.

Still it is a fact, that there is in every human being "a material structure connected with mental manifestations;"^e and this unfortunately "is the only essential condition of insanity." For every departure from the normal and healthy condition of the material structure may be followed by a corresponding modification of the mental manifestations. Among these mental manifestations are to be found the senses and the intellect, the emotions and the will, morality and religion. None of these

^c Bain on *The Senses and Intellect*. Preface.

^d *History of Civilization in England*, vol. i., chap. ii.

^e Ray's *Jurisprudence of Insanity*, p. 163; quoted in Bucknill and Tuke's *Psychological Medicine*, p. 191.

assuredly are the brain or the nervous system; but any disease of that material structure may produce all manner of delusions; impotence of the will, perversity of the affections, the extravagances of fanaticism, and complete incapacity for all virtue and religion. And unhappily these disorders and incapacities may be transmitted from one generation to another; and it is scarcely a metaphor to say that an innocent child may be born into the world a fanatic, a thief, a murderer, and doomed to end his days by suicide. If, however, we would understand what human nature is, we should learn it from a patient and careful investigation of the healthy and completely developed man; and we should allow disease, or the rudeness of the uncultured savage, to serve only as correctives of what might otherwise be extravagant theories. These correctives are, in fact, most necessary. We found our judgments of our fellow creatures upon the supposition that they are sound in body and sound in mind; and upon that supposition we can account for the enormous and innumerable vices of mankind only by the additional hypothesis of extreme depravity. Unquestionably there is such a thing as extreme depravity; but what we call vice we may be thankful to believe is often no more than a most lamentable disease. If the time has come "when many of the striking discoveries of physiologists relative to the nervous system should find a recognized place in the science of mind,"^f it may be well also to add a supplementary chapter, embodying the result of the experience and researches of those who have devoted their attention to the study and cure of the diseases of the brain.

Physical perfection, complete development, and sound health, are included in what we mean when we speak of a man; and every departure from this standard must be regarded as a departure from the true type of human nature. Physical soundness is necessary to moral and intellectual health; and, besides that, is attended by very real pleasures of its own. The child experiences as keen enjoyment in the energy of animal life as the lamb or the kitten; and there are numerous sources of delight which please us "first of all as sensations, and afterwards as ideas." Of this nature are the pleasures of sight and sound, the delights we derive from painting and music; from which even in their greatest refinement the sensational element can scarcely be considered absent. Nay, even society, and the presence of friends and kindred, imparts a delight which is not mental only, but physical also; even as we see the animals grouping them-

^f Bain, *Senses and Intellect*. Preface.

^g A singular illustration of this may be found in a case described by Dr. Carpenter in his *Principles of Human Physiology* (fourth edition), pp. 871—874.

selves together, and finding a relief and a sense of security in each other's nearness. Even the comforts of healthy digestion are by no means to be despised; and indeed to these (under the name of "feelings of alimentary action,") and such as these, Mr. Bain has devoted a large portion of his book on *The Senses and Intellect*. We may surely take it for granted, at any rate, that the intentional destruction or injury of any of the bodily faculties is an act of inhumanity; is forbidden, that is to say, by human nature itself.

Why does it happen, then, that there is scarcely a religion, scarcely even a man known to history, whose greatness and power have not been derived from something akin to contempt of merely bodily enjoyments? Why is it that the principle of asceticism has prevailed so widely, and in spite of much extravagance, been fruitful of good? Jeremy Bentham, in his usual style, sneering and scornful, and insufferably conceited, has made short work of this principle; and furnished us with an explanation of its prevalence, which, at least, has the merit of brevity.

"This principle," he says, "is precisely the rival, the antagonist of that which we have just been expounding,—the principle of utility. Those who follow it, have a horror of pleasures; everything which pleases the senses, seems to them odious or criminal; they found morality on privations, and virtue on the renouncement of self. In a word (the very opposite of the partizans of utility), they approve everything which tends to lessen our enjoyments, they blame everything which tends to increase them. . . . That I may not be accused of exaggerating the absurdity of the Ascetics, I will try to find the least unreasonable origin that any one could attribute to their system. They have perceived betimes that the attraction of pleasures might in certain circumstances prove seductive, that is to say, might lead to mischievous actions,—actions of which the good is not equivalent to the evil. To forbid these pleasures, in consideration of these mischievous effects, is the object of sound morality and of good laws. But the ascetics have made a mistake; they have attacked pleasure itself; they have condemned it in general; they have made it the object of a universal prohibition, the sign of a reprobate nature; and it is only out of consideration for human frailty, that they have had the indulgence to grant occasional exemptions."^a

This is one of those amusing caricatures which abound in the writings of Bentham; who, while demanding for his own theories and dogmatism the profoundest reverence, and an instantaneous submission, has manifested less than almost any other man either discernment or generosity in the treatment of those who differ from him. The mistake about the worth of pleasures and

^a *Traité de Législation*. (Dumont.) Tome i., chap. ii.

pains, which he thinks so silly, and which he nevertheless, in the preceding quotation, stoops from his lofty superiority to save, if possible, from the reproach of sheer idiotcy, is one of those errors of the wise and good which often seem preferable to the wisdom of meaner souls. Indeed, Bentham might well have been persuaded to look more deeply into this principle of asceticism, by the very fact that the examples of its prevalence were so abundant that it was superfluous to cite them.¹ In fact, the principle of asceticism is neither more nor less than an acknowledgment that human nature is not the same thing as brute nature; that though there be a brute side of it,—feelings of “alimentary action” and the like, brain, and nerves, and muscle, and a material structure,—there is something more and higher than all this in human nature; something so far higher and nobler, that it should never be sacrificed even at the risk of annihilation. It would be better to sacrifice wholly the material structure than the mental manifestations; and if both must perish, then it would be better that both should perish together, than that the material structure should survive alone.

It is this same protest against brutalizing human nature which, in the writings of divines, has often actually taken the form of *brutalizing human nature*; declaring it to be accursed and devilish, because of the very strength of the conviction that it is holy and divine. It is this very strange and contradictory form of protest which meets us so often and startles us so much in the writings of St. Paul; and which lies very near the foundation of the long controversies about nature and grace. But St. Paul writes so humanly, and so manifestly out of an actual personal experience, that we can scarcely go to a better teacher for instruction as to that awful double life and everlasting conflict about which each of us must know something. With a divine calmness Jesus Christ could speak both of the flesh and the spirit. The birth of the one and the birth of the other were equally solemn and divine mysteries. Yet he most clearly teaches us—and his teaching commends itself, not only to the reverent Christian, but to any thinker in search of facts and data from which to determine what human nature is—he teaches us that these two lives belong to wholly different regions, and are governed by wholly different laws: the one belongs to the kingdom of necessity; the other to the kingdom of liberty, or in Scripture phrase, the kingdom of heaven and the kingdom of God. The one is the life of the animal, the other is the life of the man; who is indeed set in authority, not only over the fowls

¹ “Il n'est pas besoin de citer des exemples d'ascétisme religieux.”

of the air and the fish of the sea, but over the animal in his own self. The merely fleshly birth, therefore, introduces us to light and warmth, hunger and food, and all those varied experiences that we can see, or, at any rate, infer, in the beasts themselves. But the other birth, the birth from above, the birth of the spirit, introduces us into the light of truth, the warmth and serenity of love and goodness, the knowledge of the Infinite God, the sense of complete dependence upon Him, the liberty of submitting to His will in all things. The Scriptures present Christ to us as living a life on earth in which the lower part of His human nature was never permitted to overmaster the higher. It is represented to us, indeed, as a life of acute suffering and constant temptation, a life not without its share of disappointment and dread; but He was always patient, always the proper Man, always subduing the flesh to the spirit, always abiding in the kingdom of God. He could not, therefore, curse the flesh, for every day He needed it, and knew how to govern it. It was not to Him a body of death, it was the living minister of His spirit.

But St. Paul, on the other hand, knew well what it was to see the right and choose the wrong, to give dominion to that part of his being which was meant to be always in subjection; and therefore he looked upon this unruly tyrant with an unutterable aversion. "I cannot do what I would do," he says. "My very self sees and loves unspeakably the beautiful and the good. But I am fastened to a loathsome beast which has no eye to see these divine glories, that cares for nothing but eating and drinking, and the pleasures of wrath and lust; and in some strange and awful way, I am often so fascinated and overpowered that I lie down with this wild beast, and eat, and drink, and revel, and forget what I really am, and those serene and ennobling enjoyments which the wild beast in me can never understand. And then I leap up from him, and will once more be worthy of my true self; and enraged, he seizes upon me, and drags me down and tears me, till I can only lie moaning, and despairing, and longing, and cursing this evil brute from which I can never free myself. What is this awful monster? What is this strange power urged on by irresistible impulses of its own, governed by some terrible law that it cannot but obey, a law that is my misery and death, the very power of my sin? Surely it is my flesh; it is the law in my members, it is the natural man in me, it is my very nature. Surely I must fight this nature out; I must rise utterly above it, and press it utterly beneath me as an accursed mischief that I must either overcome or perish." Surely this seems sufficiently to depreciate

human nature; no Augustinian or Calvinist has ever spoken harder words than these against the flesh and the natural man. Yet St. Paul himself could speak of those, "who have not the law, doing *by nature* the things that are contained in the law," and being most beneficially a law unto themselves. In fact, all this stormy energy of his, which seems at first so much to degrade and even to brutalize us, is but the stormy energy of love. He is sure that the man is not the beast, and that the wild demon who is so unruly and treacherous when suffered to gain the mastery, would be a most quiet and useful servant if only the magician spirit would subdue the fiend to obedience by his potent spells.

The human being is endowed with the faculty of reflecting upon its experiences; it can recall to mind the long succession of its sensations, can observe their resemblances or differences, their antecedence or consequence, can even speculate on the hidden causes, the self and the not self, to which these various sensations must be referred. The early steps of this process have been lost; we do not remember when it first occurred to us that there was anything in nature besides ourselves; we cannot recollect the day when for the first time we noticed that the pillow of our cradle was not the same thing as the head that rested on it; we do not know how we came to separate so completely as we now do, the feelings which belonged to ourselves, and the causes external to ourselves, by which those feelings were produced. Yet though all these earlier steps are lost in the mists and dimness of infancy, we can still remember the time when we had far other thoughts than we have now, of self and not self, man and nature. There was a time when we had not yet realized that we were subject to laws which would by no means get themselves repealed to suit our passing convenience; we imagined that we might do anything that we chose. And so indeed we could, but only on condition that certain effects should follow, whether we chose or not. We were very proud at discovering that we could draw a straight line from one given point to another given point; but we were soon made to feel that it would not pass through any number of other given points unless they chanced to lie in the path of its direction.

Of course there are many who reflect very little upon themselves, or the world, or the laws by which they are governed; but those who think much are brought very speedily to that great enigma which has puzzled every generation of men, the great inquiry which has been put in so many different forms. Is there such a thing as a free human will? Is there any essential difference in this respect between a man and an

animal, a man and a plant, a man and a stone? The animal, the plant, the stone, are unquestionably subject to laws which are constantly operating, and which cannot be evaded. The sure proof that they are subject to laws is, that their behaviour under certain circumstances may be predicted with unfailing certainty. The stone can by no possibility argue with the force of gravitation; and solemnly consider and carefully choose whether it should fall to the ground, or hang suspended in mid-air. By elective affinities absolutely irresistible, every element of the material universe chooses out its true mate, no matter by how many rivals solicited. If these unliving things could be endowed with *consciousness*, would the difference between them and man have vanished? Would the *knowledge* that they must combine according to certain invariable affinities, and in certain definite and invariable proportions, change the necessity of the elements into liberty? And is the firm persuasion that every human being has, that he can, if he chooses, be a law unto himself, even to the extent of working out his own destruction, a mere delusion? And are the praise and blame, the honour and dishonour, the love and hatred, the reverence and scorn, which have been lavished on the good and evil, are these mere words full of sound and fury signifying nothing? Of what other creature in this world is it possible to affirm that he can look up into the face of Almighty God and say, "I choose to perish?"

It must be obvious, even to the most superficial thinker, that some of the very gravest and most important questions will have their answer determined by our belief concerning the human will. Politics, for instance, and the phenomena of social life, can be reduced to a true "science" only on the hypothesis of "necessity," and can never be reduced to a true science on the hypothesis of "liberty." This, indeed, is affirmed with the utmost clearness in that quotation from Condorcet, which Mr. John Stuart Mill has prefixed to the sixth book of his *System of Logic*—"On the logic of the moral sciences." "The only foundation," says Condorcet, "of belief in the natural sciences is the idea that the general laws, known or unknown, which govern the phenomena of the universe are necessary and constant; and for what reason should this principle be less trustworthy for the development of the intellectual and moral faculties of man than for the other operations of nature?"¹ Surely for no reason whatever, unless the human will differs from *things* and *animals*, and therefore the laws which regulate the phenomena of human nature are not strictly necessary and constant.

¹ Condorcet, *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des Progrès de l'Esprit Humain*. Quoted by J. S. Mill.

Nor does it seem wholly absurd *à priori*, nor utterly incompatible with experience, that while the material structure with which our mental manifestations are connected, is unquestionably subject to laws constant and necessary, the will should be free. We cannot choose to put our hands into the fire and not be burnt, but we can choose to be burnt. We cannot choose to be habitual drunkards, and at the same time choose to be healthy and intelligent; but we can choose to be stupid and diseased. Beyond the province of the will we have no example whatever of any such choice as this. No plant chooses to bury its leaves and flowers under ground, or stretch out its roots into the sunshine; and if a dog can balance the conflicting advantages of a horsewhip and a pantry, this very faculty is regarded as a rudimentary will; and as an indication of the fact that the progress from the lower orders of creation to the higher is always by a very gentle gradation, and not by sudden leaps.

The controversy, indeed, about "liberty" and "necessity" is for the most part little better than a mere fight about words. When the advocates of necessity tell us that everybody has some reason or other for what he does, no advocate of liberty would be likely to deny that. And if the necessitarian makes light of the testimony of consciousness, that we can act as we choose, even though we may be choosing foolishly and suicidally; it may at least be replied that the opposite assumption, namely, that we could not have chosen otherwise than we did choose, is at the least incapable of proof. When once our decision has been made, all further experiment has become impossible.

Compare for example the following quotations from Mr. John Stuart Mill and from Cousin; the one an advocate of "necessity," the other of "liberty:"—

"I am inclined to think," says Mr. Mill, "that this error" (he is speaking of an error of the necessitarians) "is almost wholly an effect of the associations with a word; and that it would be prevented by forbearing to employ, for the expression of the simple fact of causation, so extremely inappropriate a term as Necessity. That word in its other acceptations involves much more than mere uniformity of sequence; it implies irresistibility. . . . A fatalist believes, or half believes (for nobody is a consistent fatalist), not only that whatever is about to happen, will be the infallible result of the causes which produce it (which is the true necessitarian doctrine), but, moreover, that there is no use in struggling against it; that it will happen however we may strive to prevent it."^k

But surely no one doubts that whatever happens will be the result of the causes which produce it; the only question is

^k Mill's *Logic*, ii., pp. 408, 409. Third Edition.

whether all these causes are predetermined and irresistible, or whether the will differs wholly in its very nature from all other causes. The necessitarians of Mr. Mill's school scarcely ask more than any advocate of liberty would himself demand. Mr. Buckle, for instance (a necessitarian), requires for his science of history only these concessions:—"That when we perform an action, we perform it in consequence of some motive or motives; that those motives are the results of some antecedents; and that, therefore, if we were acquainted with the whole of the antecedents, and with all the laws of their movements, we could with unerring certainty predict the whole of their immediate results." But it is exactly "the laws of their movements" which, when we introduce the will, we find we are not "acquainted with." And wherein does this differ from the doctrine of M. Cousin? "Choice constitutes liberty; liberty always presupposes deliberation; the words themselves imply this. The question, are we free? seems to me to be beyond controversy. It is answered by the testimony of consciousness, which testifies that in certain cases we might have done the opposite of what we actually did."^m This scarcely differs from Mr. Mill's doctrine, which he says is true necessitarian doctrine,—that "whatever is about to happen will be the infallible result of the causes which produce it;" because choice is one of those causes. Nor does M. Cousin's doctrine differ very materially from that of Mr. Buckle; because ability to choose, even foolishly and wrongly, is one of the antecedents of all our actions.

It seems, then, that having reflected upon our experiences, and observed their order and causes, we are able to decide for ourselves whether certain causes, and therefore their effects also, shall, or shall not, be produced. It is upon this faculty that education and all moral progress depend. It is plain too, that the possibility of a choice depends upon the fact that when we examine our experiences, our own actions, and the actions of others, we find that there are many things and many classes of actions which multiply our enjoyments and lessen our discomforts. Everybody wants these useful things for himself; and there is by no means enough of such things to satisfy the cupidity of all mankind. It would almost seem that the fierce struggle for life, which we see in the vegetable and animal world, must be repeated also in the world of men, and that the natural state of man must be a state of war. This theory has, perhaps,

^l Buckle's *Civilization in England*, i., p. 17.

^m *Cours de l'Histoire de la Philosophie Moderne*. 1^{re} Série, i., 190, 191.

by no one been expressed so clearly and repulsively as by Hobbes. He would have us believe that,—

“The state of man in natural liberty is a state of war—a war of every man against every man; wherein the notions of right and wrong, justice and injustice, have no place. Irresistible might gives of itself right, which is nothing but the physical liberty of using our power as we will for our own preservation, and what we deem conducive to it. But as through the equality of natural powers, no man possesses this irresistible superiority, this state of universal war is contrary to his own good which he necessarily must desire. Hence his reason dictates that he should seek peace as far as he can, and strengthen himself by all the helps of war against those with whom he cannot have peace. This then is the first fundamental law of nature. For a law of nature is nothing else than a rule or precept found out by reason for the avoiding what may be destructive to our life.”* . . . “Quoniam conditio hominum est conditio belli omnium contra omnes, et propterea unusquisque sua ipsius ratione gubernatur; et quia nihil est, quod in vita contra hostem defendenda utile ei aliquando esse non possit, sequitur, in conditione hominum naturali omnium in omnia jus esse, ipsis hominum corporibus non exceptis. Quamdiu ergo jus illud retinebitur, nulla cuiquam, etsi fortissimus sit, securitas esse poterit. Rationis ergo præceptum sive regula generalis est, *Pacem quidem, dum ejus obtinendæ spes est, quærendam esse; quando autem haberi non potest, auxilia undecunque quærere, et illis uti licitum esse.* Regulæ hujus pars prima continet legem naturæ primam, pacem quære et persequere; secunda est juris naturalis summa; *Omnibus viis et modis seipsum defendendi jus unicuique esse.*”^o

Thus does Hobbes build up the edifice of society upon the foundation of complete selfishness and insatiable greediness. “Passiones quibus homines ad pacem perducì possunt, sunt metus, præsertim vero metus mortis violentæ, et cupiditas rerum ad bene vivendum necessariarum, et spes per industriam illa obtinendi.”^p So sure is he that it can have no nobler foundation that he explains away, with the utmost ingenuity, all those primary feelings which are generally included under the name of benevolence. Even the tears of reconciliation, according to him, are not in the least degree generous. “Men are apt to weep that prosecute revenge, when the revenge is suddenly stopped or frustrated by the repentance of their adversary; and such are the tears of reconciliation.” There is according to Hobbes nothing beautiful even in love itself; it is no more than the affection that a fox has for a goose, or a wolf for a lamb.

“There is a great difference between the desire of a man when indefinite, and the same desire limited to one person, and this is that love

* Hallam's *Literature of Europe*, ii., 531, 532. Third Edition.

^o *Leviathan*, chap. xiv.

^p *Leviathan*, chap. xiii.

which is the great theme of poets. But notwithstanding their praises, it must be defined by the word need; for it is a conception a man hath of his need of that one person desired." . . . "There is yet another passion sometimes called love, but more properly good will or charity. There can be no greater argument to a man of his own power than to find himself able not only to accomplish his own desires, but also to assist other men in theirs; and this is that conception wherein consists charity. . In which first is contained that natural affection of parents towards their children, which the Greeks call *στοργή*, as also that affection wherewith men seek to assist those that adhere unto them. But the affection wherewith men many times bestow their benefits on strangers is not to be called charity, but either contract, whereby they seek to purchase friendship, or fear, which makes them to purchase peace." . . . "This is contrary," Mr. Hallam justly observes, "to notorious truth, there being neither fear nor contract in generosity towards strangers. It is, however, not so extravagant as a subsequent position (of Hobbes), that in beholding the danger of a ship in a tempest, though there is pity, which is grief, yet 'the delight in our own security is so far predominant, that men usually are content in such a case to be spectators of the misery of their friends.'"²

This teaching is as nearly as possible the exact opposite of the teaching of that apostle who fought so stern a battle with nature and self. St. Paul, indeed, sometimes speaks of nature, as if it were *only* the animal part of a man; but he cannot so regard it without infinite horror, and a very agony of prayer to God to be delivered. But Hobbes deliberately prefers the beast, and thinks the man an inconvenience. Society is a necessary evil, because the human beast is too feeble to dispense with a contract of peace with the other beasts that live about him. After all, it is comforting to remember that human nature is not really altered by the theories of philosophers. Perhaps there is more in the tears of reconciliation than Hobbes was able to perceive; and more than once in the world's history it has happened, that even husbands and fathers watching a ship on the rocks, have in some mysterious way found it so utterly impossible to be even moderately cheerful, that they have risked their own lives to save the lives of the shipwrecked strangers. Just as we found in human nature a "material structure" subject to necessary laws, and a free spirit; so also we find in the region of human freedom the love of self and the love of our neighbour—equally real, equally ineradicable, equally incapable of being resolved into simpler elements. We often act from the love of self, we equally often act from the love of others, and sometimes either feeling would have produced the very same result; but we are very seldom at a loss to determine by which feeling some given result actually was produced. If we found a lost

² Hallam, ii., 484.

child in the street, we should most likely take it home; it might happen that we should be rewarded, but it would not be the expectation of reward that would compel us to take home a lost child. It is no more possible to resolve benevolence into selfishness, than it is to resolve selfishness into benevolence; and what would be thought of the philosopher who would gravely argue that men eat their dinners, not because they are hungry, but because they love their wives and children?

The benevolent affections, then, are a part of human nature. The unkind man is as really a monster as a man would be "whose head did grow beneath his shoulders." Nay, he would be more monstrous than such a one; for it is the higher part of every creature's nature in which we are to look for its truest self. Perhaps, in the order of time, we might arrive at the knowledge of our social relationships only after we had become acquainted with our individual faculties; just as sensation precedes reflection. But, nevertheless, reflection is greater and more characteristic of a human being than mere sensation; and society and benevolence are greater and more characteristic of a human being than selfishness and isolation. But it has been found that society is impossible without religion. In old and firmly settled communities, where religion has long been doing its work, and the whole mass of society has acquired the faculty of reverence and subordination, statesmen sometimes affect to despise religion, or even to regard it as an obsolete impediment to progress that ought to be swept away.

But even the coldest and most unsympathizing enquirers are bound to admit that, in the beginnings of civilization, the priest and the prophet have been the mightiest helpers of mankind. They have by no means elevated mankind only by superstitious terrors. They have been strong, they have been the recognized leaders of the race, because man no sooner rises out of brutality and selfishness, and savage loneliness into society, than he begins to believe that the order of human life, the perfection of spiritual beauty, the absolute benevolence, must be abiding for ever in some glorious Being, who has made men to be like Himself, and has fashioned the whole universe to be the copy of His own perfections. The priest and the prophet have confirmed this belief; they have encouraged men to hope that the eternal models and archetypes would somehow be revealed to us; that so we might order our lives more wisely, copying them more faithfully. They have said to men,—not indeed without much confusion of thought and contradiction of language, but still they have said to men,—“You must be good, because God is good; you must love one another, because God loves you all;

you must be unselfish and kind, even when you are strong enough to despise the wishes of your neighbours, because that God whose power has no limits, uses his power for securing the well-being of his creatures."

Apart from religion, goodness can scarcely rise above the level of conventionalism, and duty will be only another name for convenience. It is plain, indeed, that society and religion must very greatly modify our decisions, as to what is useful and what is mischievous; and the utilitarianism of Mr. J. S. Mill is scarcely less noble than the more generous ethics to which utilitarianism, in its coarser forms, is unquestionably opposed. As his "necessity" is scarcely less free than M. Cousin's "liberty," so his utilitarianism is scarcely less disinterested than the "justice" of Plato's republic. In truth, his pursuit of happiness as the end of life, includes the pursuit of knowledge and refinement, the most anxious consideration of the happiness of other people; and even sometimes, in such a world as ours, and the present very imperfect condition of human development, the utter sacrifice of one's own happiness. This may seem very like a concession, wholly inconsistent with that system of morality which makes virtue consist in the pursuit of happiness; but it is not for that reason a less valuable concession, or less completely true. Indeed, Mr. Mill's account of the different kinds of pleasures, and his acknowledgment of the fact, that it is sometimes the duty of an individual to annihilate all his own pleasures for the sake of God or the world, deserves, both for its form and substance, the most careful attention of every school of moralists.

"It is an unquestionable fact," he says, "that those who are equally acquainted with, and equally capable of appreciating and enjoying both, do give a most marked preference to the manner of existence which employs their higher faculties. Few human creatures would consent to be changed into any of the lower animals, for a promise of the fullest allowance of a beast's pleasures; no intelligent human being would consent to be a fool; no instructed person would be an ignoramus; no person of feeling and conscience would be selfish and base, even though they should be persuaded that the fool, the dunce, or the rascal, is better satisfied with his lot than they are with theirs. They would not resign what they possess more than he, for the most complete satisfaction of all the desires which they have in common with him. If they ever fancy they would, it is only in cases of unhappiness so extreme, that to escape from it they would exchange their lot for almost any other, however undesirable in their own eyes. A being of higher faculties requires more to make him happy, is capable probably of more acute suffering, and certainly accessible to it at more points, than one of an inferior type; but in spite of these liabilities, he can never really wish to sink into what

he feels to be a lower grade of existence. We may give what explanation we please of this unwillingness; we may attribute it to pride, a name which is given indiscriminately to some of the most and to some of the least estimable feelings of which mankind are capable; we may refer it to the love of liberty and personal independence, an appeal to which was with the Stoics one of the most effective means for the inculcation of it; to the love of power, or to the love of excitement, both of which do really enter into and contribute to it; but its most appropriate appellation is a sense of dignity which all human beings possess, in one form or other, and in some, though by no means in exact proportion to their higher faculties; and which is so essential a part of the happiness of those in whom it is strong, that nothing which conflicts with it could be otherwise than momentarily an object of desire to them. Whoever supposes that this preference takes place at a sacrifice of happiness—that the superior being in anything like equal circumstances is not happier than the inferior—confounds the two very different ideas, of happiness and content. It is indisputable that the being whose capacities of enjoyment are low, has the greatest chance of having them fully satisfied; and a highly endowed being will always feel that any happiness which he can look for as the world is constituted, is imperfect. But he can learn to bear its imperfections, if they are at all bearable; and they will not make him envy the being who is indeed unconscious of the imperfections, but only because he feels not at all the good which those imperfections qualify. It is better to be a human being dissatisfied than a pig satisfied; better to be Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied. And if the fool or the pig are of a different opinion, it is because they only know their own side of the question. The other party to the comparison knows both sides.”*

In language still more beautiful, and still more unlike the vulgar selfishness which often passes by the name of utilitarianism, Mr. J. S. Mill says;—

“Let utilitarians never cease to claim the morality of self-devotion, as a possession which belongs by as good a right to them as either to the stoic or the transcendentalist. The utilitarian morality does recognize in human beings the power of sacrificing their own greatest good for the good of others. It only refuses to admit that the sacrifice is itself a good. A sacrifice which does not increase, or tend to increase, the sum total of happiness, it considers as wasted. The only self-renunciation which it applauds, is devotion to the happiness, or to some of the means of happiness, of others; either of mankind collectively, or of individuals within the limits imposed by the collective interests of mankind. I must again repeat, what the assailants of utilitarianism seldom have the justice to acknowledge, that the happiness which forms the utilitarian standard of what is right in conduct, is not the agent’s own happiness, but that of all concerned. As between his own happiness and that of others, utilitarianism requires him to be as strictly impartial as a disinterested and

* *Utilitarianism*, pp. 12—14.

benevolent spectator. In the golden rule of Jesus of Nazareth, we read the complete spirit of the ethics of utility. To do as you would be done by, and to love your neighbour as yourself, constitute the ideal perfection of utilitarian morality."

All we can reply to such a utilitarianism as this is, that it would offend no one more than Paley and Bentham. The utilitarianism of Jesus of Nazareth would be in the utmost danger of receiving the contempt and scorn of that sour moralist, who gave the world so strange a caricature of the principle of asceticism. At the same time we may fairly require some completer explanation than utilitarian ethics are in the habit of furnishing, of the fact that an individual may sometimes be bound to disregard totally his own happiness. And, at any rate, taking into account the ordinary distinctions of language, and that a constant difference of names results from a clearly perceived difference in the things for which those names stand, we may assume that the object that men have had before their minds when they use the word virtue, was not the same as the object they had before their minds, when instead of using the word virtue they chose the word happiness. For precisely the same reason, we may assume that duty is not the same thing as interest. These differences in common names, differences quite as universal as language, or at least as civilization, do certainly not amount to a demonstration of the soundness or unsoundness of any ethical theory; but they are of great value as being the signs and registers of the long-continued and often-repeated experience, and the firmly-rooted belief of the great mass of mankind. And surely it is not difficult to perceive, when we carefully analyze our own thoughts and beliefs, that these verbal differences correspond to real distinctions, which no change of names could obliterate. We perceive that a certain course of conduct would secure our own happiness, or the happiness of others; we can choose to follow that course of conduct, or we can choose not. If we choose not to follow it, we have acted foolishly; we have sacrificed our own interests and the interests of others. But why not sacrifice these interests? Why should we care to secure either our own interests or anybody else's? The answer to this question must necessarily include one of those words which mankind has hitherto employed for the purpose of expressing the belief, that when we perceive the usefulness of a certain course of conduct, we also perceive something else which is different from its usefulness, viz., that we ought to pursue it. The word *ought* points to a peculiarity quite as real,

and quite as elementary, as the peculiarity which is implied in the word useful; and neither of these two can be resolved into the other. Just as any lump of matter may be red, and heavy, and cold, and hard, while none of these qualities, heaviness, redness, coldness, hardness, can be resolved into any other; so, in like manner, any particular action may be difficult, or beautiful, or useful, or right; and these words all indicate different qualities, and not different forms of the same quality. Moreover, by whatever steps we arrive at the perception of rightness, whenever we do arrive at it we feel that rightness is the highest and most commanding of the qualities that any action can have. And this is the reason why a man may be often bound to sacrifice his happiness for the sake of others. Though it is the exact opposite of his own interest, he simply feels that it is right, that he ought to make the sacrifice, and he can give no further account of the matter. Duty and rightness are ultimate elements of morality, however intricately they may combine with other elements. You have not exhausted the account of a course of conduct, or of any particular action, when you have determined that it is useful, though that implies a very wide and subtle generalization; there yet remains that other quality of actions which is implied in the assertion, "I ought to perform them." In truth, as any plain man would express it, there are many actions which it would be not only useless and mischievous, but *also* wrong to perform.

And here we arrive at a distinction which at once indicates a point of separation, where the rival schools of moralists divide from one another. The utilitarians predicate rightness or wrongness primarily of actions, and only secondarily and figuratively of persons. Those who are not utilitarians predicate rightness and wrongness primarily of persons, and only secondarily and figuratively of actions. The theory of the one recognizes bad actions; the theory of the other, bad men. And perhaps it is exactly from this point of view that we may be able, most easily, to determine the comparative merits of these rival systems. A very great number of actions might be submitted to us for judgment; are they right actions or wrong? We very soon begin to perceive that the words right and wrong have nothing to do with these actions; that they are quite as inappropriate as the words red and blue, light and heavy. We can affirm that actions are useful or useless, beneficial or injurious, but we cannot say with strict accuracy that an action is wise; we can only say that the man who did it is wise. And it seems almost as plain that we can scarcely affirm that an action is right, but only that the man who did it was right. And one reason, perhaps, for the

confusion of common language, when it deals with these moral distinctions is, that the character of a man himself, what the man loves, and desires, and wishes to bring to pass, whether he himself is wise, and kind, and upright—all this is of so much greater importance than any one of the man's actions, that the very names we give to his actions are borrowed from the judgments that we pass upon himself. To relieve a street beggar is a definite act, having its own unalterable qualities, by whomsoever it may have been performed; the usefulness of the act would be by no means determined by the character of the doer of it. Money might be given to a beggar by a kind man, for the purpose of relieving his distress; it might be given by a weak-minded man, out of mere inability to resist importunity; it might be given by a proud man, to gain applause from others; it might be given by a superstitious man in the hope of improving the chances of his own salvation; it might be given by a dishonest man, getting rid of stolen money, the possession of which might bring suspicion on himself. But it is quite plain that these differences in the motives of a person have not produced any difference in the quality of the action performed. If we were to say that alms-giving was cruel, or weak-minded, or haughty, or superstitious, or generous, it is plain that these words would have reference, not to the act itself, but to the character of a person. But if we were to say that alms-giving was useful, or that it was mischievous, we should then be affirming directly a quality of the act; from which, indeed, we could gain little or no information of the character of the man who had performed it.

Human beings, at any rate, have the faculty of perceiving that difference either in men's actions, or in themselves, or in both, which is indicated by the words right and wrong; and this faculty is a necessary condition of education and progress. It is assumed, just as the liberty of the will is assumed, by everybody who tries to improve the character or determine the conduct of anybody else. If we were to seek the origin or carefully investigate the natural history of this faculty, we might find some of the roots of it among our bodily sensations. But just as we saw that no hypothesis as to the origin of species can in the least alter what human nature is now; so we may easily perceive that whatever may be the origin of what we may loosely call conscience, the perception of the difference between right and wrong is not one of our bodily sensations, nor even any combination of them. Justice is not a thing we can see, or taste, or feel, or hear, or smell. There is, in fact, an unseen world in which we are living as truly as we are in the world that is seen. Nor is that world less real than the one of which

we become cognizant through the bodily senses. It is not limited by the boundaries, nor subject to the conditions of time and space ; it is called, to borrow a term both from philosophy and theology, an *eternal* world ; and it is in this world, this eternal world, that eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, that the human spirit meets with God.

Everybody must surely have found out long ago, that any strict demonstration of the existence of God, is utterly impossible. Almost all the proofs that have been offered, assume in the very premises, the conclusion to be proved. But it is here that the religions of the world are of special value among the sources of our information concerning human nature ; for none of them can pretend to prove the existence of God, they all assume His existence, and they even assume that we know Him. This is at any rate true of the Christian religion ; it takes for granted that the eternal world is even more real than the world that is temporal and seen ; and that from the lofty elevation of that spiritual region, we may look down upon those ever-changing phenomena which are presented to us by the senses. It seems almost to take for granted that it is only the things of time and sense, among which are to be found those difficulties and contradictions which baffle the human spirit. It is not the divine perfections that baffle our understandings and trouble our consciences ; but only the material copies of them, ever coming and going, and which manifest the infinite and eternal God in many different portions and in many different ways. To the writers of Holy Scripture, the world seems strange and God familiar ; and it is not from knowing the world that they ascend to the knowledge of God, but from the knowledge of God that they are able to perceive an order and beauty in the world. Seas and storms seem to them only terrific, wild, lawless forces ; until they perceive that "*He walketh upon the wings of the wind, and holds the waters in the hollow of His hand ;*" and that "*fire and hail, snow and vapour, stormy winds fulfil His word.*" In the same way they regard all the terrible riddles of human history ; these are but the temporal phenomena by which the eternal God chooses slowly to make Himself known, and their revelation of Him is always only partial, and we shall know the whole of their teaching only when the great drama is ended, when every individual and every generation has contributed its share of the sublime lesson. We are bewildered when we see wicked men, tyrants and oppressors, bloody wars, violence and fraud. But the writers of Holy Scripture bid us look steadily upon God, and be sure that we know Him far better than we can possibly know the long succession of events in human

history. "The Lord reigneth," they say; "let the earth rejoice; let the multitude of isles be glad thereof; clouds and darkness are round about Him; righteousness and judgment are the habitation of His throne."

It is surely incredible that this appeal should have been made so often and so long to human consciousness, if the Being of God and His relation to ourselves, which all religions assume, had really no existence. We can move men, whether we are dealing with them in the lowest or the highest region of human nature, only by appealing to what is really in them, only by making use of the faculties which they possess. Here, as everywhere else, we can conquer only by submission; and gain from nature what we wish, only by ascertaining what nature is, and adapting ourselves to her resources. We can appeal to the dread of pain, and the desire of physical enjoyment, because man really has a sensitive material structure; and if he had no such structure he could not possibly be moved by any dread of physical pain. The maxims of common prudence imply that man has a faculty by which he can distinguish the various effects of any rival courses of conduct; that he knows what is pleasant and what is unpleasant, what is useful and what is injurious; and that he prefers the one to the other. Education assumes that a man is able to do what he chooses, and one of its chief objects is to enable a man to choose wisely. The moralist appeals to an actually existing faculty in man, by which he is able to distinguish right from wrong; and where this faculty is wanting the moralist is powerless. In like manner priests, prophets, divines, make their appeal to an actually existing faculty in the human spirit, which is the very foundation of the possibility of religion, either natural or revealed. And if it be answered that there are nevertheless millions of human beings who seem to have fallen into the wildest and most contradictory mistakes about God, we might find a reply among those analogies which present themselves to us in the lower regions of human nature. For humanity includes a certain material structure having certain proportions, and all whose organs have certain definite relations to each other, the very slightest alteration of which constitutes disease. But there are millions of human beings who are stunted or obese, blind and lame, idiotic and insane; and what is far more to the purpose, there are millions of human beings who have not yet arrived at maturity—still children, and undeveloped. As no one would try to learn what health is, from examining any number of sick people, no matter how variously they might be diseased; as we should never dream of learning the powers of the human intellect from the manners and customs

of savages; as, in short, "man" means the adult man, the civilized man, the intelligent man, the well-instructed man; so we should surely never dream of ascertaining what those faculties are which make a man capable of religion, by examining only the immaturity or the distortions of those faculties. It is not what the meanest or most savage man thinks about God which determines for us what a man's religion must be; but rather do we determine the religion of humanity from the religion of such a man as Plato or St. John; nay, rather, a Christian would say, from Him who was the Very Man, the very Archetype and Model (to borrow the phraseology of a noble philosophy), after whom we have all been fashioned, and to be participators of whom constitutes us human beings. Religion, on the speculative side, is a complete statement of those facts, however discovered, which we are capable of knowing about God and our own relations to Him; with such an arrangement of these facts as shall indicate which are paramount and which subordinate, which are causes and which effects, which are laws and which are particular cases of those laws. Religion on the theoretico-practical side is a system of rules and directions for the guidance of our lives, in accordance with those facts which we find scientifically arranged in speculative theology. Religion on the purely practical side, as a life, as a form of human action or feeling, is the actual knowledge of God and the love of Him, and the actual discharge of those duties that he has laid upon us, and obedience to those rules which we find duly stated and scientifically arranged in theoretico-practical religion. But every form of religion, the theory, the law, the life, implies and appeals to that spiritual faculty without which religion would be impossible. And if this be true, if there be this faculty, if there be a God to know, and if men are capable of knowing Him, then it must be an inhumanity, comprehensive of all other inhumanities, to live a godless, irreligious life; to withdraw from the eternal world as much as may be, and to dwell among the things seen and temporal, ever changing and perishable. If the noblest of all religions in the world be not in its very essence wild and impracticable, then it may be well affirmed that the love of God and the regulation of our lives according to His will, are for us the whole of virtue, and the whole of happiness, and the whole of wisdom. To disobey God, even for the love of country, or neighbours, or kindred, would be as foolish as to dig up a tree by the roots for the sake of a single fruit.

Such, then, in the briefest outline, is human nature. A man is a creature that has a body, an intellect, a will, a conscience, a faculty of religion. If any one of these parts of human nature

were wanting, or dwarfed, or undeveloped, the human creature would be incomplete. If any of them were injured, or in monstrous proportion to the rest, the human being would be diseased. An ungodly man, an unloving man, an unrighteous man, a stupid man, an unhealthy man, is to the extent of these deficiencies not a man at all; and the inhumanity is greatest in the highest of these regions, so that it is more inhuman to be stupid than to be unhealthy, more inhuman to be unrighteous than to be stupid, more inhuman to be ungodly than to be unrighteous. For he who will be consistently ungodly, will come to be inhuman in every other particular. Moreover, in this highest region of religion, and there only, may we find hope for humanity; for there is on earth no perfect man.

To us, then, being what we are, do all manner of theories and rules make their appeal. And if we were to be other than we are, the form and substance of all such appeals would need to be changed. Human nature must necessarily determine, at least for us, the limits of every religion and every philosophy; it may not be indeed the test of their truth, but it will be the test of their worth for us; the test of our power to receive them, whether they be true or false. And even Christianity itself will be to us scarcely better than a tradition or a meaningless form of words, until we have discovered that it also obeys the universal law, and conquers us by knowing us.

Unfortunately, the philosophy which is becoming every day more popular, the philosophy which calls itself *positive*, can give no answer, and even denies the possibility of an answer, to the solemn questions which belong to that highest region of our nature in which we meet with God. We are told that the "human mind has had its three periods, namely, the theological and superstitious, the metaphysical, which is almost equally credulous, and now the positive or perfect and scientific state. And this perfection consists in limiting science to the objects of sight and sense, to fact and to phenomena; excluding from the sphere of science such elements of uncertainty as cause, and law, and God, and the like, which are assumptions and superstitions, rendering science uncertain so far as they are allowed to enter within its realm. It would seem, indeed, as if the judgment of Elymas, the magician, had fallen upon this age; as if this generation, so subtle, skilful, and far-seeing in the sciences of nature, gifted with such wondrous instruments of discernment and appreciation, were sightless only for the higher, deeper, and diviner fields of truth. The men of this generation can trace the path of the planets, weigh the bulk of the moon, measure the girth of the world; they can make light their pencil, and electri-

city their messenger, and discover metals in the sun. But the sun itself, in its noon-day splendour, the glory of the divine presence, which, with its illumination, fills the whole earth, they cannot see. It is as if the hand of the Lord were upon them, and a mist and darkness upon their sight; and their eyes, not seeing even the sun, were judicially blinded.”

If this representation of Positivism, though scarcely more offensive than that of Mr. J. S. Mill himself, should seem an exaggeration or a distortion produced by the religious prejudices of a Catholic priest, it at any rate exhibits to us that complete unspirituality of modern philosophy which is driving so many men to make their choice between atheism and popery. Positivism will not indeed deny the existence of God and the immortality of man, but it will suffer nobody to affirm them. It dismisses them with a kind of contempt as speculations, ingenious, perhaps, but useless; scarcely more fruitful for the comfort and guidance of life, than the enquiry that exercised the wits of those schoolmen who tried to determine how many angels could stand upon the point of a needle. Meanwhile, even some of the followers of M. Comte do really persuade themselves, that the removal of all certainty, and of the possibility of ever arriving at certainty in religion will make no difference to the emotions, aspirations, and conduct of mankind. It is impossible, indeed, they say, to prove the existence of any objective God; the deity which each man worships is only his own notion of the divine projected beyond himself and personified; and no two men can be found who are worshipping the same God. But we are assured our actual sensations and desires are by no means affected by the unreality of that which we are accustomed to consider most real. The love of God will be just as pleasant and produce exactly the same results, though it be only the love of an abstraction; and the will of God will be just as good a guide for our daily conduct, though it be neither more nor less than the will of our own personified thought. Surely those who bring to us these cheering tidings have forgotten their own boast, that the light of science must in due time penetrate even into the gloomiest recesses of ignorance, and that in the end no human being will remain in the darkness or dimness of superstition or metaphysics; and then every woman and peasant, as well as the acutest logician and the best instructed man of science, will have come to know that the love of God has been a preposterous and absurd waste of emotion, and the whole superstructure of faith, and piety, and morals, has been built upon—

nothing. Everybody will then have come to know that a man has no pre-eminence above a beast, excepting that he can perceive his meanness. He will contemplate his own existence with exactly the same interest with which he watches a chemical experiment, the burning of a candle, or the decomposition of a salt. The material structure will, to him, have become everything; and beyond the period of its disintegration he will not care to look.

Why not then eat and drink, until that to-morrow in which he shall die? Why contemplate at all a philosophy which has nothing to offer a human spirit but a horrible vacuum? Why submit beyond what is absolutely necessary, rendered necessary by the superior physical force of the majority, to that political society, or to those domestic restraints, which require so frequently that the individual should sacrifice himself to the dim abstractions which we call the family, or the state, or the human race; or that thinnest and coldest of all shadows, the future? Denied the knowledge of God and the hope of immortality, with the foundations of law and order dug out and thrown aside as useless rubbish, what remains for man but a merely animal life; and in the end, that state of nature which, according to Hobbes, is a state of war?

But it is well that Positivism should make us clearly understand, as it does make us understand, that there is no room for religion in what are called the natural sciences; and that the possibility of religion, and therefore of morality, and of everything above the brute part of human nature, depends upon the fact that God reveals Himself to the spirit of man, and that the spirit of a man can receive the revelation. "There is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth him understanding." "The true Light lighteneth every man that cometh into the world." And the peculiar value of the Holy Scriptures consists in this—that they contain the record of by far the completest and most important of the revelations of God to man.

WILLIAM KIRKUS.

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS: FROM THE CODEX SINAITICUS.

(Concluded from Vol. IV., page 81.)

11. Let us seek these things, if they have been a care to the Lord.^a He hath foreshewn concerning the water and concerning the cross. Concerning the water indeed, it is written to Israel, how they will not receive baptism, which conveys remission of sins, but will build for themselves; for saith the prophet, Be astonished, O heaven, and at this let the earth shudder still more,^b because this people hath done two evil things: they have forsaken me the fountain of life, and for themselves have dug a pit of death. Is my holy Mount Sina^c a desolate rock? For ye shall be as the young of a bird, flying upwards, bereaved of a nest. And again, says the prophet: I will go before thee, and I will level the mountains, and I will crush the brazen gates, and I will break the iron bars, and I will give to thee hidden, invisible, treasures of darkness; that they may know that I the Lord *am* God, and thou shalt dwell in a profound (lofty) cave of a strong rock, whose water *is* constant. The king with glory you shall see, and your soul shall meditate upon the fear of the Lord.^d And again, in another prophet, he says: And he who doth these things shall be as the tree which is planted by the channels of waters, which shall yield its fruit in its season, and its leaf shall not fall away; and all things whatever he does shall prosper. Not so the impious; not so, but as the chaff which the wi[nd dri]veth^e from the face of the earth. Therefore the impious shall not arise in judgment, nor sinners in the council of the just; because the Lord knows the way of the just, and the way of the impious shall perish. Ye perceive how he described at once the water and the cross. For he means this: the blessed are they who, hoping in the cross, went down to the water; because, says he, his reward is "in his time:" then he says,

^a Literally, "If it hath been a care to the Lord." The sentence seems to be a singular for the plural, and properly to belong to the preceding section,—the new section commencing with the following words. A very different construction is required by the reading of the corrector, who has changed the aorist form *προφανερωσεν* into *προφανερωσαι*. The translation will then run: "Let us seek these things; if it hath been a care to the Lord to foreshew concerning the water and concerning the cross." The common reading is, "Now let us seek him (whether) it has been a care to the Lord to foreshew concerning the water and the cross." There seems to be a vague reminiscence of 1 John v. 6—8.

^b This loose quotation from Jer. ii. 12, 13, is much improved by the corrector, who gives *φριξω* for *φραξω*. We put this in our translation because the other is nonsense—"let the earth still more confine—."

^c Sion is no doubt meant. Isaiah xvi. 1, 2.

^d Isaiah xlv. 2, 3.

^e Part of two words and an article omitted by the Scribe, but supplied by a corrector. Psalm i. 3—6.

"I will recompense."^f But now what means, "The leaves shall not fall off?" This means, that every word whatever, which proceeds from you through your mouth, in faith and love, shall also be for conversion and hope to many. And again, another prophet says, "And the land of Jacob was applauded above all the earth."^g This means, the vessel of his spirit he glorifies.^h Then what means, "And there was a river flowing on the right hand, and there went up out of it beautiful trees, and whoever eats of them shall live for ever?"ⁱ That we indeed go down to the waterfall of sins and defilement, and come up bearing fruit in the heart, and having fear and hope in the spirit towards Jesus. And whoever eats of these shall live for ever.^j This means, whoever says he hears those who speak, and shall believe, shall live for ever.

12. Similarly again he gives indications concerning the cross in another prophet, saying, "And when shall these things be accomplished? says the Lord. When the tree bows down, and rises up, and when blood flows from the tree."^k Thou hast something here again concerning the cross, and him who was going to be crucified. Now, he says again to Moses, when Israel was assailed by the aliens, and that he might admonish those who were assailed, that for their sins they were delivered unto death: the Spirit says to the heart of Moses, that he should make a figure of the cross of him who was going to suffer, because, says he, except they confide in him they will be defeated for ever.^l

^f The text here varies considerably from the common text.

^g Perhaps an allusion to Zeph. iii. 19.

^h The corrector has, "he will glorify:" the old text, "these things mean the vessel of his Spirit which he will glorify."

ⁱ Compare Ezek. xlvii. 12; John vi. 51, 58; Rev. xxii. 2.

^j Acts xxii. 16; Col. i. 9, 10; 1 Pet. iii. 15, 16; John vi. 51.

^k This question and answer are from some apocryphal book, which appears to be unknown. The apostles asked a like question sometimes; Matt. xxiv. 3; Mark xiii. 4; Luke xi. 7: so Daniel xii. 8. But the reply is a palpable fraud, though said to be a quotation from a prophet. The passage has been believed to be an interpolation, because it is flatly opposed to the notion that it was the Barnabas of the New Testament. The author's system of interpretation ought to have given the *quietus* to that idea long ago; and this extract smacks of the same age—an age wherein Sibylline oracles and such like had gained acceptance and authority. It is humiliating to think that so soon we have a case parallel with the mediæval grossness of the line in the well-known *Dies Irae*—

"Teste David cum Sibylla!"

We are sorry to think that this coupling of fraud with truth, this honouring of God and Mammon, still continues. We can find illustrations of it nearer than Loretto, where the Sibyls to the number of a dozen are exalted above the prophets of God. To return to Barnabas: there is one MS. where at this point several pages of interpolations are introduced. The latter portion of the passage—"when blood flows from the tree," occurs in 4 Esdras v. 5: "de ligno sanguis stillabit;" E.V. 2 Esdras v. 5, "And blood shall drop out of the wood."

^l Here is a reference to Exod. xvii. 8, seq.; and a very gross perversion of

Moses therefore puts one upon another the arms in the midst of the mass,* and, standing higher than all, stretched out his hands, and thus Israel conquered again. Then when he lowered them again, they were slain. Wherefore? That they might know that they could not be saved except they confided in it."

And again in another prophet, he says, "All the day have I stretched out my hands to a people unbelieving, and gainsaying my righteous way."

Again, Moses makes a figure of Jesus, because it behoves him to suffer, and he shall make alive him whom they think to have destroyed in the sign of falling Israel; for the Lord made every serpent bite them, and they died when the transgression through the serpent came to pass in Eve, that he might convince them that because of their transgression they will be delivered up to the tribulation of death.^p Moreover, the same Moses, in commanding, "Not unto you is a molten or a graven thing for a god to you,"^q does it that he might shew a type of Jesus. Moses, therefore, makes a brazen serpent, and sets it up manifestly, and by a summons calls the people. When they came together therefore, they besought Moses that he would offer for them supplication for their healing.

And Moses said to them, "When," says he, "any one of you is bitten, let him come to the serpent which lies upon the tree, and let him hope, believing that he who^r is dead can make alive, and forthwith he shall be saved." And thus they did. Thou hast again also in these things the glory of Jesus, because in him and for him *are* all things.^s What again says Moses to Jesus the son of Nave? Put^t on him this name as being a prophet, only that all the people may hear that thy^u father manifests all things concerning his son Jesus. Moses says therefore to

the facts. Dressel quotes Menardus as citing Justin, *Trypho*, iii.; Tertul., *Adv. Jud.* x.; and *Adv. Marc.* iii. 18.

^m Πυγμας. This is probably for ποικυμς, in accordance with a known habit of putting υ for οι. See Cowper's Codex A, p. 10 (8vo, 1860), where we have ποικιλος for ποικιλος. But ποικυμς is also a corruption, apparently, of πηγμα-τος, which gives the required sense; for this word is used, as by Polybius, in the sense of a heap, pile, or mass. Of course πυγμα is a fist; but in this case we believe it means a mass, or compact body of men. Others take it to mean a hill or bank. We cannot say whence the details of this story are derived.

ⁿ It: that is, the cross; represented by the outstretched arms of Moses.

^o Isaiah lrv. 2; Rom. x. 21.

^p 1 Cor. x. 9, 10; Numb. xxi. 6—9; Eccle. x. 11; Gen. iii. 1—19; 2 Cor. xi. 3; 1 Cor. xv. 21, 22; John iii. 14—18.

^q Exod. xx. 4; Deut. xxvii. 15.

^r Or, "that which;" the Greek is ambiguous.

^s Rom. xi. 36; 1 Cor. viii. 6; Col. i. 16, 17.

^t The corrector gives "putting," i. e., when he put on him this name of Jesus.

^u The pronoun "thy" is noted by a corrector, and ought to come out.

Jesus the son of Nave, putting this name upon him when he sent him as a spy of the land, "Take a book into thy hands and write what the Lord says, that thou shalt cut up from the roots all the house of Amalek."^v The son of God in the last days,—observe again,—Jesus, not son of man, but son of God, and in a figure was manifested in the flesh. Therefore, to those who were to come, that Christ is son of David, David himself prophecies, fearing and understanding the error of sinners; "The Lord said to my Lord, Sit at my right hand till I make thine enemies the footstool of thy feet."^w

And again, Isaiah says thus, "The Lord said to my Lord, Of whom he hath taken hold by his right hand, the Gentiles obeyed him, and I will break through the power of kings." Behold how David says that he is Lord, and says that he is son of God.^z

13. Now let us see if this people inherits first, and the covenant be to us or to them. Hear then concerning the people what says the Scripture. Now Isaac prayed because of Rebekah his wife because she was barren; and she conceived. Then went out Rebekah to enquire of the Lord; and the Lord said to her, "Two nations are in thy belly, and two peoples in thy womb; and the one people shall be above the other people, and the greater shall serve the lesser."^y You ought to understand who is Isaac and who Rebekah, and of whom he declared that this people is greater than that. And in another prophecy Jacob speaks more manifestly to Joseph his son, saying, "Behold, the Lord has not bereft me of thy face; bring to me thy sons that I may bless them." And he brought Ephraim and Manasseh, wishing that he might bless Ephraim, because he was the elder: for Joseph brought him to the right hand of his father Jacob. Now Jacob saw in the spirit a type of the people in the meanwhile. And what says it? "And Jacob put his hands across, and placed his right hand upon the head of Manasseh, the second and younger, and he blessed him; and Joseph said to Jacob, Change thy right hand to the head of Ephraim, because he is my first born son."

^v Exod. xvii. 14—16; Deut. xxv. 17—19.

^w The preceding two or three sentences are in part very obscure, chiefly owing to the entire absence of proper punctuation, and might therefore be differently rendered. Comp. 1 Tim. iii. 16; 1 Pet. i. 20; Psalm cx. 1. The writer clearly intends to say, that in the person of Joshua (Greek, *Jesus*), He who became Son of God in the last days, Jesus the Saviour, was typically manifested in the flesh; and that David foretold Him. The clause rendered by us, "Therefore to those who were to come," is so altered by the corrector as to mean, "Therefore to those who were going to say, that Jesus," etc. Matt. xxii. 43—45.

^y Several corrections are made in the preceding paragraph, but only one need be named here,—*"The Lord said to my anointed, to Cyrus, (χωμονικυρω)."* Isaiah xlv. 1; Luke xx. 41—44.

^z Gen. xxv. 21—23.

"And Jacob said to Jacob, I know, my son, I know; but the greater will serve the lesser, and he too will be blessed."^a You see whereby he signified this people to be first and heir of the covenant. If, then, through Abraham it is still remembered, we acquire the end of our knowledge. What, then, saith he to Abraham, when alone believing it was counted for righteousness? "Behold I have constituted thee Abraham, the father of the nations, who believe, through uncircumcision, in God."^a

14. Yea: but let us see if the covenant which he swore to give to the fathers, to give to the people; if he has given it. He has given it. But they became unworthy to receive it because of their sins. For the prophet says, "And Moses was fasting in Mount Sinai to receive the covenant of the Lord for the people, forty days and forty nights; and Moses received from the Lord the two tablets which had been written with the finger of the hand of God in the Spirit; and having received *them*, Moses took them down to give to the people."^b

And the Lord said to Moses, "Moses, Moses, go down quickly, because thy people whom thou leddest out of the land of Egypt have transgressed. And Moses understood that they had made for themselves molten images; and he cast [the tablets] from his hands, and the tablets of the covenant of the Lord were broken."^c Moses indeed received them; but they were not worthy. But learn how we receive them. Moses, being a servant,^d received them; but the Lord himself gave them to us for a people of inheritance, enduring for our sakes; but he was manifested that they also might be made perfect in sins, and that we, through the Lord Jesus [Christ],^e who inherited the covenant, might receive it; he who was prepared that he himself appearing, redeeming from darkness our hearts already wasted by death and given over to the iniquity of error, might institute with us a covenant by *his* word. For it is written how the Father commanded him, having redeemed us from darkness to prepare^f for himself a holy people. Therefore the prophet says, "I the Lord thy God have called thee in righteousness, and I will take hold of thy hand and will strengthen thee; and I gave thee for a covenant to the race, for a light to the nations, to open the eyes of the blind, and to lead out of bonds those who were bound, and from the prison-house those who sat in darkness."^g We know, then, whence we have been redeemed. Again,

^a Gen. xlix. 9—20. The words, "Jacob said to Jacob," have been corrected; "Jacob said to Joseph."

^b Gen. xv. 16; xvii. 5.

^c Exod. xxxii. 7, 19.

^d Heb. iii. 5.

^e Exod. xxiv. 18; xxxi. 18.

^f This reading is doubtful.

^g Isaiah xlii. 6, 7.

^h Literally, "he prepared."

the prophet says, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor, he hath sent me to heal the contrite in heart, to preach remission to the captives, and sight to the blind, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of recompence, to comfort all who mourn."^k Again, the prophet says, "Behold, I have set thee for a light to the nations, to be for salvation unto the end of the earth. Thus says the Lord who redeemed thee, the God of Israel."^l

15. Because therefore also concerning the Sabbath, it is written in the Decalogue, in which he spake in the Mount Sina to Moses face to face, "And sanctify the Sabbath of the Lord with pure hands and a pure heart."^k And elsewhere he says, "If my sons keep my Sabbath, then will I bestow my mercy upon them."^l The Sabbath he speaks of in the beginning of the creation.

"And God made in six days the works of his hands, and finished on the seventh day and rested, and hallowed it."^m What means, "he finished in six days?" This means, that in six thousand years the Lord will finish all things; for the day with him signifies a thousand years.ⁿ Now he himself testifies to me, saying:—

"Behold the day of the Lord shall be as a thousand years." Therefore, children, in six days, in six thousand years, all things will be finished. "And he rested on the seventh day." This means: when his Son, having come, shall abolish time, and judge the ungodly, and shall change the sun, and the stars, and the moon, then indeed will he rest on the seventh day. Moreover, he says, "Thou shalt hallow it with pure hands and pure heart." If, therefore, the day which God hallowed, any one can now sanctify, being pure in heart,^o we are again deceived. But if not, then

^k The corrector prefixed to this quotation from Isaiah lxi. 1, 2, after the word prophet:—"Saith, Behold I have set thee for a light of the nations, that thou shouldest be for salvation unto the end of the earth. Thus saith the Lord, who redeemed thee, God. And again the prophet." But all was again erased as occurring below.

^l Isaiah xlix. 6, 7. ^j Corrector, "moreover." ^k Exod. xx. 8; Deut. v. 12.

^m Jer. xvii. 24, 25. For "sons" the corrector has "Israel."

ⁿ Gen. ii. 2. The Chiliasm is illustrated by many passages in the fathers. 2 Pet. iii. 3, 8; Psalm xc. 4. See too Ecclesiasticus xviii. 10.

^o The corrector inserts here,— "For David testifies to me, saying, For a thousand years in thy sight are as yesterday which is past, and a watch in the night," Psalm xc. 4.

^p Corrected, "Except he is pure in heart." So just after, for "again," he gives "in all things." The next sentence is obscure: for "not" the corrector gives "therefore" at the commencement of the sentence, and "then" at its close. He must have taken the opening words *εἰ δὲ οὐ*, to stand for *ἰδὲ οὐ*. The passage will then stand thus: See therefore, then resting aright we shall

indeed resting aright we shall sanctify it, when we ourselves can be justified : and having received the promise, iniquity no longer exists ; but all things having been made new by the Lord, shall we not be able to sanctify it, having been first sanctified ourselves ? He says to them, moreover, Your new moons and sabbaths I endure not.⁹ You see how he says, not “Your present sabbaths are acceptable,” but, “that which I made,” on which having made an end to all things, I shall make the beginning of the eighth day, which is the beginning of another world. Wherefore also we pass the eighth day in rejoicing, whereon also Jesus arose from the dead,⁹ and having been manifested he ascended into the heavens.

16. And again also concerning the temple, I will say to you, how being deceived, the miserables hoped in the building and not in their God who made them, because it was the house of God. For almost in the manner of the nations did they worship him in the temple.⁹ But how speaks the Lord when he is about to abolish it ? Learn :—“Who has measured the heaven with a span, or the earth with his palm ? Have not I ? saith the Lord. The heaven is my throne, and the earth is the footstool of my feet : What house will ye build to me, or what is the place of my rest ?”

Ye know that your⁹ hope is vain. And moreover, again he says, “Behold, they who have destroyed this temple, they shall build it.” For because they made war, it was destroyed by the enemies, and now they and the servants of their enemies rebuild it. Again, how the city, and the people, and the temple of Israel was about to be given up, was manifested ; for the Scripture says,—

“And it shall be in the last days, and the Lord will give up the sheep of the pasture, and their fold and tower unto destruction.” And it happened according to what the Lord spake. But let us seek if there is a temple of God. There is ; where he says he shall make and prepare one.

sanctify it, when we ourselves can be justified ; and having received the promise, iniquity no longer exists ; but all things having been made new by the Lord, then shall we be able to sanctify it, having been first sanctified ourselves.” In any case, *yap* before “sanctified” must go out as in the correction. ⁹ Isaiah i. 13.

⁹ Corrector : “Our Lord Jesus Christ.” The resurrection of Christ on the first day of the week is shewn by several passages of the Gospels. The sentence may be connected with what follows ; “arose from the dead, and having been manifested, ascended into the heavens.” As there is no pointing, the reader must judge for himself : editions differ.

⁹ That is : they worshipped the temple for him. Not unlike our image worshippers.

⁹ Isaiah xl. 12. ⁹ Corrector : “their hope.” ⁹ Comp. Isaiah xlv. 17.

⁹ Comp. Isaiah v. ; Jer. xv. and xxv. ; Micah iv.

For it is written, "And it shall be when the week is accomplished, the temple of God shall be built gloriously in the name of the Lord." I find, therefore, that there is a temple. How then shall it be built in the name of the Lord? Learn, "Before ye believed in God, the habitation of our heart was corruptible and weak, like a temple truly built by hand, because it was full of idolatry, and was a house of demons, through doing all that was opposed to God; but it shall be built in the name of the Lord."

[Learn: before you believed.*]

Observe that the temple of God was gloriously built. How? Learn. When we received the remission of sins, and hoped in his name,[†] we became new, created again from the beginning. Wherefore, in our habitation God truly dwells in us. How?

His word of faith;

The calling of the promise;

The wisdom of judgments;

The commandments of doctrine;

He himself prophesying in us;

He himself dwelling in us;

Opening unto us who were enslaved to death, the door of the temple,

[Which] is the mouth. Giving repentance to us, He leads us into the incorruptible temple.[‡] For he who desires to be saved, looks not to man, but to Him who dwells in him, and speaks to Him, astonished at never having either heard him speaking such words with his mouth, or himself desired to hear this,—is the spiritual temple built by the Lord.

17. As far as it was possible, and in simplicity to manifest these (things) to you, my soul hopes that it has (not) omitted anything. For if concerning present or future things, I write to you, ye would not understand because it lies in parables. These things indeed are so.[§]

18. But let us pass to another (form of) knowledge and

* Dan. ix. 24, 27; Hag. ii. 10.

† The words in brackets are repeated by mistake. The preceding passage strongly favours the idea that the author was a Gentile convert from idolatry. The editors compare some places in Clement of Alexandria, who did not scruple to quote this epistle as genuine. This very passage is quoted in the *Stromata*, lib. ii., to prove demoniacal influences upon the sinner, beyond all controversy. "I shall require to say no more, if I adduce the apostolic Barnabas as a witness (now he was one of the seventy, and the fellow-labourer of Paul), speaking in these terms, 'Before we believed,'" etc.

‡ Corrector: "hoped in the name of the Lord."

§ The preceding is cut up into portions, as printed.

¶ This short section has been considerably altered by revisers, and according to them should stand thus: "As far as it was possible, and in simplicity to manifest these things to you, my mind and soul in my desire hopes it has not omitted

doctrine. There are two ways of doctrine and of authority, the one of light, and the other of darkness; but great is the difference^b of these two ways. Over one indeed are set the light bringing angels of God, and over the other^c the angels of Satan. And he is Lord for ever and ever, and Prince of the present time of iniquity.

19. The way of light then is of this sort: If any one is wishing to travel this way to the appointed place, he should be zealous in his works. The knowledge, therefore, which is given us to walk herein is of this sort:

Thou shalt love Him that made thee;

Thou shalt fear Him that fashioned thee;

Thou shalt glorify Him that redeemed thee from death;

Thou shalt be simple in heart, and rich in spirit;

Thou shalt not be joined with those who go in the way of death;

Thou shalt hate everything which is not pleasing to God;

Thou shalt hate all hypocrisy;

Thou shalt not forsake the commandments of the Lord;

Thou shalt not exalt thyself, but shalt be lowly-minded in all things;

Thou shalt not take to thyself glory;

Thou shalt not take evil counsel against thy neighbour;

Thou shalt not give insolence to thy soul;^d

Thou shalt not commit fornication;

Thou shalt not commit adultery;

Thou shalt not be a corruptor of youth;

Let not the Word of God be uttered by thee in impurity;

Thou shalt not accept the person of any;^e

Rebuke any one for transgression;

Be meek;

Be quiet;

Fear the words which thou hearest. Be not mindful of evil to thy brother. Be not of doubtful mind whether it shall be or not. Thou shalt not take thy^f name in vain. Thou shalt love thy neighbour more than thine enemy, thy own soul.^g Thou shalt not slay the child with destruction,^h nor again, shalt thou

any of those things which promote salvation. For if concerning present or future things I should write to you," etc.

^b For "difference," the text originally had "corruption."

^c The text has *ἐφ' οὖς*, which is plainly an error for *ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ*.

^d *Sic*; for, "thy soul to insolence."

^e The corrector inserts at the beginning of this clause: "Thou shalt not take evil counsel."

^f For "thy name," the corrector gives "the name of the Lord."

^g Corrector: "Thy neighbour as thy own soul."

^h That is, not procure abortion.

kill that which is born. Thou shalt not withdraw thy hand from thy son or from thy daughter, but from childhood shalt thou teach *them* the fear of God. Be not covetous of what is thy neighbour's. Be not avaricious; nor be joined in thy soul with the haughty, but converse with the humble and righteous. Receive as good things the trials which befall thee, knowing that without God nothing happens. Be not of uncertain mind, nor loquacious. Be subject to masters, as a type of God, with modesty and fear. Thou shalt not give orders in bitterness to thy servant or to thy maiden, who trust in the same God, lest they should not fear that God who is above both, because he came not to call according to the person, but those for whom the Spirit has made preparation. Thou shalt communicate in all things with thy neighbour, and not say that they are thine own; for if in the incorruptible ye are partakers, how much rather in those which are subject to death.ⁱ Thou shalt not be hasty with thy tongue, for the mouth is a snare of death. As far as thou canst, be pure in thy soul. Be not stretching out thy hands to receive, and contracting them to give. Thou shalt love as the pupil of thine eye every one who speaks to thee the word of the Lord. Be mindful of the day of judgment, day and night. And thou shalt seek out every day—either doing something by word,^j and going in order to exhort, and meditating in order to save a soul by thy word,—or by thy hands thou shalt work for the redemption of thy sins. Thou shalt not hesitate to give, nor murmur when thou givest. But thou knowest who is a good recompenser of reward. Thou shalt keep what thou hast received, neither adding nor taking away. To the end thou shalt hate evil; and thou shalt judge justly. Thou shalt not cause a division. Thou shalt pacify those who contend, bringing them together. Thou shalt confess thy sins. Thou shalt not attend to prayer with an evil conscience.^k

20. But the way of the Black one is full of crookedness and of cursing; for it is the way of death eternal^l with punishment, wherein are what destroy their soul—idolatry, rashness, haughtiness of power, hypocrisy, double-heartedness, adultery, murder, rapine, boasting, transgressions, fraud, malice, self-

ⁱ Corrector: "which are corruptible."

^j This defective sentence has been corrected thus: Thou shalt seek out every day the faces of the saints; either by word, and work, and labour; doing [something ?] and going," etc. The passage is faulty. Hefele's text reads, "And by word watching and going," etc. Dressel has, "or by word watching and going." The *ἡ διαλογουκοπιωντι* of the text seems to be for *ἡ δια λόγου κοπιωντι*, and not *κοπιωντι*. The *τι* is partially erased.

^k Corrector adds: "This is the way of light."

^l The text has *αιωνια* for *αιωνιον*.

sufficiency, poisoning, irreverence,* persecutors of the good, hating truth, loving falsehood, not knowing the reward of righteousness, not allied to good, not regarding the widow and orphan with just judgment, watching not for the fear of God, but for evil,—from whom far and distant are meekness and patience; loving vanity, following after a reward, not pitying the poor, not labouring for the wearied one; ready at reviling; not knowing him that made them; slayers of children, destroyers of the workmanship of God, turning away him that is needy, and oppressing him that is afflicted, advocates for the rich, lawless judges of the poor, sinners in all things.

21. It is well that he who has learned the judgments of the Lord, whatever are written, should walk in them. For he who does these things, in the kingdom of God shall be glorified: he who chooses those things shall perish with his works. Therefore (there is) a resurrection; therefore a reward. I pray you who are superiors, if you receive any counsel of my good-will, have with yourselves those to whom ye may do good; do not forsake them. The day is near wherein all things will perish with the Evil one. The Lord is near, and his reward. Again and again I pray you, be your own legislators; of your own good abide faithful counsellors; take from yourselves all hypocrisy; and may God, who rules over all the world, give to you wisdom, understanding, prudence, knowledge of his judgments, patience. Seek ye what the Lord seeks from you, and (so) do that ye may be found in the day of judgment. Now if there is any remembrance of good, remember me, meditating on these things, that both my desire and vigilance may turn out to some good. I pray you, asking your favour,† while yet the good vessel is with you,‡ fail not in any one of yourselves, but constantly seek these things, and fulfil every commandment; for it is worthy. Wherefore I was the more zealous to write to the best of my power.¶ Farewell, children of love and peace, the Lord of glory and all grace be with your spirit.

THE EPISTLE OF BARNABAS.‡

* Irreverence. Corrector adds *Θυ*; i. e., "towards God." The preceding verses are arranged in a single column.

† Literally: "asking grace."

‡ Or, "so long as the good vessel is with you;" i. e., "so long as you are in the body."

¶ Corrector adds: "in order to rejoice you."

§ [We must omit the remarks promised in the first part, note *y*, *J. S. L.*, Oct., 1863, p. 81. Ed. *J. S. L.*]

THE DECIPHERMENT OF CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS DESCRIBED AND TESTED.

It seems from various indications that considerable scepticism still exists in many quarters in regard to the readings furnished by Rawlinson, Hincks, Oppert, and others, from the inscriptions from Western Asia, composed in the cuneiform character. The removal of this scepticism, and a rational conviction of the general trustworthiness of these readings, is what is specially aimed at in this paper and its successors.

In applying the epithet cuneiform, or cuneatic, to the writing of the inscriptions in question, it is meant not that they are all compiled in the same language, but that they are all made up of signs formed of the same element—the wedge, nail, arrow-head, dagger, or swallow-tail, as it has been variously called. The great peculiarity of this kind of writing is the absence of curvature. The tapering, wedge-like form of the lines, seems to be a superadded elegance. Inscriptions have been found in which the taper is wanting, and others in which it is represented by cross-bars, like the head of a hammer.^a Evidently from its rigid and curveless character, this form of writing was specially, and, it is probable, purposely, adapted for being inscribed either on soft brick or stone. The taper form may have been suggested by observing that in practice a line thicker at one end came out more naturally than one uniformly thick.^b There are sufficient indications to shew that, like the hieroglyphical in Egypt, the cuneiform became ultimately, if it were not at first, a sacred character, reserved for occasions of state, royal proclamations, or dedicatory tablets and seals. We are told that Democritus wrote on the *sacred* letters of Babylon, and we find the wedge, the primary element, lying on an altar from Babylon, along with other sacred symbols. It is certain that another and cursive form of writing was in use along with the cuneiform; and rare

^a Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, ii., pp. 179, 180. The oldest Chaldean legends are in characters in which the taper is yet wanting. Oppert, *Expédition Scientifique*, ii., p. 62.

^b Layard, *l. c.*, suggests as the means of forming the wedge, the angular corner of a square rod: Oppert, *l. c.*, the double stroke of a chisel. It may be observed, that for the most part the narrow end of the lines is turned in the direction in which the eye and hand of the workman would move in forming the characters. For forming the marks on clay, moveable styles or wedge-like types were used. Such, made of stone, are often found in the mounds of Southern Chaldea. Loftus, *Chaldea*, p. 235. Taylor, in *Jour. Asiatic Soc.*, xv., p. 410. Compare Oppert, *Expéd.*, ii., p. 63. "Nous avons découvert à Babylone des burins d'ivoire pourvus d'une point triangulaire, dont une seule taille devait fournir l'élément du coin." Chesney observes (*Euphrates Expéd.*, ii., p. 629), "So exactly do the same letters resemble one another, that, when repeated, slight flaws or blemishes when they exist, are found in all."

examples are said to have been found of a degenerate cuneiform, corresponding to the demotic of Egypt, and better adapted than the ordinary style for daily employment.* In regard to the origination of the characters, it is now fully ascertained that, like the Egyptian hieroglyphics, they were at first pictorial, though, unlike the Egyptian, the pictures became generally unrecognizable. In some cases, however, the likeness to the object represented is still discernible; and it is found that in the oldest modes of writing, the signs present the most distinct traces of pictorial origin.†

While all the records with which we have to do have the straight line or wedge as their prime element, they are not all written in the same characters. Out of this element are formed more than one distinct alphabet or syllabarium, each appropriated, as was *à priori* to be expected, to a separate language. In the Persepolitan inscriptions, *e.g.*, a glance is sufficient to shew that three different sets of characters, all cuneiform, are employed in different compartments or columns of the same tablet; and this threefoldness is a conspicuous feature in almost all the Persian monuments.‡ The simplest in form, which has also the fewest signs, is usually called the *first* or *Persian* kind of cuneiform; that which is next above it in point of complexity and number is called the *second* or *Median*, rather, since progress has been made in decipherment, *Scythian* or *Turanian* species; and that which is the most marked by complexity and variety is called the *third* or *Babylonian*. It is the study of these trilingual tablets of the Achæmenians, set up in order to make their proclamations generally intelligible to their subjects,§

* See Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, ii., pp. 164—166, 179—185. Rawlinson, *Jour. Asiatic Soc.*, x., p. 31. Oppert, *Rapport*, p. 173.

From the demotic cuneiform, we must, it would seem, distinguish the Aramæan or Phœnician writing, of which pretty numerous specimens have been found in Assyrian and Babylonian ruins, as at Abushadr (Bunsen's *Phil. of Hist.*, ii., p. 361), on Assyrian weights (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 601), and elsewhere. Cf. Levy, *Phœnizische Studien*, ii., pp. 22 f.

† See in general Hincks's paper in *Report of Brit. Assoc.*, 1857; and Oppert's *Exped.*, ii., chap. v., pp. 59 ff, where the fullest illustrations have been given of the hieroglyphical origin of cuneiform writing. See also Rawlinson, *Herod.*, i., pp. 442, 444; Ménant, *Les Ecritures Cunéiformes*, pp. 167 f.; *Inscriptions Assyriennes*, p. 20. The figures on the famous black stone of Shush are doubtless hieroglyphical. See Loftus, *Chaldea*, p. 419; cf. Chesney, *Euphr. Ex.*, ii., p. 628.

‡ This threefoldness must be understood as referring only to general appearance. It is now proved that two at least of the alphabets (the second and third species) employed in the Persian tablets are essentially identical, and have been derived from the same hieroglyphic system. See Oppert, *Exped.*, ii., pp. 70 f. The same is probably true also of the other, though it has been attempted (as by Geisler, *De Literaturæ Phœnicæ origine atque indole*, pp. 19 f.) to prove that it is allied to the Phœnician, Indian, or Runic characters.

§ "Precisely as at the present day, a governor of Baghdad, who wished to publish an edict for general information, would be obliged to employ three lan-

which has opened the way for the understanding of the remaining stores of cuneiform literature. We will, therefore, detail the process by which these have been deciphered, and then point out the application of the key thus obtained to the other and more important documents of Assyria and Babylon.

The first considerable transcripts of cuneiform writing were brought to Europe from Persepolis, by Niebuhr, and published in 1778.⁹ They excited much attention among continental scholars; and among the earliest inquirers, besides Niebuhr himself, who demonstrated that the writing must be read from left to right, we hear of Wahl, Tychsel, Münter, and others.¹ By universal consent, the first who obtained any insight into the meaning of the unknown characters, was the lately-deceased Grotefend, of Hanover. His first paper on the subject was read before the Literary Society of Göttingen in 1802.¹ Thereafter several papers were published by him, chiefly in the *Fundgruben des Orients* (1814—1816); and an account of his method of procedure was contributed by him as an appendix to Heeren's *Ideen* in 1815. It is necessary to be more particular in recounting the mode of decipherment employed by Grotefend, as it lies at the foundation of the results whose general validity I am now concerned to prove.

It is to be remembered that the inscriptions to be deciphered were written in characters whose powers were absolutely unknown, and were unaccompanied by a translation into any known language. Of all the three species of writing, letters and words were equally locked in mystery. In such a case it is evident that progress could be made only by making assumptions to be tested by application to the data. From the accessible inscriptions he chose two, published by Niebuhr,¹ in the first or simplest kind of writing, apparently of kindred meaning, and accompanied by duplicates in the other more complicated characters. These, the traveller stated, he had found over bas-reliefs at Persepolis, representing the monarch, and this was all that was known about them. Inasmuch, however, as Persepolis was understood, from the Greek historians, to be the work of the dynasty overthrown by Alexander, it was to be presumed that the inscriptions there would refer to monarchs of that dynasty.

guages,—the Persian, Turkish, and Arabic." Rawlinson, *Commentary on the Cuneiform Inscriptions*, p. 3.

⁹ Le Brun had, however, published some fragments, afterwards used by Lassen, in his *Voyages*. Amsterdam, 1718.

¹ See a full account of what was done with the Persepolitan inscriptions, before Grotefend, in Ménant, *Les Ecrit. Cun.*, pp. 19—52.

¹ It bore the title, *Prævia de cuneatis quas vocant inscriptionibus Persepolitanis legendis et explicandis relatio*.
¹ Tom. ii., tab. xxiv., B. and G.

Grotefend now conjectured, as Tychsen and Münter[†] had already done, that a word recurring several times in both inscriptions must be the term signifying king, or the title of the monarch to whose honour the monument had been reared, and that the characters accompanying this title formed the name of the king. Thus, his fundamental assumptions were that the individual bearing the aspect of a king in the bas-relief was named in the inscription over his head, and that the word most frequently occurring in the inscription was his title, or a part of it. In order to obtain an idea of the ordinary style of such records, he compared some inscriptions found in similar positions, written in Pehlvi, and belonging to a later, the Sassanian, dynasty of Persia,[‡] and gave the following hypothetical reading of the two inscriptions :—

N. N. rex magnus (?) rex regum,
Filius—(regis) stirps Achaemenis (?).

The relationship between the two persons named, which he pronounced to be that of father and son, he found confirmed by the words of the duplicate in the second and third species. His next step was to choose out of the names of the Achæmenian monarchs, those which best suited the form and circumstances of the words which he had determined as indicating the names. "Cyrus and Cambyaes," I quote his words, "could not be it, because the two names in the cuneiform did not begin with the same letter : it could, moreover, be neither Cyrus nor Artaxerxes, because the first was too short and the second too long. There remained only Darius and Xerxes, and these fitted the characters so easily that I could have no doubt that they were the right terms."[§] This choice was confirmed by the observation that in the one inscription, not only the name of the monarch himself but also that of his father was accompanied by the royal title, while in the other, the father's name was without it; which answered the known fact that Hystaspes, the father of Darius, was a subject. These proper names furnished him with the powers of more than twelve letters; and he had thus, by ingenious combinations, obtained a clue which it was possible, with diligence and learning, to follow out to a full intelligence of these records. It is, of course, to be granted that the conclusions at which he arrived, in regard to the meaning of these two inscriptions, were not by themselves demonstratively correct; but it is also manifest that if the powers which he had hypo-

[†] Tychsen, *De cuneatis inscriptionibus Persepolitanis lucubratio*, 1798; Münter, *Versuch über die Keilförmigen Inschriften zu Persepolis*, 1802.

[‡] Deciphered not long before by De Sacy.

[§] Heeren, *Werke*, x. Beilage ii., p. 346.

thetically ascribed to the letters of the royal names and titles were false, the fact would speedily make itself apparent in attempting to apply them, and that the chances were as infinity to one against an erroneous alphabet yielding everywhere a sense intelligible and appropriate. Grotefend's confessedly deficient knowledge of oriental tongues, as well as the want of a store of materials to work upon, hindered his progress in the work of interpretation, so that his later writings, in this department of learning, are of comparatively little value.

It is unnecessary to detail minutely the successive advances made upon the knowledge of the first or old Persian alphabet and language, in pursuance of the labours of Grotefend* by St. Martin in 1822, Rask in 1826, and Burnouf in 1836. In the last-named years another labourer appeared in the field whose success eclipsed that of all his predecessors. This was Lassen of Bonn, in whom was combined all that knowledge of oriental languages and peoples necessary for success in such a study. The knowledge of Sanscrit, confined, when Grotefend first wrote, to a few English scholars, had now become widely diffused, and was far advanced in fulness and accuracy: and what was still more important in its bearing upon the present subject, the Zend, imperfectly known to the first cuneiform discoverer by the work of Anquetil du Perron, had been largely elucidated, especially by Burnouf. It was thus possible to draw from other and cognate tongues illustrations of the meaning and grammatical forms of the Persian writing. Already Rask had pronounced, from the resemblance of a case-ending, that the language of the Persian inscriptions was allied to the Sanscrit. Burnouf's knowledge of the Zend enabled him to develop several of the grammatical formations of the cuneiform. Lassen working on a larger store of inscriptions, with the requisite amount of philological knowledge, achieved more signal success. In his work of 1836^o he clearly proves the affinity of the grammatical forms with the Sanscrit and Zend, and, from the roots of these languages, explains the meaning of many cuneiform words. Moreover, in one of the inscriptions given by Niebuhr, he found a list of geographical names which Burnouf also in part deciphered, which, however, in Lassen's hands, yielded at least twelve new and more correct alphabetic readings. Reviews of what had been accomplished were published by Beer of Leipsic, and Jacquet of Paris, about the same time (1838). Both made some suggestions of consequence in regard to the alphabet. Lassen

* See the details in Rawlinson's memoir, *Jour. Asiat. Soc.*, x., part i. Oppert, *Exped.*, ii. pp. 5—8, and Ménant, *Les Écrit. Cun.*, pp. 61—70.

• *Die alt-persischen Keilinschriften.*

published again in 1839;⁹ and a still more important memoir in 1844.⁷ In this work he was able to employ a larger and more correct store of materials, furnished by Westergaard, who had travelled in Persia in 1843, and by whom not only the whole of the Persepolitan and other neighbouring records were more accurately transcribed, but the long inscription at Nakshi-Rustam was, for the first time, made available to European research. Lassen was thus enabled to construct an alphabet, the correctness of which has been questioned only in regard to one or two characters, while his readings have been approved as in the main correct, and conveying a just impression of the sense of the original. In 1845 Holtzmann⁸ assailed his work with a bitterness betraying the *animus* of a personal quarrel, and in 1847 Hitzig⁹ attempted to amend his interpretation of the Nakshi-Rustam inscription.

I have thus traced the course of enquiry in regard to the first or Persian branch of the cuneiform records, as it proceeded on the continent, for the first fifty years after Grotefend had opened the new path, and it appeared that with the materials that had been used, little more could be accomplished. We have now to direct our attention to the labours of another inquirer in the same field, who has the double merit of contributing new and most important materials, and of elucidating these with a learning and independence commanding general admiration. This is Sir Henry Rawlinson, then a major in the Indian service, whose researches were begun, and his first and fundamental results obtained, while resident at Kirmanshah on the western frontier of Persia, and whose readings, agreeing substantially with those already obtained in Europe, must be regarded as an independent testimony to the validity of the procedure there pursued.

"It was in the year 1855," says Rawlinson,⁴ "that I first undertook the investigation of the cuneiform character; I was at that time only aware that Professor Grotefend had decyphered some of the names of the early sovereigns of the house of Achæmenes, but in my isolated position I could neither obtain a copy of his alphabet, nor could I discover

⁹ In the *Zeitschrift für die Kunde d. Morgenlandes*, vol. iii.

⁷ In the same periodical, vol. vi.

⁸ *Beiträge zur Erklärung der Persischen Keilinschriften.*

⁹ *Die Grabschrift des Darius zu Nakschi Rustam, erläutert*, von Dr. F. Hitzig. Dr. Hincks in 1846 published a memoir "On the first and second kinds of Persepolitan writing" in the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxi., which I have not seen, to which I believe is due the credit of the first publication of a fundamental law in the old Persian alphabet, discovered also, and independently, by Rawlinson and Oppert. See the former's supplementary note, *Jour. Asiatic Soc.*, x., p. 175; the latter's *Das Lautsystem des Altpersischen*.

⁴ *Jour. Asiatic Soc.*, x., pp. 4 ff.

what particular inscriptions he had examined. The first materials which I submitted to analysis was the sculptured tablets at Hamadan. . . consisting of two trilingual inscriptions. . . . When I proceeded to compare and interline the two inscriptions (or rather the Persian columns) I found that the characters coincided throughout, except in certain particular groupes, and it was only reasonable to suppose that the groupes which were thus brought out and individualized must represent proper names. I further remarked that there were but three of these distinct groupes in the two inscriptions; for the groupe which occupied the second place in one inscription, and which, from its position, suggested the idea of its representing the name of the father of the king who was there commemorated, corresponded with the groupe which occupied the first place in the other inscription, and thus not only served determinately to connect the two inscriptions together, but, assuming the groupes to represent proper names, appeared also to indicate a genealogical succession. The natural inference was that in these three groupes of characters, I had obtained the proper names belonging to three successive generations of the Persian monarchy; and it so happened that the first three names of Hystaspes, Darius, and Xerxes, which I applied at hazard to the three groupes, according to the succession, proved to answer in all respects satisfactorily, and were, in fact, the true identification."

These were his commencing steps, and it is important* to observe not only that they were made independently of Grotefend and other labourers, but that the method pursued was somewhat different, though yielding the same results. But Rawlinson was possessed of a signal and peculiar advantage for this study, in the transcript of the great Behistun inscription, secured by himself. This furnished him with a wide field of comparison for determining the powers of the letters, and ascertaining the grammatical forms and linguistic relations of the writing. Of the results of his researches a portion was com-

* This is important, specially in view of the additional guarantee thus afforded of the general reliableness of the interpretations of the Grotefendian school. Forster so represents the matter as to give his readers the impression that Rawlinson simply adopted Grotefend's alphabet. Thus he says (*Primeval Language*, iii., p. 16), "This attempt (viz., Grotefend's of 1802) is the sole basis of all that has been subsequently essayed towards the unravelment of the arrow-headed characters" (p. 50)—"the forty letters assigned by Col. Rawlinson, after Grotefend, to his Behistun alphabet." See also pp. 21, 25, 26. Still more distinctly (p. 180), "the effort has been made to take the Grotefend system of decyphering out of the category of mere theory, by laying great stress upon the circumstance of the same readings being arrived at simultaneously in the East and in Europe; altogether in forgetfulness of the obvious fact, that there is precisely the same likelihood that the same wrong renderings should be drawn from the same wrong alphabets, as that the same right renderings should be deduced from the same right ones." A writer in *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, assisted by Forster's representations, repeats the same thing (July, 1855, p. 374). The correct way of putting it is this, two individuals enter upon an enquiry into the same unknown language in different parts of the world, with different texts before them; and by methods, as different as the nature of the case will admit of, they reach identical results.

municated to the Royal Asiatic Society of London in 1839, "in a precis of the contents of a large portion of the Behistun inscription, differing in no material respects" from the full analytical interpretation afterwards published. After having become acquainted with the labours of the continental enquirers, as far as they had extended, he presented to the same society a memoir on the Persian cuneiform inscriptions, published in their *Journal* in 1846, embracing a full transcript, analysis, and translation of the Behistun inscription, as well as a translation of the other inscriptions already published, besides important dissertations, and a vocabulary, as yet unfinished. This is undoubtedly to be reckoned the most important work that has appeared in the first or Persian cuneiform writing, and to it all subsequent inquirers in this field have been indebted. Of later works, the most important are the treatise of Benfey^o (1847), and a series of memoirs written by Oppert^o in the *Journal Asiatique*.

Such has been the course of enquiry in regard to the first species of the trilingual inscriptions; and so satisfactory and complete has been the elucidation of these lately mysterious records, at least to those who have thoroughly studied them in the method described, that Rawlinson in 1850 could write, "there are probably not more than twenty words in the whole range of the Persian cuneiform records, upon the meaning, grammatical condition, or etymology of which, any doubt or difference of opinion can be said at present to exist."² The very magnitude of the achievement provokes in many minds the doubt of its reality. "The more," says a writer in an *English Review*,³ "we consider the marvellous character of this discovery, the more we feel some mistrust and misgiving returning to our minds. It is no less, in the first place, than the creation of a regular alphabet of nearly forty letters out of what appears, at first sight, confused and unmeaning lines and angles; and, secondly, the creation of a language out of the words so formed from this alphabet:" the reconstruction of a lost tongue from its characters,—characters which could tell nothing of their own meaning, which, if once pictorial, had long lost their pictorial significance, and for which there was no

¹ *Die Persischen Keilinschriften mit Uebersetzung und Glossar*, von. T. Benfey.

² *Journal Asiatique*, iv^{me} serie, tom. xvii.—xix., cf. *Revue Archeologique*, tom. v., 1848. More lately have appeared Bollensen, *Beiträge zur Erklärung der Persischen Keilinschriften*, in the *Melanges Asiatiques*, and Spiegel, *Die Altpersischen Keilinschriften*.

³ *Commentary on Cuneiform Inscriptions*, p. 3.

⁴ *Quarterly Review* for March, 1847, quoted in Vaux, *Nineveh and Persepolis*, p. 458.

Rosetta stone to guide the enquirer. Yet that this is no imaginary feat may, I think, be shewn by evidence sufficient to satisfy any unprejudiced mind.

The process of discovery, as I have shewn, has been, and from the nature of the case could only be, a tentative one; consisting of hypothesis skilfully posited, then modified, corrected, enlarged, till it has perfectly met the known facts. This is admitted in every branch of science to be a valid procedure,* and its originally hypothetical character no more affects our assurance of the truth of the results, when they are found to sustain all possible tests, than the same element can shake our faith in the reality of the Copernican system of the universe, or the Newtonian theory of gravitation. Now every test that has been tried the interpretations of Grotefend and Rawlinson do abide, and this I shall briefly shew:—

1. Though when Grotefend first began his labours, no translation of the Persian cuneiform into a known language was known to exist, yet such translations have since been found, which though few in number and meagre in extent, fully confirm the results that have been obtained. These translations are all into the hieroglyphic writing of Egypt, and embrace only the royal name and title. Three vases have been found bearing the legend of Xerxes in Persian and Egyptian, “Xerxes, the great king;” and another with the name Artaxerxes in the same double type. In all these cases the readings of Rawlinson and Lassen perfectly correspond with those of Wilkinson and Birch.^a This may seem but a slight and inadequate test; others however are at hand.

2. By a series of ingenious conjectures and combinations, an alphabet, vocabulary, and grammar have been constructed for these Persian records; with the help of these an intelligible and instructive sense can be elicited, and all the inscriptions hitherto discovered, however long or short, have yielded such a sense to

* Cf. Whewell on the place of *Guesses* in scientific discovery, *Phil. of Inductive Sciences*, ii., p. 41. Ed. 1847.

^a The first of the vases of Xerxes has long lain at Paris, and is known as the vase of the Comte de Caylus (see Rawlinson, *Jour. Asiatic Soc.*, x., p. 339). Grotefend, *Neue Beiträge zur Erläuterung der Persepol. Keilsch.*, Taf. ii. A similar vase, in fragments, was found by Loftus at Susa (see his *Chaldea and Susiana*, p. 410). Another was lately disinterred by Mr. Newton at Budrum, in Asia Minor, the ancient Halicarnassus, interesting as probably a gift from Xerxes to the famous Artemisia (see *Journal of Sacred Literature*, Jan., 1858, p. 498). The vase of Artaxerxes exists in the library of St. Mark's at Venice (see Rawlinson, *Jour. Asiatic Soc.*, x., p. 347; Lassen, *Zeitschrift*, vi.—last plate). A few renderings of the Babylonian or Assyrian writing into Phœnician have also been found, which may be noticed hereafter. Mr. Forster, I am aware, disputes the reading of the Egyptian as well as of the Persian legend; but the above will weigh with those who believe that the researches of Champollion, Lepsius, etc., have value.

this key. It is to be remembered that these documents contain no small variety of matter. They consist of not merely short, formal, recurrent sentences, but of at least one long historical document of geographical lists, invocations to the Deity, and architectural details. Is it supposable that any key but the true one could bring consistent sense out of every line to which it has as yet been applied?^b If successful in a few instances the system must have broken down^c in the course of a more extended application, unless it had been happily founded on the truth of the language. It is true that, in a tentative process, such as can alone be here used, room must always be left for increase of knowledge and of conviction. The discovery of new inscriptions might undoubtedly occasion some modification in existing views in particular points of grammar and of interpretation, and throw some additional rays of light on what seems now satisfactorily determined, but it is opposed to all rules of probability that such a discovery could fundamentally overthrow or unsettle the results already attained. The self-consistency of these results is a guarantee of their stability.

3. The old Persian of the inscriptions is verified by philology, and has now obtained a place as a sister language in the Indo-Germanic group of tongues, standing in near alliance with the Sanscrit and Zend. The alphabet, grammar, and vocabulary, wrought out by the tentative process described, have been recognized and acknowledged by Bopp^d and other philologers as cognate with those already known belonging to these languages, and as filling up a vacant space in the line of derivation and change. Here, again, we have a decisive assurance that the system on which the language is read, is the right one. For could a false system, a merely factitious product of conjecture, give being to a language accurately fitting in to a set of languages whose characteristics are already well ascertained, so as to be alike yet different, and in its differences obeying known analogies, and restoring a deficient link in the chain which leads up to the time when the earth was of one speech?

4. It does not fall within our scope to detail the historical results obtained from the reading of the Persian monuments.

^b "The clearness and consistency," says Mr. Talbot, "of the numerous passages, and the long historical narratives translated by Rawlinson, afford in themselves no slight presumption that he cannot be greatly or altogether mistaken as to the meaning of these ancient records."—*J. S. L.*, Jan., 1856, p. 415.

^c As, e. g., the rival system of Forster breaks down.

^d See his *Vergleichende Grammatik*, 2te Aufgabe,—*passim*. Müller's *Survey of Languages*, p. 32. The reception by Bopp of the results of this school of interpreters is an unwelcome fact for M. Gobineau: "Je suis fâché de voir figurer ce monstrueux pastiche dans la précieuse grammaire de l'illustre M. Bopp."—*Lecture des textes Cuneiformes*, p. 38.

It is proper, however, to refer to the contents of this class of inscriptions, in order further to establish the validity of the interpretation. These records are admitted by all to belong to the Achæmenian line of kings; and, as read by Rawlinson, the longer of them emanate from, or relate to, Darius son of Hystaspes, the successor of the pseudo-Smerdis, and the predecessor of Xerxes, the invader of Greece; and they contain important historical details, especially of the commencing years of his reign. Now it happens that of this dynasty we have previous accounts, especially in the pages of Herodotus; and we are thus in circumstances to test the correctness of the interpretation, by comparing the historical contents with what is already recognized as authentic history. The full development of this argument would occupy too much space. We can only refer to such points as these,—the lineage of Darius; the names of his fellow-conspirators in slaying the Magian usurper; the circumstances of the conspiracy; the subdivisions of the empire,—as furnishing instances of detailed agreement, exhibiting just the amount of divergence which was to be expected in records so different in their character as the public documents of Persia, and the picturesque and rambling narrative of the “father of history.”^e To this are to be added the preciseness and trustworthiness, as weighed by all previous knowledge, of the allusions to points of religious, antiquarian, and geographical interest,—a precision and accuracy altogether inexplicable, if the interpretation proceeds upon a delusive basis.^f Still more, in at least one point, this interpretation has cast decisive elucidation on a passage of history, which, as narrated by Herodotus, had been previously misunderstood by almost all his commentators. The historian relates that the Medes repented of their submission to Cyrus the Persian, and revolted from Darius, but were again reduced to subjection.^g This has been commonly referred to a revolt of the Medes during the reign of Darius Nothus,^h though there are serious objections to such a reference both in the terms of the passage itself, and in the known circumstances of the life of Herodotus and composition of his work. Groteⁱ

^e Cf. Mr. Rawlinson's remarks in his *Herodotus*, vol. i., p. 69.

^f Exception may perhaps be taken to this statement in its reference to the religious allusions of the inscriptions, which exhibit a system of worship apparently different from that ascribed to the Persians by the Greeks. Even if nothing could be done to reconcile the accounts (on which, however, see Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, book i., App., essay v.), the very difference is sufficient to assure an unprejudiced mind that the decipherment is real. A got-up interpretation would assuredly not have neglected to square itself in so important a point as religion, with so prominent an authority as Herodotus.

^g Herod., i., 130.

^h Mentioned by Xenophon, *Hellenica*, i., 2, 12.

ⁱ *History of Greece*, vol. iv., p. 304.

had been led by consideration of these difficulties, and without being aware that there was any confirmation of his view, to suppose that the reference must be to a much earlier revolt of the Medes, under Darius son of Hystaspes, not elsewhere mentioned in classic literature. And now the account of the revolt, thus obscurely referred to by Herodotus, is found fully given in the inscription of Behistun,¹ under the hand of Darius himself, the queller of the insurrection,—thus, as deciphered by Rawlinson, coming in remarkably to confirm the latest conclusions in the sphere of Grecian history.

Such are some of the tests which may be applied for the verification of the Grotefendian system of decipherment; and if a system of philological doctrine thus approved is not to be allowed to be veracious, merely because it was formed originally on a basis of hypothesis, then the largest and the best part of human knowledge must be equally rejected. This hypothesis has met the problem;—among the infinite possibilities of human speech, to find out a system of alphabet, grammar, and verbal roots, which shall apply to the farrago of wedge-like lines engraved upon the stones of Persia; which shall draw from them a self-consistent meaning; which shall marshal them into a language such as was likely to be used about Persepolis and Ecbatana in the sixth century B.C.; and which shall elicit from them information in all respects suitable to the character of the monuments themselves,—the circumstances of the time, the individuals from whom they profess to emanate, and, in general, the history and relations of the Persian people. The mere statement is enough for rational conviction.

Yet, if enough for rational conviction, this is not all that can be said in support of our present argument. When we proceed to consider that the language whose meaning has been thus ascertained has been applied as a key to the decipherment of at least other two languages (that we may limit our view at present to the Persian monuments), and has actually served the purpose in a considerable degree, it is evident that the correctness of the interpretation has thus been subjected to a further and, if possible, severer trial. The problem which has been met and solved has to be thus enlarged: to reconstruct one language so as through its means to reconstruct other two. It is not conceivable that a false hypothesis could serve to interpret the literature of one unknown tongue: it is still less conceivable that the same false hypothesis could avail to unlock the stores of three.

[To be continued.]

¹ Beh. Ins., col. ii., lines 14 f.

AN ENQUIRY RESPECTING THE ORIGIN OF THE PARABLE OF THE RICH MAN AND LAZARUS.*

THE parable of the rich man and Lazarus (Luke xvi. 19—31), seems to have been usually, indeed universally, regarded as one of those which were spoken by Christ. Without venturing to deny that it was so spoken, we think there are good grounds for the contrary belief; and this, without involving the slightest imputation upon the veracity or inspiration of the Evangelist St. Luke.

In this, and the other Gospels, besides many minor similitudes and comparisons, no less than twenty-nine distinct parables are recorded, every one of which is clearly described as having been spoken by Christ himself. Of the whole number, no less than seventeen are introduced by some such phrase as this, "And he spake a parable unto them;" and as regards the other twelve, each of them is distinctly stated, or is shewn, by unavoidable inference arising from the context, to have been spoken by Him.

As regards *this* parable, however, the Evangelist does *not* state, nor in any way imply, that it was uttered by our Lord; and this most remarkable omission, although it may furnish no argument against the reception of the parable, as proceeding from Him, at least leaves the question open, and may even well suggest doubts as to how far we are justified in attributing it to Him.

Since, then, there is not that conclusive evidence in favour of the genuineness of the parable, which (consistently with the uniform tenor of Scripture in this particular) we might expect to find, the question has to be considered with reference to the *internal* evidences afforded by the structure of the parable itself; and upon an attentive consideration of these, we have been induced to entertain those doubts to which allusion has been made, inasmuch as we are unable to recognize any resemblance in matter or in form, in letter or in spirit, between this parable and those which were undoubtedly spoken by Christ. Neither the lesson conveyed, nor the mode of conveying it, appears to be His. And here, let us consider what a parable is. It is a vehicle of truth—a method by which truth is illustrated and enforced. "*He taught them by parables.*" As Archbishop Trench has said, "*The parable is constructed to set forth some truth, spiritual and heavenly.*" But *what* truth; at least, what

* [We shall be very glad to insert any suitable answer to the hypothesis of the ensuing article. Ed. J. S. L.]

heavenly and spiritual truth is to be learned from this parable? We venture to suggest that there is none; at least none such as our Lord was accustomed to teach, or was likely to teach, unless indeed we first supplement the Scripture, by importing (as is too often done) some facts into the narrative—a process by means of which we may succeed in acquiring any desired product.

If this narrative be received simply as it is given, it will be seen, that irrespective of the patristic theory or fancy, that would make it a type of the condition of the Jews and the Gentiles, there are two lessons, and only two, that can fairly be deduced from it; first, a lesson of retribution, or rather compensation. It was because the rich man had been prosperous, and Lazarus had been wretched, in this life, that the condition of each became reversed after death; and secondly, a reproof of unbelief. If the brothers of the rich man would not believe Moses and the prophets, we are told that they would not believe although one should rise from the dead.

It is not necessary, on this occasion at least, to shew that the doctrine of simple retribution, or rather compensation, is one which was not taught by Christ; nor has it been held by any Christian people, although it is received by some ignorant and heathen nations. Our Lord, while he invariably rebuked the vices of luxury and avarice, and exhibited the worthlessness and even the danger of mere worldly wealth;—invariably represented the condition of men in a future state, not as regulated by the accidents of birth and fortune in this, but as dependent upon faith and repentance, and the works which spring from those qualities.

In the parable, however, the author has simply reversed the condition of happiness and misery, by way of compensation, and of compensation only.

In order to avoid this difficulty, and to reconcile this parable with our Lord's usual teaching, it is often said, that the rich man must have been intended to represent a luxurious man, selfish and uncharitable, refusing to give relief to the poor beggar; and that it was on this account that he was tormented while Lazarus was comforted. This indeed is the view Archbishop Trench takes, in his admirable work on the parables of our Lord. He says, "The sin of Dives, in its root, is unbelief; hard-hearted contempt of the poor, luxurious squandering on self, are only the forms which it takes."

It is sufficient to say, in answer to this suggestion, that the narrative is entirely silent on the subject of the moral conditions of either of the persons spoken of, and that we are not at liberty

to make a new gospel for ourselves, by surmising or suggesting these additional circumstances. If the author had meant what it is said he did mean, we may be sure that he would have said it, since it would have been of the utmost importance to the parable. All that we are told, however, of the rich man amounts to this; that he was rich, and that he lived as rich men usually do—in that manner which, according to the usages of society, became his station and life. In short, just as every prince or prelate or nobleman, of that or any other time, was and is accustomed to live.

For ought that appears to the contrary, he might have been one of the most excellent, and Lazarus one of the most worthless of mankind. Indeed, since no one has ever ventured to affirm that *any* moral excellence was ascribed in the parable to Lazarus, it would be unreasonable to suppose that any moral depravity was imputed to the rich man. If the happy condition of Lazarus was not described as the result of *his* merits, the wretched condition of the rich man cannot be referred to his demerits, since it is evident that each personage was intended in all respects as the exact contrast of the other.

But further: not only does the narrative omit to ascribe the opposite conditions of the persons spoken of, to their moral excellence or depravity while upon earth; but it expressly assigns a reason, and a very different reason, for the difference in their conditions; and thus we are effectually prohibited from importing into the narrative our own theories or speculations, as we might have been at liberty to do, had nothing been said on the subject. "*Expressum facit cessare tacitum.*"

As a reason for refusing his request the rich man is told emphatically to remember (that is in effect *because*), "*Thou in thy life time receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things; now he is comforted, and thou art tormented.*"

If, then, we find that the lesson which this parable is calculated to teach is not only unlike, but inconsistent with, our Lord's usual teaching; we need not be surprised at finding that the imagery of the parable is also altogether unlike that which he was wont to use; and this, not only in its general character, but in its details.

Nothing can be more simple and natural, and therefore nothing more beautiful and clear, than the method which our Lord usually adopted on these occasions. As Archbishop Trench has well observed in his Preface, "*The Great Teacher in parables allowed Himself no transgression of the established laws of nature, in nothing marvellous or anomalous; He presents to us no speaking trees or reasoning beasts.*" This description exactly applies

to every parable preserved by the Evangelists, *but one*; that one is the parable of the rich man and Lazarus.

Of the twenty-nine other parables, no less than eight are taken from agricultural or pastoral subjects, such as the lost sheep and the sower; and the remainder are taken from domestic events, such as the lost piece of silver and the prodigal son.—In each of these the transactions narrated are those of daily occurrence, and they come home at once to the experience of every man, nay, of every woman and child, in every condition of life. They are homely and genial; each has that touch of nature which makes the whole world kin; and it is thus that they excel all other compositions of the like kind, as well in wisdom and utility, as in sweetness, elegance, and perspicuity.

The parable of the rich man and Lazarus, however, in that which may be termed its machinery, is found to differ essentially from every parable that our Lord spake. We are no longer reminded of the field or the husbandman, of the flock or the household; we are introduced to an entirely new world, and to a series of events there happening. We see the place of torment, and the abode of bliss, the spirits of the departed clothed once more in flesh, and discoursing and reasoning with each other touching their own condition, and that of those whom they left upon earth; and thus in place of the natural and simple images elsewhere met with, we find scenes and events with which every one is familiar from childhood. We find an apparatus, so to speak, altogether supernatural,—an imagery derived from a state of things of which we have no trace in nature, or any parallel in our Lord's teachings, or elsewhere in Scripture.

But may we not go further? Is not this parable in these respects not only *unlike* our Lord's ordinary teaching, but even *opposed* to it? When, as recorded in the Gospel of St. Matthew, He rehearsed, as we may say, the events of the great day of judgment, He said that *when* the Son of God should come in his glory, and should sit on the throne of his glory, all nations should be gathered before Him, and He should separate the sheep from the goats; and these should go away into everlasting punishment, and the former into life eternal. The date of this separation is thus clearly fixed by our Lord Himself at a *future* period, and although it may be that this was done to some extent in the guise of a parable, it seems hardly in conformity with his usage, that in another parable He should represent the righteous as having passed already to their final place of bliss, and the unrighteous to their everlasting punishment.

Hitherto we have considered the parable as being designed to teach the doctrine of compensation in the next world for

miseries endured in the present, and the converse. It is, however, often supposed that, like some others, it had a double meaning, and that it was intended also to teach the necessity of a belief in Moses and the prophets. Dr. Trench says that this indeed was its primary object. We do not think that this view can reasonably be entertained; but whether it was or not so designed, it seems certain that this was not a lesson which our Lord was likely to teach on such an occasion. The parable, as we have seen, follows immediately upon and looks like a continuation of a discourse addressed to the Pharisees, in which the Lord severely rebuked them on an entirely different account. But the Pharisees, of all men, were not likely to be accused of any want of faith in Moses and the prophets; and as they did not stand in need of such a lesson, it is hardly likely that it was given.

Several other peculiarities may be noticed, as distinguishing this from all the parables of our Lord. These, if they stood alone, would not perhaps be of much importance; but taken in conjunction with what is before noticed, they are not at all immaterial to the question. For instance;—Abraham is represented as explaining to the rich man *why* his request ought not to be complied with, and then he proceeds to shew, "*besides all this,*" that it was *impossible* to comply with it. But since compliance was physically impossible, it would seem to have been quite unimportant that the demand was unreasonable and improper.

But another, and most important distinction between this and the undoubted parables of our Lord, is to be found in the circumstance that this has not the slightest relation to, or connection with, those portions of his discourse which, in the narrative of the Evangelist, precede and follow it; and indeed, if the parable were omitted, the passage would read just as well as it now does, or (in the view which we have stated) perhaps better. It occurs between two distinct discourses;—the one of rebuke addressed by Christ to the Pharisees, who had derided his teaching, and the other of warning intended for his own disciples. The passage immediately preceding (verse 18), relates exclusively to the adulterous custom of putting away one wife in order to marry another. The passage which immediately follows is a warning upon another subject, addressed in terms to the disciples. It is as impossible to connect the parable with either of these passages, as it is to find any parable spoken by our Lord that has not an immediate and obvious application to the topic upon which He was engaged.

The manner in which Archbishop Trench has dealt with this

difficulty, is more ingenious than satisfactory. He proceeds throughout upon the assumption (which as we have shewn is entirely unwarranted by the narrative), that because the rich man is represented as living as all rich men are accustomed to live, we are to regard his sin as consisting in his *unbelief*, which shewed itself in the form of hard-heartedness towards others, and prodigality towards himself. He admits that this parable was a continuation of the discourse addressed to the Pharisees, in which they were rebuked for covetousness (one of their besetting sins); and in order to explain how a parable which in his point of view relates only to luxury and prodigality can be made conducive to the rebuke of the very opposite vice, he says that both vices spring from the same root,—unbelief.

“Thus,” he says, “while it is quite true that covetousness was the sin of the Pharisees, and *not* profuseness or prodigal excess in living, while it was rather an undue gathering than an undue spending, yet hoarding and squandering so entirely grow out of the same evil root, are so equally the consequences of unbelief in God, and in God’s word, of trust in the creature rather than in the Creator, are so equally a serving of mammon (though the form of service may be different), that when the Lord would rebuke their sin, which was the love of the world, and trust in the world rather than in the living God, there was nothing to hinder his taking his example from a sin opposite in appearance to theirs, which yet was one springing out of exactly the same evil condition of heart, by which to condemn them.”

But unbelief lies at the root of *every* sin alike. It is not the parent of covetousness and prodigality *alone*, and we cannot therefore regard it as an element in the consideration of this particular question; and looking at the subject from this point of view, can we reasonably be expected to believe that our Lord, in reproving the Pharisees for covetousness or even for unbelief, would introduce an example or parable relating exclusively to luxury and extravagance, especially when it is borne in mind, that the Pharisees were notoriously ascetic and self-denying. Had such an example or parable been cited to them, it could hardly have failed to strengthen them in their prevailing vice, rather than induce them to forsake it. If our Lord had been inveighing against the vices of pride or hypocrisy, He would hardly have introduced a parable which related only to the vice of lying, or the crime of murder; and much less was He likely to reprove one vice (covetousness), by a lesson or example which (even if the view taken by the present Archbishop of Dublin be accurate) applied exclusively to the very opposite vice—of luxury.

Although it may be considered very unlikely, must it be regarded as impossible, that the parable should have found its

way (by the mistake of some transcriber, or other accident) into some early manuscript of the Gospels, and should have been thus transmitted to the present time? There are several well-known instances of similar additions.

It seems that an apologue, very closely resembling this parable, was known to the Jews long before our Lord's time, and is to be found in the *Gemara Babylonicum*; and this circumstance indeed seems to afford an additional reason for doubting whether it was spoken by Christ, since, in no other instances, has He introduced into his discourses, either in the shape of a parable or otherwise, any one of the numerous traditions and apologues with which the Jews of his time were so familiar.

It is needless here to consider what would be the result of our rejecting the divine authorship of the parable. Suffice it to say, that the cause of religious truth can never suffer from a careful and critical investigation of the Holy Scriptures, when conducted in a becoming spirit; and it may also be observed, that this parable, rightly or wrongly, is frequently relied upon, in support of opinions and statements as to the future state, which are hardly consistent with, if indeed they are not opposed, to some other plain declaration of Scripture.

W. C. FLOWER.

The San Graal.—The members of the Roxburghe Club have had issued to them the second and concluding volume of *Seynt Graal*, or *The Sank Ryal*, being "The History of the Holy Graal, partly in English verse, by Henry Lonelich, Skynner (temp. Hen. VI., A.D. 1422-61), and wholly in French prose, by Sires Robiers and Borron (about A.D. 1180—1200; MS. about 1320), from the original Latin, written by Jesus Christ with his own hand (vol. i., p. 357), being the only writing made by God since His uprising, and they 'that otherwise belevyn, they leyn ful pleyn' (vol. i., p. 359), edited from MSS. in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and the British Museum, by Frederick J. Furnivall, Esq., M.A., with a note on the early Byrons and Robert de Burun, by Charles H. Pearson, Esq., M.A., Professor of English History at King's College, London; a Prefatory Essay on Arthur, by the late Herbert Coleridge; and an Appendix—The Birthe and the Egendrure of Mordret." Professor Pearson, in his "Note," has proved the existence of a Robert de Burun holding land in Lincolnshire about the time that the Romance of the Graal is supposed to have been written by Robert de Borron or Beuron; and as the change of name is so slight, and these Buruns are the ancestors of Lord Byron, it is a matter of interest to know that the author of "Don Juan" was not the first of his race in the field of literature, but that in the Laureate's county an earlier Byron wrote on a holier theme than his descendant chose, even the "Blessed Vision" that Mr. Tennyson's "Sir Galahad" has again of late so beautifully brought before us.—*The Reader.*

WATER SUPPLY OF JERUSALEM—ANCIENT AND MODERN.*

"Pray for the peace of Jerusalem: they shall prosper that love thee" (Psalm cxlii. 6).

THE immortal interest attaching to the city of God from its sacred-historic associations, will naturally elicit attention to a proposal for the benefit of its present inhabitants. Jerusalem, once the CITY OF THE GREAT KING, and hereafter to be *the joy of the whole earth*, is notoriously, at the present period of its degradation, rendered insalubrious and defiling to the senses by the absence, comparatively, of water. The consequences of such a privation to a large population in a torrid climate, surpass any description.

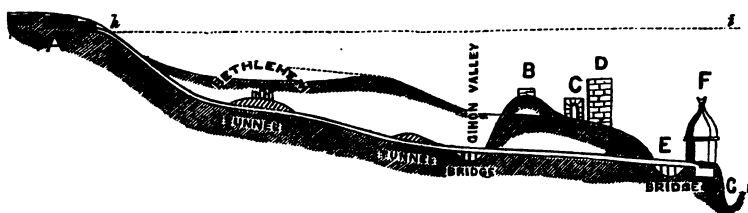
This paper is a statement of facts extracted from my work lately published on the proposed water supply and drainage for Jerusalem, with suggestions for other improvements in Syria, embracing the construction of a central railway, the irrigation of the land, the planting of timber, for a double purpose—to supply fuel, and regulate the climate by promoting moisture and equalizing it, the formation of a convenient harbour or landing-pier at Jaffa, the port of Jerusalem, with other kindred subjects. I also recommend a harbour or pier in the Bay of Iskanderûn, the other terminus of the railway. The introduction was kindly written by Dr. Stanley, Dean of Westminster, in which his feelings are expressed in the following words:—

"Those who have experienced the painful effect of witnessing the religious divisions of the various communities at Jerusalem, will be able to understand how any attempt such as that proposed in the following pages might indeed be regarded as a FRESH SPRING 'in a dry and thirsty land where no water is.' On the topographical and historical interest attaching to the ancient state of the wells and springs of Jerusalem, I need not dwell; but no doubt they invested the whole subject with a sacred halo, which greatly endeared in the eyes of our departed friend (Sir Culling Eardley) the benevolent object which he and you had in view. And to myself an additional motive for complying with your request is, that supplied by the pleasure which it gives me to recall the scene where you first stated to me your views on the subject in our tents by the Damascus Gate, during the memorable visit to Jerusalem in the spring of 1862."

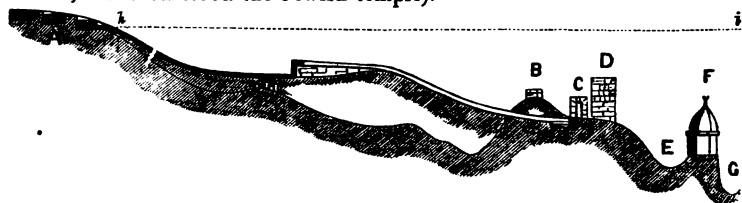
On the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to

* Read before the Syro-Egyptian Society, March 8th, 1864, by John Irwine Whitty, Civil Engineer, D.C.L., LL.D., M.A. Oxford and Dublin; Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society of London; author of *Geology of Bear Island; Anthracitic Coal of the Silurian System; Coal Fields of the Lower Carboniferous Rocks, etc.*

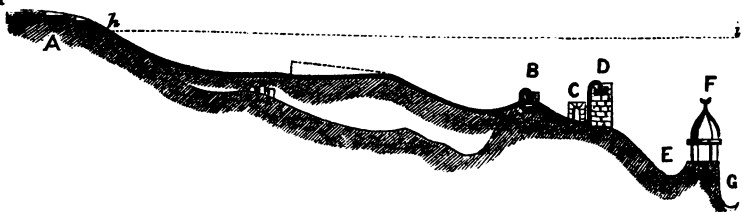
Jerusalem and the holy places, accompanied by Dean Stanley, I explained to the latter my proposition for the water supply and drainage of the city, as detailed in the body of the work; especially dwelling on the conservation of the rain-fall, which I have shewn to be greatly more abundant than in England; the deepening of the well of Job (En-Rogel); and the feasibility of conveying water through a tube by hydrostatic pressure from Solomon's Pools to the highest portion of the city, near the N.W. angle, or to the top of David's Tower on Mount Zion, near the Jaffa Gate.



Solomon's aqueduct, conveying water to lowest part of the city (Mount Moriah, whereon stood the Jewish temple).



Herod's aqueduct, partly tubular, conveying water to an intermediate part of the city (the Jaffa Gate). The solid black line represents the tubular part of the city.



Dr. Whitty's proposed aqueduct, tubular throughout, conveying water to the highest part of the city (Goliah's castle at N.W. angle, or to the top of David's tower on Mount Zion).

A Pools of Solomon. B Goliah's Castle. C Jaffa Gate. D Tower of David. E Tyropæon Valley. F Mosque of Omar, on site of Jewish Temple. G Kidron Valley. *h* Horizontal line drawn from lowest part of Solomon's Pools.

N.B. These sectional sketches are given solely for illustration, and not drawn to scale, which would be impossible, with proper effect, in so small a space.

Situate as Jerusalem is on the summit of a table rock of limestone, surrounded on three sides by precipitous glens, down which the rain pours in temporary streams during winter showers; no rain-water can remain thereon, save that which may be caught by artificial means, and retained in cisterns. The glens in a short time drain the arid height, and the streams then cease to flow.

How inadequate to the requirements of a civilized population is the present supply of water in Jerusalem, and how noxious is the quality of the greater portion of it, I shall point out whilst I suggest a tangible remedy. The opinion had long been entertained by the late Sir Culling Eardley, Sir Moses Montefiore, and others, that by means of an Artesian well within the walls water might be procured, and I was deputed to report upon it.

The sinking of an Artesian well is utterly out of the question. The geological structure of the district is against it; and no water could be obtained by that means.

But to the question, can a sufficiency of water be by *any means* obtained?—I am in a position to give the desired and most decided answer. Having spent several weeks in making the necessary observations, and in minute personal inquiries among the inhabitants and the neighbouring Arabs, into the existing conditions of supply, and the sources whence an augmentation of quantity might be obtained, I can lay down the following statement.

The present insufficient supply of the city is derived chiefly from two sources: first, rain-water, which falling copiously during the winter season, is to a limited extent collected in cisterns within the city walls, and retained for household purposes; second, wells in the valley of the Kidron, outside the city, which yield impure water, impregnated with organic salts and other soluble deleterious matter.

As no effective sewerage system exists for the town, it may be easily imagined whence arise the notorious unhealthiness, the unsavoury odours, and the filthy defilements of the place.

The cisterns are almost invariably vaulted chambers beneath the dwellings, *and are in most cases only separated from the common cesspools by plastered walls, and neither cisterns nor cesspools are often cleansed.*

The wells in the valley of the Kidron are two in number. The first called the Fountain of the Virgin, in summer time—save during its well known intermittent flows, which phenomenon has not yet been accounted for, if it be not due to the action of a natural syphon—derives nearly all its water from the

leakage of the tanks and cesspools in the city, and the used water thrown out from the dwellings. From this well, a channel tunnelled in the solid rock conducts the outflow to the Pool of Siloam, about four hundred yards distant. At this place all the clothes of the poor in the adjoining village of Siloam are washed; and the water then enters a tract of vegetable gardens, called in Scripture, the "King's Gardens," and having been divided into small streams for irrigation purposes, becomes absorbed in the ground, and sinking through the soil, is again partially collected in the well of Job adjoining; it being the second well in the valley of the Kidron, and which but for this tainted source, would be frequently quite dry in summer—which, notwithstanding, occasionally occurs.

All the water it can yield at one season of the year, which is but little, is carried back to the city in goats' skins, to supply an unwholesome beverage to those who have no tanks beneath their houses, or whose cisterns may have become empty.

Such a condition of things with regard to an element so essential to human life, comfort, and cleanliness, is appalling to contemplate. How fearful must be the amount of disease and misery arising from it! Is it capable of remedy? and from what sources can it be realized? I proceed to specify them:—

First.—Internal. Means might be adopted for collecting the rain-fall over and above that at present diverted into the tanks of the dwelling-houses, institutions, etc. I have made calculations as to the amount of water likely to accrue from this source, which I shall advert to presently.

Second.—External. There are also two external sources from which the city might be supplied with water. The first of these consists of the elevated land to the north and north-west of the Damascus Gate; the summit and sides of the Mount of Olives and other tracts of country, which, by a proper arrangement of channels to intercept the winter rain, and prevent it flowing off into the valleys, would yield sufficient surface water to supply the pools of Bethesda, Hezekiah, etc., within the city; and also a large tank near the Damascus Gate without the city; the water of which last-mentioned tank I propose reserving exclusively for the flushing of the sewer which I suggest to be made through the city, from north to south, in the depression formed (at least in part) by the Tyropœon Valley, into which lateral sewers should be opened.

Water might also be procured in abundance from the pools of Solomon, about seven miles distant, by simply repairing or reconstructing one of the existing aqueducts, or more effectively, by forming a new one, which could be easily done, on a better prin-

ciple than either. A portion of the water might be allowed to flow to Bethlehem for the use of the inhabitants of that village, and the remainder would constitute a running stream in Jerusalem, likewise beneficial to the village of Siloam.

The second external source from which water might be procured is wells in the vicinity ; it is of less importance than the first, looking at it in an economic point of view, though possessing the greatest interest.

The expenses of a water supply from Solomon's Pools, of from fifteen to twenty-two gallons per day according to elevation for each present inhabitant, I have estimated at £6,231, exclusive of the cost of the sewerage system, which is a separate matter, but one which I also recommend as a sequent.

It may now be seen how, by a small application of means, a benefit of the highest kind, and open to no possible objection from the very disinterestedness of its nature, can be accomplished. What more permanent boon, of a temporal kind, could be given by the philanthropy of Europe, to a city to which itself owes so many higher obligations ?

Jealous as the Turkish government ever is to grant concessions for commercial projects, through the fear of political ulterior complications, by favouring English over French or Russian interests ; here, at least, no such opposition need be expected ; the Koran itself enjoins "personal cleanliness," and the humanity of the Moslem digs wells and erects fountains, that the poor may have water without price !

I had an interview with the grand vizier, His Highness Fuad Pasha, at Constantinople. It is his desire to improve Syria by the formation of roads, aqueducts, etc. ; but he told me the present state of the treasury puts it out of his power. I have, therefore, no doubt that if we, by subscriptions, would supply the means of carrying out this benevolent work in Jerusalem, he would be only too glad to grant a firman, conveying the requisite authority.

Neither Greek, Armenian, Latin, Hebrew, or other resident religious community, could find matter of contention against a philanthropic project, designed for their common benefit and enjoyment. England, France, Russia, with their respective establishments in Jerusalem, could, in this good object, only see cause for co-operation and liberality.

As all humane sympathies were recently blended, after the late calamitous massacre, in one common and harmonious course of philanthropic action in behalf of suffering Syria ; now, as the triumph of our labours, can we not make its capital, Jerusalem, whence "living waters" have flowed for the "healing of

the nations," to be itself a *place of fountains*, fresh and flowing with health, comfort, and purity?

Pliny states that Jerusalem was the most famous city, not only in Palestine, but in the whole East. The conclusion, therefore, follows that it must have been well supplied with water, or it could not have risen to any great degree of importance. Strabo, Josephus, the Holy Scriptures, and the concurrent testimony of all historians who wrote upon the subject, inform us that it was abundantly supplied with water.

During all the sieges which it underwent, though the inhabitants were frequently driven to the last extremity by hunger, we read but of one occasion, during the siege by Antiochus in the one hundred and sixty-first and one hundred and sixty-second Olympiad, when they experienced any inconvenience through a deficiency of water; and we know that the minimum quantity which would, with the utmost economy, support life during a protracted siege, in the population of a city much larger and more densely inhabited than the present, such as the ancient city is described, must have vastly exceeded the scanty supply which we find within the walls at the present day; and such inquiries as these naturally suggest themselves, whence comes this deficiency? By what means could the city have been formerly supplied more copiously than now? Can the source of that additional quantity be again discovered? Have recent changes taken place in the geological structure, physical geography, or climate, of Palestine, such as could have withdrawn from the land large quantities of water formerly available for the service of its chief city? If no hydrographical change can be shewn to have taken place, if no alteration has occurred in the contour of the hills and valleys, if the material of the rock and the composition of the earth's crust have remained the same, and, save the denuding of the hills of timber, if no cause of any kind appears why there should not be as much moisture in the land now as formerly; in common sense are we not justified in asserting that, provided the same means which *once* have been successful were again adopted to collect, convey, and conserve the moisture, the bounteous rain of heaven, Jerusalem, practically speaking, might be endowed with water now as abundantly as at any previous period of her history, in her proudest and her happiest day?

To these and kindred considerations I have directed my attention, and shall briefly state the results of my investigations, trusting they may lead to the expected blessing.

When a dispassionate consideration shall have been given to the subject, the conclusion must force itself upon every mind,

that, by a comparatively small outlay, a vast benefit might be rendered to Jerusalem, by bestowing on it an efficient system of sewers, and an adequate supply of water. And in carrying out this benevolent object, both Christians and Jews throughout the whole world ought cheerfully and strenuously to unite. Jerusalem has an equal claim on both. It is the metropolis of Christendom, and the metropolis of the Hebrew nation. It is the scene of Christ's suffering, and it is "the city of David;" "the city of the Lord," whom both adore; "the Zion of the Holy One of Israel," who "hath desired it for His habitation." "Is He the God of the Jews only? is He not also of the Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles also."

The Jerusalem Water Relief Society has been formed to give embodiment to our aspirations on this subject, by carrying to completion the proposed works. It consists of Jews and Christians of all denominations, without regard to sect, creed, or nationality; this being neutral ground where all can meet in brotherhood.

The limits of the different areas that the ancient city of Jerusalem occupied at various periods can now be but approximately determined. During the reign of Solomon, when at its highest point of glory—whilst the trade with India enriched its treasures—the city covered scarcely more ground than it does at present; for though at two points it extended further towards the south, its northern limits were far within the present boundary.

About ten years after the death of Christ, and before the destruction by Titus, the walls had attained their greatest extension. Assuming as the limits in the time of Titus the line described in my book, which I have there shewn grounds for, the outer wall at the N.W. lay from 850 yards at one point, to 950 at another, beyond the probable position of the second wall—that built by Hezekiah and Manasseh—and from 400 to 670 outside the present wall, enclosing a space of about 822,161 square yards not now included. There are two other spaces excluded by the modern wall, which, according to the boundary assumed, belonged to the ancient city; one containing about 76,298 square yards, at the east, upon the verge and declivity of the Kidron; and the other about 389,243 square yards at the south. The latter portion constituted the southern brow and slope of the modern Mount Zion, and the southern slope of Mount Moriah, which was denominated Ophel.

These quantities make together 266 acres and 262 square yards, or $52\frac{3}{4}$ acres and 244 square yards more than the space within the circuit of the modern city walls, which includes $213\frac{1}{4}$

and 18 square yards. Adding these quantities together we find, on the best evidence in our power to obtain, the ancient city to have comprised $479\frac{1}{4}$ acres and 280 square yards; which gives a datum upon which to found our calculations.

We have thus arrived at the probable extent of the ancient city; and to confirm the view, Josephus asserts that its circuit was thirty-three stadia, which is the precise length of the boundary I have laid down.

The next step is to determine within probability the amount of the settled population of ancient Jerusalem. This I propose doing by instituting a comparison between it and the most crowded district in London.

The maximum density of the population in the most crowded part of London (than which no city in the world, much less an eastern city, could be more densely peopled without danger of engendering a pestilence) is estimated by the census of 1861 at $392\frac{1}{2}$ persons upon one acre; and according to the census taken in 1851, the same most crowded district, that of St. Andrew-Eastern, Holborn, contained $423\frac{1}{2}$ persons to one acre; allowing only $11\frac{1}{2}$ square yards to each individual. Now if $423\frac{1}{2}$ be multiplied by $479\frac{1}{4}$, the number of acres, as above-estimated in ancient Jerusalem, omitting, as in all similar cases I shall do, a few additional square yards, the result is 202,882 as the total population; allowing, as in the most crowded part of London, at a time when it was even more densely peopled than at present, only about $11\frac{1}{2}$ square yards for each individual, upon the entire surface of $479\frac{1}{4}$ acres, including the spaces occupied by walls of buildings, pools of water, the temple area, palaces, streets, etc., etc. I feel confident, therefore, that I am safe in assuming that the settled inhabitants, those who might be termed the true population of the city, could not have exceeded this number, however far they might have fallen short of it.

Having thus got a reasonable idea of the number of inhabitants in the former city, and knowing that they possessed a sufficiency of water during the siege by Pompey; for Strabo states, as adding to his renown, that Pompey captured it notwithstanding its strong defences and its having sufficient water for the garrison; and also that they possessed sufficient water during the siege by Titus, which lasted four months and a half, from the 13th of April to the 2nd of September, A.D. 70; our next inquiries must be, what is the minimum quantity which could have sufficed for such a population during that length of time? and what quantity per day would it have amounted to?

Fifteen gallons per day for each individual is the least that,

in a European town, exclusive of manufactories, is deemed sufficient for the comforts and necessities of life. Omitting comforts, and dealing only with necessities, we cannot imagine that less than five gallons a day for each individual could suffice under any circumstances, even with all the economy which a state of siege would necessitate; much less in an overcrowded city under an eastern sun.

Therefore, assuming the population, as before, at 202,882, five gallons a day for each individual would be 1,014,410 gallons per day; which for 143 days, the time occupied by the siege, would be 145,060,630 gallons.

And, as it is most reasonable to suppose, that the Romans cut off all aqueduct supplies from without the walls, and as it is most improbable that there are any self-supplying wells within the walls (as I have shewn in my book, chap. iv., sec. i., which treats on the theory of springs), the conclusion follows that the ancient city possessed also, at the least, reservoir accommodation for that quantity; and that when the siege commenced the citizens had in store that minimum of water.

The present population of Jerusalem, as taken from a late estimate, is 20,330, and dividing this into 1,032,148, the number of square yards within the present walls, it allows 50 $\frac{1}{2}$ square yards to each individual.

In addition to the regular population, a number of pilgrims arrive about Easter every year, but their sojourn being of short duration, I take no special account of them in the estimate.

The rainy season at Jerusalem commences about the middle of October, and usually terminates about the end of April; after which no rain falls, except an occasional shower during the month of May. Hydrometric registers, quoted in Beardmore's tables, shew particulars of the rain-fall in the district during twelve years. There are seven rainy months in the year, and the average annual depth of rain is no less than 65 inches. In one of the years recorded it amounted to 104 inches; and on no occasion was it less than 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Dr. Barclay's observations confirm the statement.

Facts therefore—and facts are stubborn things, one of which is worth a thousand arguments—prove that there is no ground whatsoever for the assertion—which has been so often made that it has become fashionable, and is copied from one book into another—that in consequence of a curse over the land, there comes of late a scarcity of water from the heavens. The average rain-fall in England—which is admitted not to be by any means deficient in water—is, taking the country as a whole, less than one half, and in particular localities little more than one-third, of that at

Jerusalem. For example, a mean of five years' rain-fall at Greenwich Observatory, ending with 1859, was $21\frac{1}{2}$ inches; and the mean there of forty years, ending at the same time, was $24\frac{2}{10}$ inches. Therefore, we should not accuse Providence for sending a deficiency in Judæa, but man for improvidence in not economizing a most gracious abundance.

So great is the neglect of this proffered mercy, that in summer time, when the tanks fail, poor people are compelled to carry water upon their backs, or on asses, from En-Rogel, or the well of Job, in the depth of the Karon valley; and when that fails, or can supply only a limited number, many must go to Ain-Yâlo, Ain-Horth, Ain-Lifta, and other springs miles distant to obtain a little water.

The following is an estimate which I have made with much care, of what may be the total daily supply to the city, at the most sultry season of the year, when misery, disease, and inconvenience arising from a scarcity of water are most severely felt.

If to the quantity rendered available from roofs, yard, etc., (33,186 gallons,) we add estimated supplemental quantities from the pool of Hezekiah, the fountain of the bath of Healing, En-Rogel, Ain Yâlo, with other distant wells, the result is 66,910 gallons per day as a total quantity; or little more than $3\frac{1}{4}$ gallons per day for each person, much even of that being carried laboriously from a distance.

Thus it appears this city receives per individual scarcely more than one-thirteenth of the quantity supplied to our metropolis by pipe-water alone; without at all taking into account the number of private wells, or the quantity of rain-water collected from roofs of houses—which in itself yields more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ gallons per day for each person, on an average, for the whole of London; taking 60 square feet as the proportion of roof surface to each individual, and $21\frac{1}{2}$ inches as the annual depth of rain-fall. Moreover, when we consider that baths and other luxuries for the rich, as in all eastern cities, deprive the poorer classes of even their due proportion of this scanty quantity, we may well imagine that ablutions can be seldom indulged in, and habitual cleanliness never.

I may here mention incidentally a most important use for which water is wanted in Jerusalem—to wash away totally the blood and offal of the animals killed for food. The slaughter-ground, which till recently was within the walls, spreading disease around, is now in the valley of the Kidron, opposite the city; and for want of a running stream, the blood and entrails of the cattle are left to putrify upon the heated soil, exposed to

the full power of the sun, in a deep recess sheltered from the winds. The only road through the valley, which, like all other roads in Syria, is a mere path or track-way, runs directly through this dreadful place. The stench is insupportable; and it is something almost frightful to see the foul birds, which feed upon carrion, floating overhead, allured from afar by the smell of this reeking, horrible spot.

I shall now briefly describe some of the principal sources and receptacles for water in the city and its immediate vicinity, whether at present in a state of efficiency or otherwise.

THE BROOK KIDRON.—This appellation is calculated to mislead, and cause persons unacquainted with the locality to suppose that a brook, properly so called, or a perpetual running stream, exists there; whereas the contrary is the case. In the ravine of the Kidron, part of which, from the fountain of the Virgin to Ain-es-Suâni, about 1,800 yards, is also named the valley of Jehoshaphat, there exists no stream at any time, except after a heavy winter shower, when a temporary rill is generated, which, in the upper portion, ceases almost simultaneously with the rain that gave it birth. But below En-Rogel, due to the overflowing of the well, the stream is more considerable, and occasionally lasts for four or five weeks without intermission. In the Arabic language the name of the Kidron is "*Wady-Yehô-shâfât*," or *wady* of Jehoshaphat. *Wady*, for which there is no corresponding word in our language, signifies a narrow valley or glen, in a mountain district, through which a torrent rushes after heavy rain, but which at other times is dry. נַחַל, *Nachal*, the Hebrew word translated in the Bible "brook," as a prefix to Kidron, is used often to imply a running stream; this, I conceive, would lead to the supposition that in former times Solomon and other rulers had water conveyed into it, which I have shewn in my book is quite practicable, and shall presently advert to.

THE GREAT RESERVOIR BENEATH THE HARAM.—This was the great subterranean cistern of the ancient Jewish temple; it is of vast dimensions, and was till recently unknown to modern Europeans. It is excavated in the solid rock, the sides coated with cement, and the roof supported by numerous columns, built of rough stone, or hewn out of the original material. It was known to the ancients, for Tacitus thus speaks of it,—"*a fountain of perennial water; mountains hollowed out under the earth; also fish-ponds and cisterns; rain-water being preserved.*" It was formerly supplied with running water for the ablution of the Jewish priests, and the service of the temple, by an aqueduct from Solomon's pools, about seven miles distant in the direction of Bethlehem; but it now serves only as a receptacle for the

rain-water from the roofs of the mosques of Omar, and El-Aksa, and the surface of the enclosed court, called the Haram, wherein they stand, which formerly contained the temple of Solomon and the courts thereto pertaining. I obtained permission from the Pasha, together with Mr. Alexander Finn, the British Consul's son, to descend into this huge reservoir, which has been described as a "beautiful subterranean lake," and in Ecclesiasticus is termed "the cistern to receive water, being in compass as the sea."

There are two receptacles for water within the city—and I may confidently say only two—which cannot strictly be classed among the system of house tanks, inasmuch as they are not directly supplied from roofs and yards. The first is the pool of Hezekiah, about 140 yards from the Jaffa Gate, which is chiefly supplied by a small underground channel from the upper pool of Gihon, outside the city, which always goes dry in summer.

The second is the fountain of the bath of Healing, about forty-two yards west of the Haram wall; erroneously, in my opinion, supposed to contain a natural spring, deep seated in the earth. It is far more likely that it is a simple cistern, constructed in the time of Solomon, or one of the earlier kings, when the city generally stood at a much lower level than it does now, especially in that vicinity, being part of a valley which has been greatly filled up. That it receives much of the leakage from the tanks, etc., on a higher level cannot be doubted. In addition to the water which it receives from this impure source, it is quite possible that it communicates by a tunnelled aqueduct with a concealed spring at Ain-es-Suani, in the valley of Jehoshaphat. The grounds of probability for this hypothesis are set forth in chap. iii., sec. 1, of my book; but I regret time will not now permit me to give any further description of this very interesting and mysterious fountain. I shall only mention here (to guard against an erroneous statement which has been recently published), that it does *not* receive a running stream from a spring or aqueduct said to be discovered beneath the convent of the Daughters of Zion, adjoining the Ecce Homo Arch; inasmuch as there is neither spring, nor stream, nor aqueduct there, as I shall shew further on. We all have an interest and a birthright in the Holy City, and should set our faces against exaggerations and errors being promulgated concerning it, to favour an unfounded theory, or create a temporary sale for a publication.

THE FOUNTAIN OF THE VIRGIN is situate in the ravine of the Kidron, at the foot of the declivity south of the Haram; it is sunk like an artificial grotto into the rock, having a flight of about thirty steps leading down to the water. It also derives much of

its supply from the waste water, and leakage of the tanks, etc., in the city overhead; the remainder, not counting its abnormal periods of intermittent flow, is derived from the Mount of Olives, and the side of the valley next the city, both of which are crowded with tombs. At irregular periods the water in this well presents a hitherto unaccounted-for phenomenon, rising suddenly for a few minutes beyond its normal limits—an effect attributed by pilgrims to miraculous agency. I have attempted to account for it in my book, chap. ii., sec. 6; but I can here only mention that the singular fact exists.

EN-ROGEL, OR THE WELL OF JOB, is named in the Bible in several places. It was specified by Joshua as a point on the boundary between the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. Here Adonijah assembled his retainers when he aspired to usurp the throne of his father David: a wood-cut in my book gives a section of this well, and I regret that here for want of space, I must omit all further description of it; and passing over many interesting pools and fountains, so called, proceed to notice the far famed POOLS OF SOLOMON, and the aqueducts of Solomon and Herod.

About seven miles distant from the Haram enclosure, beneath which lies the great cistern, which was formerly supplied by an aqueduct from these pools, and two miles south-west of Bethlehem, are the pools of Solomon. They are three in number, and formed in a precisely similar manner to the lower pool of Gihon; partly by embankment across a valley, and partly by excavation in the natural rock, all being rendered staunch by masonry and cement.

The overflow of the first pool falls into the second, and that of the second into the third, from which the aqueducts above-mentioned strike off. The first follows the winding of the hill sides till it reaches Bethlehem; where at present it delivers *all* the water for the use of that village and the irrigation of its gardens. It then continues a tortuous course till it arrives at Jerusalem, and terminates, as before-mentioned, in the great cistern within the Haram, which it formerly supplied with water. Perhaps it is this aqueduct which is thus referred to in the Scriptures: "There is a river, the stream whereof shall make glad the City of God, the Holy Place of the tabernacles of the Most High." In all its windings it is twelve and a quarter miles in length; though the direct line between its extremities is only six miles and seven furlongs.

This long tortuous aqueduct was probably constructed by Solomon, and no doubt it was made according to the best models of that age; but engineering science had not then attained

to any great degree of advancement. During the disturbed state of the monarchy after his death it was most likely neglected, and in course of time became delapidated. Subsequently, towards the close of the thirteenth, or in the commencement of the fourteenth century, Sultan Mohammed Ibn Kelâun wished to convey water to the city, and repaired it. Want of ability on his part, or of skilful engineers, might have obliged him to repair or reconstruct this inferior aqueduct, instead of repairing a more modern one on a far superior principle; of which their remains even now exist, and which must have been then also, as we have strong grounds for believing that it was built by Herod, and therefore anterior to his time. Substantial portions of it remain to the present hour, and, consequently, there can be little doubt existed at the time in question, in a yet more perfect state.

The distance between Solomon's Pools and the Haram esh-Sherif, in a direct line, being six miles and seven furlongs, whilst the present tortuous aqueduct of Solomon is twelve and a quarter miles in length, it is *manifest* that if the water of the Pools could be conveyed to the city by a shorter course, and thenceforward delivered, without any trouble, by mere hydrostatic pressure, at a higher level than could be attained by the aqueduct of Solomon, that inferior aqueduct, especially if considerably out of repair at the time, ought (guided by common sense) to have been abandoned.

As *proved* by the flowing of water in Solomon's aqueduct, the Pools are situated on a higher level than Jerusalem; and consequently nothing could prevent water being delivered from them into the city, on the hydrostatic pressure principle, but an intervening hill of greater elevation than themselves, and even in that case water could be delivered in the city by means of a tube constructed to act as a syphon. No such obstruction to the action of the former principle happens to exist; and accordingly we find that at some period, (probably, as observed, in the time of Herod, who could call to his aid the ability of Roman engineers, skilled beyond all others of the day in the science of hydrodynamics,) the physical law was taken advantage of, which compels a fluid where it cannot find an outlet, to rise to the same level as its source; and a pipe of excellent workmanship was laid down from the pools to a distance of about three miles and a furlong, at which point, the water being delivered through the tube by hydrostatic pressure, flowed onward to the city, by the action of gravity, through a stone channel, not tubular.

A considerable portion of this noble work, which for the sake of distinction may be called the aqueduct of Herod, is visible

near Rachael's Tomb between Mar Elyas and Bethlehem. The tubular portion of this aqueduct, as before mentioned, ends at about three miles and one furlong from the Pools; that is at about two-thirds of a mile nearer to Jerusalem than Rachael's Tomb, at which point an embankment was formed, which still exists, to raise the aqueduct above the level of the highest ridge of land intervening between the Pools and the city. The stone tubing having come to the foot of the embankment, or rather wall, turned upwards at a right angle, or somewhat approaching to it, and having ascended the end terminated at the top.

To this point the water was manifestly delivered by hydrostatic pressure through the tube, and poured out into an open channel which ran along the top of the wall; till at the highest point of land which it is necessary to surmount, about one-third of a mile further on, the embankment wall ends, and the channel comes upon the level of the ground, at the ruins of an ancient watering place, which was furnished with a large trough cut out of a solid stone; this trough which remains still, was placed in the immediate course of the channel, so that the water flowed through.

From this point to the city we lose all trace of the aqueduct, except in detached or broken fragments. To return to the first portion of the aqueduct, that composed of tubing, as distinguished from the second, or channelled portion:—it is composed of squared blocks of stone, each perforated by a hole about nine inches in diameter, widened at one end to about 14 inches, to receive a conical projection from the stone next it, through which projection, as well as through the body of the stone, the hole passes.

For rather more than one mile and a furlong, as shewn upon the map, this stone tube can without interruption be traced above ground, terminating at the end of the embankment wall; but between the overground portion and the Pools, a distance of somewhat more than two miles, it is not visible. Notwithstanding, in all probability, it continues in a perfect state, for at two or three points it has been discovered beneath the ground, by Dr. Barclay, covered to a considerable depth with *debris* of the overtopping hills.

It may have been so covered in Sultan Mohammed Ibn Kelâun's time, and I verily believe that its existence was, on account of that circumstance, unknown to him; otherwise I cannot account in any way for his not having chosen to repair this excellent aqueduct, instead of the very inferior one of Solomon. He, doubtless, must have been aware of the above-ground portion of it, near Rachael's Tomb, but being probably ignorant of the laws

of hydrodynamics, he might have only marvelled by what means water had been ever elevated to the top of the embankment, higher than any part of the aqueduct visible to him; and not knowing how to accomplish the conveyance of it there again, abandoned all hope of doing so; perhaps doubting what the object of the tube had been, or that it had ever effected its intended purpose.

A portion only of the total rain-fall is capable of being collected in reservoirs. The mode best adopted for collecting the rain-fall in Syria, on a large scale, is by the formation of embankments across valleys, after the fashion of Solomon's Pools; or of the Serpentine in London. But in addition, means should be adopted, by a system of surface drains, to draw the largest amount of water possible into the reservoirs.

As already shewn, the total annual depth of rain-fall in the locality is sixty-five inches; and, as shewn in my book (chap. v., sect. 1), ten per cent. of this, or six and a half inches in depth, is an approximation to the quantity absorbed deep into the ground for the supply of springs, etc.

Of the remaining ninety per cent. we may assume, without any material risk of error, that one-half—that is forty-five per cent. of the entire—or twenty-nine and a quarter inches in depth, is carried off by evaporation, and absorption by animal and vegetable life, by the process called *endosmosis*; and that the other one-half, or twenty-nine and a quarter inches, flows off upon the surface, or at a depth not exceeding three feet below it, to supply tanks and reservoirs in the neighbourhood, or escape by the valleys of Jehoshaphat and Hinnom. The grounds for this calculation are fully discussed in my book, chap. iii., sect. 3.

From the nature and theory of springs, as explained in chap. iv., sect. 1, the limited extent of the summit of the hill upon which Jerusalem stands, and the proximity of the ravines around it, it is quite *impossible* that a true spring, yielding an appreciable quantity of water, could now, or ever did, exist within the walls.

In 1862, while I was at Jerusalem, an announcement, which some time previously had been circulated, was again revived, that a spring from which issued a running stream, had been discovered beneath the precincts of the convent of the Daughters of Zion, adjoining the Ecce Homo Arch, in the Via Dolorosa. I obtained permission to see it, accompanied by Mr. Ducat, the hotel-keeper in that vicinity, the superior monk connected with the convent, who treated us most hospitably, and the master mason of the works then in progress pertaining to the convent, a Frenchman, whom I had previously met at Marsailles. Quite in accordance with my expectation, it proved not to be a true

spring, but a mere leakage of water through a partition wall from a cistern or cesspool deep under ground, into an ancient vault, the descent to which was by a ladder. It had been recently discovered in sinking the foundations of a building; and in correction of that announcement, and of an erroneous statement now appearing in print (in a large work full of puerile blunders, and *uncorroborated* statements of discoveries), that it is a constantly flowing stream, yielding "from two hundred to two hundred and fifty gallons of water per day," I can assert that there is no flow at all. The tank or saturated soil which might have supplied the so-called well, if any such there were, soon became exhausted after the clearing of the adjoining vault, and the trickling into the vault, when I was there, would scarce suffice to damp a piece of paper pressed with the hand against the place whence it oozed—a loosely built partition wall, through which water might have forced its way whilst any remained at the other side. I went to see it in consequence of the triumphal announcement that living water had been discovered.

I have shewn in my book that 663,726 gallons of water per day might be obtained from the roofs of houses, etc., within the city. I have also shewn 837,965 gallons per day as the minimum yield which might be expected from four wells suggested to be made or deepened in the vicinity. The next necessary inquiry is as to the quantity which might be supplied to the city by means of surface drainage in the district, received into reservoirs. I have shewn that of the sixty-five inches of annual rain-fall, forty-five per cent., equal to twenty-nine and a quarter inches in depth, is the approximate quantity which flows off either upon the surface of the land, or at a depth not exceeding three feet; this would yield 106,177 cubic feet of water per acre, or 67,953,600 cubic feet per square mile.

The catchment-basin, or area which might contribute water to Solomon's Pools, is about five square miles in extent: capable of yielding by surface drainage 339,768,000 cubic feet, or sufficient to replenish the pools nearly forty-two and a quarter times in each year; which shews that Jerusalem, even in Solomon's time, was not supplied in the dry season with a tithe of the water which it might have had from this source. In our country the capacity of reservoirs for storeage purposes, should be proportioned at from one-half to one-third the volume of water which their respective catchment areas are capable of yielding throughout a year; and in Syria, where the declivities are so steep that most of the water runs to waste unless immediately caught, precautions are especially requisite, and the capacity of reservoirs there should bear a still nearer proportion to the

volume of water, which, according to the advantages of the position, might flow into them. That efficient means had been used to direct all the drainage into Solomon's Pools, I must, therefore, doubt; especially as I could find in the district no traces whatsoever of drains remaining, save two surface drains running into the lower pool; but this circumstance is no conclusive proof of their not having existed, for that all traces of shallow drains should have disappeared after so great a lapse of time could not be marvelled at.

About one square mile and a half, on too low a level to be rendered available for the service of the upper pool of Gihon, might be made to contribute to the *lower* pool of Gihon. This would give 101,930,400 cubic feet of water in the year.

A district of about two and a quarter square miles might be made to contribute to the upper pool of Gihon, from which the Pool of Hezekiah might be replenished. This would produce 152,895,600 cubic feet of water.

The uplands N. and N.W. of the city, an extent of about one square mile and a quarter, are sufficiently elevated to supply the cistern outside the Damascus-gate (mentioned in chap. ii. sect. 15) and a reservoir which should be constructed within the wall in the same locality; and likewise the Pool of Bethesda, Birket-el-Hejjeh, and Birket-Hammam-Sitte-Myriam (the particulars of which are given in chap. v. sect. 7, table 1.) These uplands would produce 84,942,000 cubic feet of water.

Scopus, the Mount of Olives, and the range of hills of which they form part, present a surface of about two and a half square miles, in a favourable position, and sufficiently elevated to supply water to the highest portions of the city. It would produce 169,884,000 cubic feet of water, which might be conveyed "on the level," by an aqueduct round the valley of Jehoshaphat; or else by means of hydrostatic pressure through a metal or a stone-ware tube, adapted to the surface of the ground, across the valley by the shortest course.

Adding these several items together, the result is 849,420,000 cubic feet of water, equal to 5,293,687,370 gallons per annum; or 14,503,253 gallons per day, which might be supplied to the city simply by surface drainage, and suitable reservoirs for its reception.

This would be upwards of seven hundred and thirteen gallons per day for each individual—more than double the quantity which each inhabitant of Ancient Rome possessed, or than each inhabitant of New York (one of the best supplied cities in the world) possesses at the present day, or more than thirty times that supplied, from *all* sources, to each inhabitant of London.

And great as this quantity appears, my statement cannot be controverted unless it can be shewn that there does *not* exist around Jerusalem and around Solomon's Pools together, eleven square miles of land on a higher level than the city itself, and one square mile and a half commanded by the lower pool of Gihon, on a higher level than it, though lower than the city ; or unless it be shewn that the evaporation in the region is so great, or the porosity of the soil so unusual, that forty-five per cent. of the annual rain-fall cannot escape by surface drainage : in other words, is not capable of being collected.

I have taken the elevations from the best maps, sections and models of the locality that exist, aided by inspection of the ground, and if they be in any degree inaccurate, a *proportionate* reduction or addition—as the case might be—should be made regarding my figures ; the *principle* involved cannot be disputed, being that *only* upon which a true calculation can be founded.

By adding to the above quantity, which might by simple means be obtained by surface drainage from without the city, that which might be collected of rain-water from the available surface within the walls (not including the space occupied by streets and waste ground)—as shewn in chap. i., sec. 4—and the estimated quantity which might be obtained from deep wells in the vicinity, we get a total of 16,275,872 gallons daily ; which at far less comparative expense than that incurred in other places, would supply a population of 3,200,989 persons (larger than that of London, which according to the late census is 2,803,989), should the city ever prosper to that extent, with five gallons of pure water per day for each inhabitant. This, it is true, is the quantity estimated, in chap. i., secs. 1 and 6, as sufficient only for necessities ; but for both necessities and comforts of life, fifteen gallons per day for each individual, or three times the above quantity, is that which is requisite. Therefore taking that as a basis, a population in Jerusalem of 1,670,000 souls might be easily supplied with abundance of water—fifteen gallons a day for each individual.

And this might be accomplished without the formation of any artificial impervious surface by which—as shewn in chap. iii., sec. 3—the quantity might be greatly increased, and independent also of the additional quantity which might be had from Neby Samwil Mountain, as shewn in chap. ii., sec. 12.

Therefore it is manifest Jerusalem has in itself the most necessary element of strength and prosperity ; and that, without the recurrence of any miracle, the prophecies in its behalf can be fulfilled to render it a mighty city, more glorious than it ever yet has been.

The means of supply in ancient time, when water was confessedly abundant, were *reservoirs, aqueducts* and *wells*; and these means are still available in all their plentitude, requiring only to be taken advantage of to the full extent, to produce even a greater quantity of water than at any former period.

I have hitherto drawn attention to facts and circumstances with a view rather of shewing what might be performed with a large capital, than that which is barely essential for the requirements of the present population.

I shall now name the most essential requisites, the estimate for which, performed in the best manner, does not exceed £8,479 12s. 6d.; whilst I have drawn up alternative estimates for lesser sums; and I leave it to the magnanimity of Christians and Jews to carry out the suggested improvements. Thus both may rejoice, and say with truth, "We have conferred no transient blessing upon 'the city of our Solemnities.'"

Construction of a main sewer; repairs and enlargement of existing cistern outside the Damascus-gate; formation of drains for supply of same, pool of Bethesda, Birket-el-Hejjeh, and Birket-Hammam-Sitte-Myriam; ditto for supply of upper pool of Gihon, and pool of Hezekiah; constructing a tubular aqueduct from Solomon's pools to Jerusalem, nearly parallel to that of Herod;—these are *essential* works, and complete in themselves, and even if every sympathy with the Holy City were to end here, and though no further improvement should be ever effected, they alone would constitute a great and a permanent blessing.

In the performance of these works, especially in the sinking of the main sewer, not far from the cloisters of the temple wall, in the "valley of slaughter," where cities lie on cities, and ruins over ruins—fifty feet, sixty feet in depth—what relics of the Jewish monarchy, what interesting antiquities might not be discovered! perhaps priceless manuscripts, historical records, containing a fuller account of our race, of our Creator, or of the Jews, that wondrous nation, His chosen people.

The execution of this work would, I might almost say, infallibly lead to the discovery of one of the most important relics of the original temple which we can now expect to find—the piers and foundations of the magnificent bridge which Solomon built across the Tyropœon, "his ascent by which he went up into the house of the Lord," mentioned in Second Chronicles;—which, together with "his house that he had built," and other objects of splendour, caused such astonishment in the Queen of Sheba, "that there was no spirit in her, and she said to the king, It was a true report that I heard in mine own land of thine acts and of

thy wisdom ; howbeit I believed not their words until I came, and mine own eyes had seen it ; and behold the one-half of the greatness of thy wisdom was not told me."

For the discovery of the "springing" of the arch of the eastern abutment of this bridge we are indebted to Dr. Robinson ; but the abutment itself, which formed part of the temple wall, is buried in the ground, beneath the detritus and ruins of many Jerusalems. I have marked upon the map the position of the bridge, restored. Its southern side was thirty-nine feet from the S.W. corner of the Haram wall, and its breadth was fifty-one feet. Part of the first arch still remains protruding from the wall. It consists of three courses of immense stones : one stone being twenty-four and a half feet in length, and another twenty and a half ; and, measuring from a photograph, each of them is about six feet in height.

It may well be asked, why were not these arch stones, which projected in such a conspicuous manner, discovered long before Dr. Robinson's visit ? The answer is simply this :—From a distance their real nature is not easily discernible ; and till lately none but Moslems, true believers, were permitted to approach the wall of "the noble sanctuary," for that is the meaning of the appellation el-Haram esh-Sherif, save at one spot, where the Jews upon payment of a tribute, are, and have been for a number of years, allowed to draw near and kiss the stones of their ancient temple, and mourn over its fall ; hence the name it bears, the Jews' Wailing Place. I have seen tears rolling down the poor creatures' eyes, as they loudly and vehemently chanted their hymns ; during the time shaking their bodies vehemently (for what purpose I cannot tell), and then pressing their lips and bosoms to the hallowed great stones in the wall. It painfully called to memory the words of the Psalmist, "Thy servants take pleasure in her stones, and favour the dust thereof ;" and nothing more than a few stones and the very dust now remain to them.

I am indebted to the levels taken by Dr. Barclay, and to those furnished by Mr. Poole to the Earl of Clarendon, for the relative elevation of the Pools of Solomon to the different portions of the city, and for the relative elevations of the latter with respect to each other. Herod's Aqueduct proved that the Pools are higher than the Jaffa Gate, to which it conveyed water : this in itself is an important point : the measurements referred to have shewn them to be higher than the top of the most lofty tower, and much higher than the most elevated land within the walls.

The bridge (*γέφυρα*) is often incidentally mentioned by

Josephus. It was either upon this very abutment, or near it, that Titus, having captured the Temple, stood to hold a parley with the Jews in their last extremity; speaking to them across the Tyropœon,—for they still retained possession of the “Upper City,” or modern Zion,—and entreating of those that were left, to spare him the necessity of committing further carnage, by laying down their arms, and submitting to his standard.

I must own that I was never in my life so greatly affected with compassion and awe, as when wandering over the foundations of that Tyropœon bridge, amidst a jungle of gigantic cactus overtopping my head, and within a stone’s throw of the Jews’ wailing-place.

“Oh weep for those that weep, . . .
Whose shrines are desolate, whose land a dream;
Weep for the harp of Judah’s broken shell,
Mourn ——.” . . .

“And when shall Israel lave her bleeding feet?
And when shall Zion’s songs again seem sweet?
And Judah’s melody once more rejoice
The hearts that leap’d before its heavenly voice?”

“Tribes of the wandering foot and weary breast,
How shall ye flee away and be at rest!
The wild dove hath her nest, the fox his cave,
Mankind their country—Israel but the grave!”

This shall not be always true. That you may be satisfied as to the practicability and efficiency of my project, I refer to the principal engineering and architectural journals of the day,—the *Engineer*, the *Builder*, the *Building News*, and the *Builders’ Weekly Reporter*. From the *Builder* I quote the following:—

“Dr. Whitty has made an important discovery, the utilization of which would give Jerusalem a water-supply superior in convenience to even that under Solomon. According to Dr. Whitty’s data, the deepest part of the lowest Pool of Solomon is 81 feet above the bottom of the Pool of Hezekiah, in Jerusalem, which is 10 feet in depth; therefore it is 71 feet above the level of the ground at that point, which is 6 feet higher than the street at the Jaffa Gate, and about 16 feet above the base of David’s Tower. The tower itself being about 60 feet in height, water might be sent with considerable force to the top under a pressure of 27 feet, and a tank there kept constantly filled. Dr. Whitty has given the subject for years deep and anxious consideration, and has ascertained beyond all doubt the feasibility of this crowning project, of ‘bringing water by a

tubular aqueduct from the Pools of Solomon, either to the top of David's Tower, or to the highest point within the walls.' It seems not improbable that though the ancients might have known as much, theoretically, about levels as we do, yet being ignorant of the use of cast-iron, they could not by means of masonry alone build pipes to hold a great pressure of water. Dr. Whitty gives several estimates so as to meet different contingencies. In the words of Dean Stanley, who has written the introduction to this book, the subject is invested with a 'sacred halo.' We are fully willing to admit the feasibility of Dr. Whitty's plans,—we trace all our religious life to Palestine. The land once flowed with milk and honey. Anything connected with Palestine and Jerusalem must have an engrossing interest for all of us. In our case, as Christians, archæologists, and professional men, we wish Dr. Whitty God speed and every success in his undertaking."

The *Building News* says:—"The author of the proposed system of 'Water Supply and Sewerage for Jerusalem,' has with great zeal and ability examined into and set forth its conditions from a sanitary point of view. . . . As an indispensable adjunct and corollary to an abundant water-supply, the sewerage of the city demanded attention at the hands of Dr. Whitty. This it received, and in several chapters, and a most instructive series of appendices, a complete, and apparently *perfect*, system of drainage is expounded. Estimates and plans are given, and these appear to have been framed and executed with extreme care. Many other questions are touched upon; as, for example, the possibility of cultivating cotton more extensively in various parts of Palestine: the prospects of agriculture there are dealt with too."

The *Engineer* adds, "Surely a few thousand pounds can be found for carrying out Dr. Whitty's scheme." The *Builders' Weekly Reporter*, likewise, strongly commends the project, and adds, "Dr. Whitty's visit to Jerusalem at the time of our young Prince's visit enabled him to collect a vast store of information on the subject."

The *Athenæum* pronounces it "a work which would cleanse and beautify the most celebrated city in the world." The *Jewish Chronicle and Hebrew Observer* says, "There should really be no difficulty in Bible-loving England to carry out the plans laid down by the author." The *Observer* says, "A Society has been formed in London to aid in carrying out these objects, and the Jerusalem Water-Relief Society ought not to lack support." The *Illustrated London News* says, "Let therefore all to whom the Holy City is dear, who pray for its prosperity, who look for

its renovation, and who shudder at the thought of uncleanness pervading

“ ‘ Jerusalem, Jerusalem, the burial-place of God,’

give heed to Dr. Whitty’s plan.”

Such is the spirit of the leading journals, which I trust will give ample assurance as to the common-sense, and the practical and inexpensive nature of the proposal.

I may observe, that Lord Shaftesbury and Sir Roderick Murchison are Patrons of the Society, and the Rev. John Mills Honorary Secretary.

I shall conclude when I touch upon one other point, which, startling as the assertion may at first appear, I have fully investigated and am prepared to demonstrate; namely, the practicability of establishing (or perhaps, as before surmised, it may be only *restoring*) a permanent cascade and “brook” in the Kidron. The total amount of water capable of being procured for the city by ordinary means (not counting that which might be obtained from the rain-fall upon streets and unoccupied spaces within the walls), as already shewn, is 16,004,944 gallons, or 2,569,012 cubic feet per day; from which deducting 279,261 cubic feet, ascribed to the Lower Pool of Gihon, and 134,505 cubic feet estimated as that due to wells in the vicinity, making together 413,766 cubic feet, we get 2,155,246 cubic feet per day, or nearly 1,497 cubic feet per minute; sufficient to fill a pipe more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter, with a fall of 5 feet per mile.

If, say, one-fourth of this should be prevented running through the sewers, and after it had passed through the city in various pipes and channels, which might converge, should be made to flow into a pond, like the Serpentine in Hyde Park, prepared for it above the Garden of Gethsemane, a permanent water-fall might be established from the embankment; the flow from which, having a depth of six inches upon the wier, would be nearly five feet in width, and produce a rivulet, or veritable “brook Kidron,” from two to three feet wide, varying between those limits as the depth of the stream and the gradients of the ground might change, whilst a body of water of three times that volume, as I have shewn, would be reserved to pass through the sewer down towards the Dead Sea. Thus we have seen that abundance of water might be procured for every purpose.

If the railway which I proposed were constructed from Jaffa to Jerusalem, and by the upper part of the valley of the Jordan to Tiberius, Damascus, Aleppo, and the Bay of Iskanderûn, with a suitable harbour or pier at each terminus—Jaffa and Iskanderûn, all Syria would be opened up, the fertile valley of

the Jordan, now neglected, might be irrigated by canals from the river Jordan itself, which at present runs to waste, and whilst doing the desired good for the Holy Land, the promoters of this line would reap an immense profit by entering into it as a commercial undertaking, distinct from the water supply of Jerusalem, which should be purely a gift. The restoration of the ancient forests of the land might be made a profitable undertaking, whilst it would produce fuel; and increase as well as regulate the moisture in the country. As pointed out in my book, concessions can be obtained, and are offered, by the Turkish government upon very advantageous terms for agricultural and railway purposes. Thus, without the recurrence of a miracle, which is unnecessary in these days of steam-engines and cast-iron tubes, the prophecies respecting the Land of Promise can, and will, be fulfilled.

Syro-Egyptian Society.—Jan. 12. C. H. Harle, Esq., in the chair.—Mr. Sharpe exhibited the parallel lists of Egyptian kings' names, from Manetho, Eratosthenes, and the Tablet of Abydos, so far as they could be compared together. He shewed that the Tablet of Abydos contradicted the view taken by Lepsius and Bunsen, of there being an interval of centuries between the so-called Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties. In the Tablet the kings of the Eighteenth immediately follow those of the Twelfth. He shewed that Eratosthenes agreed with the Tablet in that respect; and, further, that Eratosthenes rejected that second long interval of time which the German writers have inserted between the builders of the pyramids, and the above-mentioned great kings of Thebes.

Royal Asiatic Society.—Jan. 18. The Right Honourable Lord Viscount Strangford in the chair. W. Hentz, Esq., and D. Mackinlay, Esq., were elected Resident Members.—The Secretary read portions of the first paper of a series entitled "Contributions to a Knowledge of the Vedic Theogony and Mythology," by T. Muir, Esq. In this paper, after endeavouring to account for the discrepancies which are to be found in the nature-worship of the Vedic hymns, the author passed in review the character and functions attributed to the first Vedic divinities—viz., *Dyaus* and *Prithivi* (Heaven and Earth), *Aditi* and her sons, the *Adityas*, and others—illustrating his statements by translations from the original texts, and occasional references to corresponding deities, traceable in the most ancient phase of Greek and Roman mythology.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[We wish our readers to understand that we cannot be held responsible for the opinions of our contributors and correspondents. The utmost we can do is to keep a careful eye upon the literary character of their communications, and to see that they do not transcend the limits of fair criticism and lawful inquiry.]

THE ARCHONS OF DEMOSTHENES.

CHRONOLOGY is of such vast importance as an evidence that Jesus Christ was the Messiah foretold by Daniel, and the archons, which are mentioned in the *De Coronâ* of Demosthenes, and not found in the list of Diodorus Siculus, are so extraordinary a testimony against the truth of the chronology of Diodorus, on which our common chronology is based, that I am unwilling to allow the remarks of Dr. Hincks, in your number for January, to pass unnoticed. In your page 428 Dr. Hincks says: "But Mr. Parker thinks that a number of archons are omitted by Diodorus in the reign of Philip; and he gives as a reason that nine archons are mentioned by Demosthenes as those under whom decrees were enacted in the time of Philip. He might as well argue that the list of Olympic victors was incomplete, because it did not contain the names of certain persons who, according to Pindar, gained the victory in the chariot race. Surely Mr. Parker, who has had a university education, must have known, though he seems to have forgotten, that there was in each year an archon eponymus, after whom the year was named, and who had nothing to do with the passing of decrees, and six thesmothetæ, who transacted by turns all the business of the assemblies. All the archons mentioned by Demosthenes were thesmothetæ. I may now dismiss Mr. Parker and his chronological fancies, and will henceforth consider it as certain that the Olympic dates and archonships, given by Diodorus, are truly given by him." That all the archons mentioned by Demosthenes were not thesmothetæ, is past all contradiction, upon the testimony of Demosthenes himself. In his pages 278-9, Demosthenes says, "Give me these decrees and the date of each transaction. Thus you shall see what infinite confusion this abandoned wretch could raise, and yet escape unpunished. Read the decrees." Then follow two decrees; but the date is not given. Upon this Demosthenes says, "Read now the date of these transactions: for it corresponds exactly with the time in which he acted as our representative. Read." Then follows, "*The date. In the archonship of Mnesithides* (*Ἀρχὴν Μνησιθίδης*), the sixteenth day of the month Anthesterion." With this before him, it seems almost incredible that any scholar should venture to say that Mnesithides was one of the six thesmothetæ, and not an eponymus archon, who gave the name to a year. The month is named as Anthesterion, and

to fix the *year* in this instance, "*Mnesithides archon*," and nothing else is given. Nor is it given for any other purpose than to fix the *year*. I was quite aware of the thesmothetæ, as Dr. Hincks may have seen in my *Archons of Athens*, page 9. Nor have I ever said that the eponymus archon had anything to do with the passing of decrees; and whatever may be said as to the other eight archons of Demosthenes, Mnesithides must without doubt have been an eponymus archon. That the last of these decrees was of the time of Philip, is also evident from the decree itself: for in it we read, "It is therefore resolved by the Pylagoræ, the assessors and the general assembly, that a deputation shall be sent to Philip king of Macedon," etc.; and surely the finding in Demosthenes of any single eponymus archon of the time of Philip, whose name is not in the list of Diodorus, must vitiate his list: because, in his list, Diodorus not only gives an archon for each year of the reign of Philip, but also for each of his eighty-three years, from the end of the Peloponnesian war to the second year after the death of Alexander. That a wrong name for an eponymus archon of the time of Philip should have been inserted in a decree of the time of Philip, and that such should have been handed down by Demosthenes, who was an orator in the time of Philip, is, of course, quite incredible, and as there was but one eponymus archon in each year, the conclusion is inevitable; either Diodorus must be wrong as to one of the archons, which he has given for the time of Philip, or else there must have been more years in the reign of Philip than Diodorus has given. That Diodorus has made a mistake in giving a wrong name for an eponymus archon, can scarcely be the explanation; for we should have to suppose the same kind of mistake for each of the nine additional archons mentioned by Demosthenes. Dr. Hincks will, of course, contend that each of the archons named by Diodorus was an eponymus archon, and the conclusion must be that there were nine more years in the reign of Philip than are given by Diodorus, and the only way of escape from this dilemma would be, not merely to assert, though with the doctor's confidence, but to prove, or at least shew the great probability, that the decrees in which these archons are found were spurious, and introduced into the works of Demosthenes by some later hand. But this is highly improbable; for if the decrees had been interpolated, the probability is that the interpolator would have given the names of well known archons; and if Dr. Hincks should amend his plea, and contend for the spuriousness of these decrees, he will not have to stop with Demosthenes, but must go on with certain parts of Lysias, to which I shall have to call his attention.

To shew the great probability that not only all of these archons of Demosthenes, but more also, were not only eponymus archons, but also additional ones to those named by Diodorus, I will mention the circumstances under which I became acquainted with them. Whilst I was engaged on my work *The Church*, which I published in folio in 1851, I was anxious to shew chronologically that Jesus Christ was the Messiah foretold by Daniel; but I found the attempt

quite hopeless with the common chronology. Under this conviction I turned to Josephus, knowing nothing of the grounds of our common chronology, and, after a patient investigation of his various dates, I elicited his system, and found that his account of the period between the overthrow of Babylon by Cyrus and the overthrow of Jerusalem by Titus exceeded the common chronology by thirty-one years. This offered what seemed to me a satisfactory explanation of Daniel's prophecy, and the coincidence led me to adopt the chronology of Josephus as true, and I published it in my book. With this chronology before them, when Jesus Christ was born, the Jews could not have rejected Him, as not having come at the time foretold. At the latter end of the year 1852 my attention was again called to chronology, and I then resolved to make a thorough investigation of all the ancient authorities on the subject, and I published the result in 1858, in an octavo volume of 820 pages, with an *extended table* of 16 pages in folio. After a long and careful consideration of the different authorities, I came to the conclusion, on the concurrent testimonies of Herodotus, Thucydides, Theopompus, Callisthenes, Demosthenes, Clitarchus, Timæus, Sosicrates, Callimachus, Castor, Menander, Polybius, Justin, Strabo, Livy, Diodorus Sic., Pliny, Plutarch, Aulus Gellius, Eutropius, Appian, Tatian, Julius Africanus, Syncellus, Suidas, R. Ganz, and the *Parian Chronicle*, that there must have been twenty-one years more between the end of the Peloponnesian war and the death of Alexander the Great than were assigned to the period by Diodorus and our common chronology; and if there were these additional years, there must of course have been as many additional eponymus archons. This led me to Demosthenes, as having been an orator in the time of Philip and Alexander, to seek for additional archons, and to my great satisfaction I found in his *De Coronâ* his nine additional archons. Thus these additional archons, instead of having been my original reason for supposing that a number of archons had been omitted by Diodorus in the reign of Philip, only confirmed me in a conclusion to which I had previously arrived from wholly different and independent testimonies. From Demosthenes I turned to Lysias, as having been an orator in the time of the Peloponnesian war, and to my equally great satisfaction I found in his *Orat. pro Milite* (p. 74) the name of Ctesicles, as an archon about the end of the war; nor is his name to be found in the list of Diodorus. Further, Diodorus in his 93 Ol. 4, places Alexias as the fifth archon from Diocles: but Lysias, in his *Munerum acceptorum Defens*, p. 183, makes his client to say, "When Diocles was archon I spent at the lesser Panathænea on the cyclic dance three hundred drachmæ, and for the next seven years I was on the galleys and spent six talents, and though I was at such expenses, and daily running into danger, and travelling on your behalf, I nevertheless brought tribute, on one occasion thirty minæ, and on another four thousand drachmæ; and when I sailed home in the archonship of Alexias, I was immediately made gymnasiarch at the Promethean games and was victorious, and spent twelve

minæ." Thus Lysias gives Alexias as the seventh, instead of as the fifth archon from Diocles, as given by Diodorus. This statement of Lysias must be held to be above all suspicion, and so of itself must be held sufficient to overthrow the list of Diodorus. Thus, out of the twenty-one additional archons, which there must have been, I have had the good fortune to find the names of ten, and it may be that with a more extended and careful search I might find more; but these ten are more than enough for my purpose, and surely we must not without very strong reasons admit that all the passages in which these names are found are spurious, especially as the existence of more than twice as many additional archons was an antecedent probability. Further, it was in the early part of November, 1855, after I had laboured very diligently in the cause about two years, and had settled the outline of my scheme, that my attention was called to the Arundel Marble, or Parian Chronicle; and this too, instead of having led me astray, as Dr. Hincks supposes, only confirmed me in my previous conclusions. It agreed to a year with the inference that I had previously drawn from my many authorities. Of itself also this most precious marble is sufficient to overthrow the authority of Diodorus. This I have also set forth in my "Parian Chronicle subversive of the common chronology," which appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of December, 1858, and March, 1859. But I may here notice some instances. First, the marble confirms the statement of Lysias, as to the interval between the archonships of Diocles and Alexias. Another remarkable instance is as to the distance of the reign of Philip of Macedon from the Peloponnesian war. Diodorus places the beginning of this war in 87 Ol. 2, v.c. 322, and the beginning of the reign of Philip in 105 Ol. 1, v.c. 393, and in the archonship of Callimedes. Thus, according to Diodorus, Philip began to reign in the seventy-first year after the beginning of the war. But, according to the marble, as copied by Selden in 1628, Euctemon was archon in the one hundred and forty-seventh year of its era, and as he was archon in the twenty-fourth year of the war, the war must have begun in the one hundred and seventieth year of the era. The accession of Philip is placed by the Marble in the ninety-third year of its era and in the archonship of Agathocles, and thus, according to the Marble, Philip began to reign in the seventy-seventh year after the beginning of the war, that is to say, there is a variation of six years between Diodorus and the Marble as to the beginning of the reign of Philip, and also a variation as to the archonship in which the reign of Philip began. But, Dr. Hincks finds fault with my adopting Selden's interpretation of the date of the archonship of Euctemon. In your page 426 Dr. Hincks says, "The false assumption which he (Mr. Parker) brings most prominently forward is, that the archonship of Euctemon was actually and intentionally assigned by the compiler of the Parian Chronicle to its one hundred and forty-seventh year. To me it is quite clear that the compiler of the Chronicle wrote one hundred and forty-fourth, and that either the sculptor, or—what seems more

probable—Selden the copyist, mistook the last part of the date, IIII, four, for III, seven. This mistake of II for II, or *vice versâ*, is very apt to be made; I will hereafter bring forward a second instance of it in the Parian Chronicle, and will notice a similar error in reading an Egyptian date, where it has led to a mistake of eight years, instead of three; II having the value of *ten* in hieroglyphics. Now if we only read 144 for 147 in the Marble date of this epoch, considerably more than half the supposed inconsistencies which Mr. Parker finds in the chronology of Diodorus will at once disappear. He infers from this epoch, which is that of the twenty-fourth year of the war, the epochs of the first and of the twenty-seventh or last year of the war, making them all too great by three. He then compares these epochs with other epochs on the Marble, and, of course, he finds a constant difference of three years between the intervals deduced from the Marble and those deduced from Diodorus. *Each* of those differences he treats as an *independent proof* that Diodorus's list of archons is erroneous! but the single correction above given annihilates all these imaginary proofs."

As Selden had the advantage of copying the marble so soon as it came to England, his great abilities and integrity, assisted by his two learned friends, Patrick Junius and Richard James, should be sufficient vouchers for the credit of his copy: but if there were a constant difference of three years between all the intervals deduced from the marble, as interpreted by Selden, and those deduced from Diodorus, which would disappear by a single correction, we might be disposed to admit that Selden had in this instance mistaken IIII, four, for III, seven. But the difference between these two authorities is not always a difference of three years, and so all my imaginary proofs would not be annihilated by a single correction; and the very suspicion of a mistake in this instance is quite forbidden by the dates of the two next archons, which are mentioned on the marble. The next archon to Euctemon on the marble is Antigones, and his date is 145. Consequently, the date next above it could not have been 144. But Dr. Hincks may suggest that in this case also Selden has mistaken II, two, for II, five, and that the proper date of Antigones should be 142, and not 145. Be it so: but this would require two corrections, instead of a single one, to annihilate all my imaginary proofs. Nor would they all be annihilated by these two corrections. For if Euctemon was archon in 144, and Antigones archon in 142, there must still, as before, have been another archon between them, according to the marble: but in Diodorus's list, Antigones succeeded Euctemon as archon in the year immediately following, and this would of itself be sufficient to overthrow the list of Diodorus. Further: this second correction is also forbidden by the date of the next archon on the marble. The next archon to Antigones on the marble is Callias, and of Callias Selden says in his p. 113, "Although the number of the epoch has disappeared, and also the first letter of the age of Sophocles (91), yet from what remains of it, and from what has before taken place with respect to Sophocles,

the number (143), which we have given to Callias, is not obscurely elicited."

According to the marble, Sophocles was twenty-eight years old in the two hundred and sixth year of the era, in the archonship of Apsephion. Therefore the year in which he was ninety-one (his age at his death) must have been 143, and if Callias were archon in 143, Antigenes, who was archon before him, could not have been archon in 142: nor could Euctemon, who was archon before Antigenes, have been archon in 144. Hence the supposition of the mistake by Selden, as to the date of Euctemon, is altogether forbidden. Further: with these two variations the marble would also still be at variance with Diodorus, as to the archonships of Apsephion and Micon and Laches, and their variance as to the interval between the Peloponnesian war and the beginning of the reign of Philip would only be reduced from six to three years. Their variance also as to the archonship in which Philip began to reign would still remain, and according to Diodorus, Agathocles was archon in the fourth year after Callimedes. I have already noticed that Lysias, in giving Alexias as the seventh archon from Diocles, is supported by the marble; but it is on the supposition that Selden has rightly represented Euctemon, as 147. In its turn Lysias may be produced as justifying the interpretation of Selden. According to Diodorus, Diocles was archon in the year immediately before Euctemon, and this would be 148 in the Marble Era, with Selden's interpretation (147) for Euctemon. Diodorus also gives Callias as archon in the year immediately before Alexias; and this would place Alexias in 142 of the marble, with Selden's 143 for Callias. Thus Alexias would be the seventh from Diocles, as stated by Lysias. Further: the number 147 for Euctemon receives a striking confirmation from Aulus Gellius and Orosius. If Euctemon, the archon in the twenty-fourth year of the war, was archon in 147, the war must have begun in 170; and the beginning of the reign of Philip is placed in the ninety-third year of the era. Thus, the reign of Philip began in the seventy-seventh year from the beginning of the war. Aulus Gellius (xvii., 21) places the beginning of the war in v.c. 323, and the accession of Philip in v.c. 400. Orosius (iii., 12) also places the accession of Philip in v.c. 400; that is, the accession of Philip was in the seventy-seventh year from the beginning of the war, as we have already deduced it from the marble.

The name of the king of Macedon, who began to reign in the ninety-third year of the Marble Era, and in the archonship of Agathocles, has been obliterated from the marble; but no doubt can exist that it was Philip, as given by Selden. Prideaux, in his copy of the marble (1676), suggests that the record ought to have been of Philip's building Philippi, and not of his accession to the throne. This is a plain admission that Philip was the king of Macedon to whom the record referred, and his suggested alteration of the event (which is very plainly recorded) is as plain an admission that the marble is at variance with Diodorus in respect to it. Nor does Prideaux suggest that the archonship of Euctemon should have been

given as in the one hundred and forty-fourth year. Thus, the assumption which I bring most prominently forward, that the archonship of Euctemon was actually and intentionally assigned by the compiler of the Parian Chronicle to its one hundred and forty-seventh year, must be held, not to be a false, but a right assumption. But the great value of the marble arises not so much from its enabling us thus to throw down the chronology of Diodorus, as from the weight of its testimony in building up a true chronology, and this value depends entirely upon the right interpretation of its era. Selden, and the advocates of our common chronology, assume that Diodorus is correct in placing the archonship of Agathocles, the last archon with a date on the marble, in 105 Ol. 4, that is, B.C. 357. This would place the erection of the marble in 129 Ol. 1, that is, B.C. 264, as the date of Agathocles on the marble is 93. But to this I demur. In its place I shall shew that the proper date of Agathocles is 101 Ol. 2, that is, B.C. 375, and that of the twenty-one years to be introduced between the end of the Peloponnesian war and the death of Alexander, fifteen are to be introduced in the reign of Philip, *i. e.*, below the archonship of Agathocles. But, for the present, I must confine myself to the nine archons of the time of Philip that we have found in Demosthenes, and are not to be found in the list of Diodorus.

All are agreed that the death of Alexander, in the archonship of Agesias, is rightly placed by Diodorus in 114 Ol. 1, that is, B.C. 324. All are also agreed that the archonship of Evænetus, the archon in the second year of Alexander, that is, the year after the death of Philip, is rightly placed by Diodorus in 111 Ol. 2, that is, B.C. 335. But the placing of the archonship of Agathocles, who according to Diodorus was archon in the fourth year of Philip, in 105 Ol. 4, must be wrong, if the nine additional archons of Demosthenes are to be introduced into the reign of Philip. I contend that they must be introduced, and that, therefore the date of the erection of the marble is not to be determined by the Olympic year in which Diodorus has placed the archonship of Agathocles, but by some other means. The Trojan war was the great event from which dates were reckoned by the ancients, and as the compiler of the marble has placed it in the nine hundred and fifty-fourth year of its era, I propose to employ it as the means of determining the date of the Marble Era. Dr. Hincks, in your page 427, refers to my mention of it, but he does not seem to be the least aware of the object which I have in view. In your p. 428 Dr. Hincks also greatly misrepresents what I have done respecting Timæus. He says, "We have to deal with *historic* dates; and Diodorus cannot be convicted of error in respect to them, because Timæus and the compiler of the Marble Chronicle differed from him as to *prehistoric* dates. He (Mr. Parker) fancies Timæus and the compiler of the Marble must have placed the return of the Heraclidæ in the same year; and he then argues to this effect:—The Heraclidæ returned eight hundred and twenty years before Evænetus, or 335, *i. e.*, in 1155, according to Timæus [conceditur]. *Conse-*

quently, according to the Marble [negatur]. But the marble date of the Heraclidæ is 873; and this taken from 1155 years gives 282 for the difference between the Marble epoch and the year before Christ." That Diodorus differs from Timæus and the Marble as to *prehistoric* or ante-Olympic dates may be easily shewn; but I do not from this infer that Diodorus must be in error as to *historic* dates. Instead of doing this, I have just shewn from Demosthenes, without any reference whatever to *prehistoric* dates, that Diodorus has omitted certain archons of the time of Philip, and that their omission of itself proves that Diodorus has placed the archonship of Agathocles, and all the preceding archons, in wrong Olympic years.

Also, without referring to *prehistoric* times, I have shewn from Lysias and the Marble that Diodorus is wrong in the order of succession in which he has placed several of his archons. Further, Dr. Hincks admits that the return of the Heraclidæ was in B.C. 1155, according to Timæus and Clitarchus; but I do not from this infer that it must therefore be in B.C. 1155, according to the Marble. Instead of doing this, I prove distinctly, without reference to Timæus and Clitarchus, that the return must have been in B.C. 1155, according to the Marble. The return is not mentioned on the Marble; but its date in its era may be easily deduced from the year (954) which the Marble assigns to the Trojan war. We learn from Thucydides (i., 12), Eratosthenes (*ap. Clem. Al.*, i., 402), and Apollodorus (*ap. Diodor.*, i., 5), that the period from the Trojan war to the return of the Heraclidæ was 80 years. These 80 deducted from 954 would leave 874, and thus the return must have been in 873 of the Marble Era, that is, 453 years before the date 420, in which the Marble places the archonship of Creon, the first annual archon. Now we learn from Julius Africanus that Creon was archon in 19 Ol. 3, that is, B.C. 702, and 702 years added to 453 years will give B.C. 1155, as the date of the return of the Heraclidæ, according to the Marble. Thus I find that the return of the Heraclidæ was in B.C. 1155, according to Timæus and Clitarchus, by learning from Diodorus that the archonship of Evænetus, which is mentioned by Timæus and Clitarchus, was in 111 Ol. 2, *i. e.*, B.C. 335, and I find that it was in B.C. 1155, according to the Marble, by learning from Africanus that the archonship of Creon, which is mentioned by the Marble, was in 19 Ol. 3, that is, B.C. 702. This would place the erection of the marble in 124 Ol. 3, that is, B.C. 282, and the first Olympic year must have been in the four hundred and ninety-fourth year of the Marble Era. The death of Alexander in 114 Ol. 1 must have been in the forty-second year of the era, and the death of Philip in 111 Ol. 1, the year before the archonship of Evænetus, must have been in the fifty-fourth year of the era. But I must produce this testimony of Julius Africanus. As recorded by Syncellus (p. 212) Africanus states that the first annual archon, Creon, was appointed in the nineteenth Olympiad, but called by others the twenty-fifth Olympiad, and he adds that from Creon to Philinus,

who was archon in the two hundred and fiftieth Olympiad, there were nine hundred and twenty-three archons; and if Philinus was archon in 250 Ol. 1, Creon must have been archon in 19 Ol. 3, *i. e.*, B.C. 702. According to Eusebius (*Chron.*, 120) the annual archons of Athens were first appointed in 24 Ol. 2, *i. e.*, B.C. 683, and this would give the archons down to 250 Ol. 1 as 904, instead of 923, as given by Africanus, shewing a variation of nineteen archons, and as all are agreed that the archonship of Evænetus, in the year after the death of Philip, was in 111 Ol. 2, the nineteen additional archons of Africanus must have been between the first archon and the death of Philip, and this would make it highly probable that the nine additional archons of the time of Philip, which are mentioned by Demosthenes, were eponymus archons. On the other hand, these additional archons of Demosthenes give a credibility to the account of Africanus beyond the account of Eusebius. The 954 years which the Marble places between the first year of its era and the Trojan war, were evidently made up of a certain number of Olympic or *historic* years, and a certain number of ante-Olympic or *prehistoric* years, and if we knew the number of the Olympic, we should also know the number of the ante-Olympic, or if we knew the number of the ante-Olympic, we should also know the number of the Olympic years, and, in either case, we should be able to fix the date of the Marble Era without doubt; but for our purpose we need not assume that the war was an event which actually occurred. All that we want is to ascertain what were the ante-Olympic years, which were adopted by the compiler of the Marble, as its date. We have seen the probability of the truth of Africanus's account, and if Creon was really made archon in 19 Ol. 3, the Marble must have been erected, as we have noticed, in 124 Ol. 3, and its 954 years to the Trojan war must have consisted of 494 Olympic and 460 ante-Olympic years.

I will now shew, without the aid of Africanus, the great probability that the ante-Olympic years, which were adopted by the compiler of the Marble as the date of the war, were 460. As the archonship of Evænetus was in 111 Ol. 2, the 820 years of Timæus and Clitarchus, which reached from thence to the return of the Heraclidæ, must have consisted of 441 Olympic and 379 ante-Olympic years. If to these 379 we add one for the year of the return, and 80 for the distance from the return to the Trojan war, we shall see that Timæus and Clitarchus must have adopted 460 ante-Olympic years as the date of the war—the identical number that we have elicited from the Marble, as explained by Africanus. Suidas (*Homerus*, ii., 682) has also handed down a tradition, seemingly from Porphyry, that the first Olympiad was 460 years after the Trojan war. These are striking confirmations of the tradition handed down by Africanus, as to the archonship of Creon. But Solinus (c. i., 27) says, "The Olympic contest, which Hercules instituted in honour of Pelops his maternal great-grandfather, Iphitus the Elean restored after its interruption in the four hundred and eighth year from the fall of Troy." Euse-

bios (*Præp.*, p. 484) also says, "If you go back to old times, you will find that from the first Olympiad to the taking of Troy there were 408 years, as the accounts of the Greek chronologists have it." Diodorus (i., 5) also says that, according to Apollodorus the Athenian, and reckoning by the kings of Lacedæmon, there were eighty years from the Trojan times to the return of the Heraclidæ, and from this to the first Olympiad three hundred and twenty-eight years, and this would give four hundred and eight years from the Trojan war to the first Olympiad.

Thus, between the account of Timæus Clitarchus and Suidas and the Marble, as explained by Africanus on the one hand, and the account of Solinus Eusebius and Apollodorus on the other hand, there is a variation of fifty-two years, the amount of thirteen Olympiads. Nor is it difficult to account for this variation. According to Syncellus (p. 196), Callimachus says that there were thirteen Olympiads not recorded, and that Corybus was victor in the fourteenth. Thus, the variation may be easily accounted for on the supposition that the first restored Olympiad was mistaken for the first recorded one by Apollodorus, and those who have handed down the interval, as four hundred and eight years. That the compiler of the Marble adopted one or the other of these two traditions may well be supposed; but it is utterly incredible that he adopted the tradition of the four hundred and eight years; for, if he had adopted it, there must have been five hundred and forty-six Olympic years in his nine hundred and fifty-four, and the beginning of the reign of Philip, in the ninety-third year of the Marble Era, must have been in 114 Ol. 2. This, of course, is incredible, when no doubt exists that Alexander, Philip's successor, died in 114 Ol. 1. We should also bear in mind that Timæus Clitarchus and the compiler of the Marble are commonly supposed to have all lived about the time of Alexander.

Thus, there is a value in *prehistoric* dates, and that not a little enhanced by the different traditions which have been handed down respecting them, and no doubt should exist that the four hundred and sixty ante-Olympic or *prehistoric* years for the Trojan war, which were most certainly adopted by his cotemporaries Timæus and Clitarchus, and which have been most clearly elicited from the Marble by the rational explanation of Africanus, were in truth adopted by the compiler of the Marble, and should, therefore, be held to be the proper means to determine the date of the Marble Era. These, as I have said, would place the erection of the Marble in 124 Ol. 3, i.e. B.C. 282, and the archonship of Agathocles, in its ninety-third year, would be 101 Ol. 2. By inserting the additional archons of Demosthenes in the reign of Philip, all the historic dates of Diodorus above them would, of course, be convicted of error; but the Marble would go further, and point out the proper Olympic years for all its events. Hence the great importance of the right interpretation of the Marble Era. Nor must we lose sight of the statement of Africanus as to the difference of opinion which in his day existed as to the Olympic year in which Creon was archon.

Plutarch (*Numa*, tom. i., p. 60) also says:—"It is difficult to collect the times accurately, and especially those which are deduced from the Olympiads." Thus, we need not be surprised to find that Diodorus is in error as to the Olympic years, in which he has placed his events from the time of Philip and upwards, especially as we have so clearly convicted him of error in the omission of the archons of Demosthenes and Lysias, and in the order of succession in which he has placed his archons. Nor is it only in reference to the kingdom of Athens that we have evidence as to these additional twenty-one years. We have seen that the reign of Philip of Macedon began in the ninety-third, and must have ended in the fifty-fourth year of the Marble Era. This reign must, therefore, have been thirty-nine years; but it is given by Diodorus as twenty-four years. Here we have an excess of fifteen years; and we have also seen that, according to the Marble, the reign of Philip began six years later than it did according to Diodorus. We have also a singular confirmation of this in Diodorus. In his Lib. xvi., 71, he says: "As to historians, Theopompus, the Chian, in his *History of the Affairs of Philip*, wrote three books containing Sicilian affairs. And he began from the tyranny of Dionysius the elder, and went through a period of fifty years, and ended with the expulsion of Dionysius the younger." We conclude that this *History of the Affairs of Philip* must have extended to the death of Philip. The Marble places the death of Dionysius the elder in the one hundred and fourth year of its era, and if we descend fifty years from this, we shall come to the fifty-fourth year of the era for the death of Philip, as before. We have also testimony as to these twenty-one additional years in reference to the kingdom of Persia. According to the common chronology, the duration of the kingdom from the first of Cyrus to the sixth year of Darius Codom in 112 Ol. 2, B.C. 331, was two hundred and twenty-nine years; but, according to Strabo (xv., 851) and Sulpicius Severus, ii., 17, its duration was two hundred and fifty years. Here we have the exact twenty-one years additional. Further: according to Diodorus (xiii., 108; xv. 93), the reign of Artaxerxes Memor, who began to reign at the end of the Peloponnesian war was forty-three years; but, according to Plutarch (*Artaxerx.*, 1027) and Sulpicius Severus (ii., 13), his reign was sixty-two years. Here we have nineteen out of the twenty-one additional years for Persia, and in the alleged period of omission. Further: if the two hundred and fifty years of Strabo ended in sixth of Darius 112 Ol. 2, B.C. 331, the first year of Cyrus must have been in 50 Ol. 1, B.C. 580. Pliny (*Nat. His.*, xxxvi., 4), says: "Dipænus and Scyllis, natives of the Isle of Crete, were the first who were celebrated for marble sculpture, even in the reign of the Medes before Cyrus began to reign in Persia, that is, in the fiftieth Olympiad. With the first year of Cyrus in 50 Ol. 1, his twenty-first year, when, at the end of the seventy years' captivity of the Jews, he conquered Babylon, and Persia became the great universal monarchy, must have been in 55 Ol. 1; and Africanus, as handed down by Eusebius (*Præp. Ev.*,

p. 488), says: "After the seventy years' captivity Cyrus became king of the Persians in the year in which the fifty-fifth Olympiad was celebrated, as we learn from the books of Diodorus and the histories of Thallus and Castor, and also Polybius and Phlegon, and also others who have paid attention to Olympiads." Strange to say, this statement is made the foundation of the common chronology: but Clinton (*Fast. Hell.*, p. 2, 55 Ol. 2) says, in reference to it, "The date of his (Cyrus') reign in Persia is established by unanimous consent, although Africanus, who preserves these testimonies, has unskilfully applied to the first year of Cyrus in Persia transactions which belonged to the first year of Cyrus in Babylon, twenty-one years afterwards." I contend that Africanus has not made this mistake. At all events, he is only consistent with himself in what he has said with respect to the archonship of Creon. As there is no connection whatever between these two events, it is difficult to conceive how Africanus could have made the two mistakes, each involving exactly twenty-one years. If either of the accounts be true, it would be sufficient for my purpose, and, as to the archonship of Creon, he may have adopted the wrong tradition, if he had not a list of his archons before him; but his account cannot be resolved into a mistake; for he gives the number of archons, and states that a different opinion on the matter was held by others. We have also testimony as to twenty-one additional years in reference to the kingdom of Rome. We learn from Dionysius (*Ha.*, i., 57), that Rome was built when Charops was archon at Athens for the first of his ten years. Charops was first of the seven decennial archons who immediately preceded Creon. Hence, with Creon in 19 Ol. 3, *i.e.*, B.C. 702, Rome must have been built in B.C. 772. But Dionysius also says that, according to Polybius, it was built in 7 Ol. 2, *i.e.*, B.C. 751. Here again we have a variation of twenty-one years. Further: we learn from Livy (*Epit.*, 51) that Carthage was destroyed by Scipio in its seven hundredth year; and we learn from Eusebius (*Chron.*, p. 147) that this destruction of Carthage took place in 158 Ol. 3, *i.e.*, B.C. 146. Hence the building of Carthage must have been in B.C. 845. We learn from Justin (*Hist.*, xviii., 6), that Rome was built seventy-two years after Carthage; and if by this we may understand that there was an interval of seventy-two years between the end of the year in which Carthage was built, and the beginning of the year in which Rome was built, we shall have the building of Rome in B.C. 772, as before. Further: we learn from Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, ii., 12), that an eclipse of the sun, foretold by Thales, occurred in U.C. 170. This, with Rome built in B.C. 772, would place the eclipse in B.C. 603. We learn from Herodotus (*Clio.*, 73, 74), that this eclipse took place in the sixth year of a war between the Lydians and the Medes, when Alyattes was king of Lydia, and Cyaxares was king of Media. We also collect from *Clio.*, that the earliest and most probable year for the beginning of this war was the twenty-ninth of Cyaxares, and consequently the most probable year for the eclipse would be the thirty-fourth of Cyaxares. We

also learn from *Olio.*, 102, 106, that Deioeces reigned fifty-three years, Phraortes twenty-two years, and Cyaxares forty years,—in all one hundred and fifteen years.

Diodorus, ii., 32 says, "According to Herodotus, Cyaxares was chosen king by the Medes, 17 Ol. 2," but on comparing Diodorus with Herodotus, it is evident that the name of Cyaxares has been handed down in mistake for Deioeces, and if the first year of Deioeces was in 17 Ol. 2, *i. e.*, B.C. 711, the last year of Cyaxares must have been in B.C. 597, and the thirty-fourth of Cyaxares must have been in B.C. 603, giving the identical year for the eclipse, which has been before found. The Astronomer Royal (Mr. Airy) in a paper read before the Royal Astronomical Society, February 3, 1853, is clearly of opinion that the eclipse of Thales occurred 28th May, B.C. 585. But this clearly could not have been the eclipse, from not having occurred in the time of Cyaxares. The eclipse could not have been later than B.C. 597, when Cyaxares died. In January, 1857, Dr. Hincks himself came most unexpectedly to my aid, and in *Journal of Sacred Literature* of this month, p. 466 says, "I myself, however, entertain no doubt that the eclipse of 18th May, 603, (B.C.) was that which terminated the Lydian war," and in the *Journal* for January, 1863, p. 346, Dr. Hincks says, "I believe that his (Nebuchadnezzar's) father was the Labynetus of Herodotus, and that he was the king who intervened at the termination of the Lydian war in 603 B.C." I feel myself under great obligation to Dr. Hincks for this his repeated testimony; for no one will suspect that it has proceeded in the least from any undue affection for my views. But, the weight of his opinion is very much diminished by the circumstance that it is not supported by the Astronomer Royal. In his p. 193, the Astronomer Royal says, "Thus I have examined every *total* eclipse in Mr. Olmann's table, extending from B.C. 631 to B.C. 585, and find only one (namely) that of B.C. 585, May 28, which can have passed near Asia Minor." In the *Monthly Paper* of the Royal Asiatic Society, May 12, 1858, p. 148 the Astronomer Royal says, "The eclipse, therefore, of —584, May 28 (B.C. 585), which I adopt as being most certainly the eclipse of Thales, might be predicted from the morning eclipse of —602, May 17 (B.C. 603); and a man of astronomical and geometrical knowledge, might from the circumstances of one, form a shrewd guess on the circumstances of the other, provided the hours of day were such as to make both eclipses visible. Now the hours of day were such as to make both eclipses visible, and moreover, the eclipse of —602 was a *large* eclipse in Asia Minor and the Levant." The united unhesitating testimony of astronomers in favour of the eclipse of B.C. 603 would be highly important, but not indispensable, as the perfect harmony subsisting between Herodotus, Pliny, and the authors who place the building of Rome in B.C. 772, can scarcely be accounted for, except upon the supposition of truth, especially with the admission of the Astronomer Royal that there was a large eclipse in Asia in B.C. 603. As to the period, when these twenty-one additional years may have been

omitted in the history of Rome, I must refer to Livy. In his *lib.* viii. 40, his annals for the consulship of L. Fabius and L. Fulvius, u.c. 432, that is, eighty-four years after the end of the Peloponnesian war, and sixty-seven years after the burning of Rome with its private and public records by the Gauls, he says, "It is not easy to give priority to one thing before another, nor to one author before another. I suppose that memory was corrupted by funeral praises and false imaginary titles, whilst each family, by deceitful lying, attracted to itself the reputation of exploits and honours." See also *lib.* vi. 1, and Diodorus, i. 3. This testimony in reference to these twenty-one additional years might be much increased, and if there were twenty-one years more in any one kingdom, there must have been as many in respect to every kingdom, whether we can find evidence of them or not, and the finding this evidence in respect to four kingdoms is quite inexplicable, except upon the supposition that there were these twenty-one additional years in reality. In your p. 424, Dr. Hincks says, "Even if it (the testimony of Diodorus) were not confirmed by astronomical evidence, it would still carry conviction to every person who would take the trouble to study it; but in point of fact, it is corroborated by such a mass of astronomical evidence, that it is quite a psychological curiosity that any mind should be so constituted as to discredit it." I trust I have said sufficient to shew what the testimony of Diodorus is without the confirmation of astronomical evidence, and I should find no difficulty in shewing that, with all the mass of astronomical evidence that Dr. Hincks has produced, or can produce, it would still be found wanting, if weighed in the balance with the varied and independent testimony which I have produced and can produce against it. Regard for your patience forbids my going into astronomical particulars now, but to the discord among astronomers as to the eclipse of Thales, which I have already noticed, I may add that Professor Adams, in a paper read before the Philosophical Society, 16th June, 1853, states that he has made such a discovery in regard to the secular variation of the moon's mean motion, that the calculation of the moon's place for a very distant epoch, such as that of the eclipse of Thales (of which Dr. Hincks speaks so confidently), may be seriously vitiated by it. I have also learnt that this discovery has been completely confirmed by M. M. Delaunais, and an astronomical friend in whom I confide says, "There is something yet to be discovered before we can calculate our old eclipses *consistently* with each other, and with the new value of the acceleration. We must *wait* for more discovery."

In conclusion, I should state that the addition of these twenty-one years to the common chronology for the period from the Peloponnesian war to the death of Alexander, furnishes an explanation of the prophecy of Daniel which is even more satisfactory than that which is furnished by the chronology of Josephus, and, even if it did not, the overwhelming weight of testimony in its support would compel me (however reluctantly) to withdraw the assent which I have given to the chronology of Josephus, from the overthrow of

Babylon by Cyrus to the overthrow of Jerusalem by Titus. I still retain my unhesitating assent to the truth of the chronology of Josephus from the Creation to the overthrow of Babylon by Cyrus, and I have set it forth with much additional and most important confirmation in my work on chronology.

To shew that it is not altogether improbable that the sepulchre in Sychem was bought by Abraham, as stated by St. Stephen in Acts vii. 16, we should notice that the first altar, which was built unto the Lord by the patriarchs in the land of Canaan, was built by Abraham in Sychem, where the Lord appeared unto him, on his first coming into Canaan from Haran (Gen. xii. 6, 7). See ante, p. 5.

FRANKE PARKER.

THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT, AND ITS EMENDATION.

MAY I be allowed to offer a few remarks on the article bearing this title in the January number of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*?

While fully appreciating the importance of the subject therein discussed, and giving the writer all due credit for his laborious researches, ingenuity, and good intentions; and while allowing that some of his proposed corrections are worthy of approval, I desire to express my dissent from many of these, and especially from the principles which he lays down for the criticism of the Hebrew text.

I at once allow that *conjecture* may, in the case of the Old Testament, sometimes be resorted to as a source of criticism. The most eminent scholars admit this. But manifestly such an instrument must be used with great caution, otherwise everything would become unsettled. Nothing is easier than conjecture, and it affords a tempting opportunity for the exercise of one's ingenuity. Accordingly it has been carried by some critics to an unwarrantable extent. Whenever a difficulty occurs in the interpretation of a passage, they would at once remove it by the substitution of a new reading, which they easily discover by changing the division of words, or the vowel points; or by adding or omitting, altering or transposing some of the letters. For an example of this system we need not go farther than Bishop Lowth's *Commentary on Isaiah*. His principles are, however, now generally rejected. Notwithstanding all that has been written about the alleged corruption of the Hebrew Scriptures, the Masoretic text is upheld by the ablest critics, and any alteration of it is, with good reason, deemed unwarrantable, except in extreme cases, such as those in which the corruption can be proved, or is evident on the face of the text (as in the case of certain numbers and dates); or in which the exigencies of interpretation *imperatively* require a change of reading. Conjectural changes for the mere sake of *improving* the text are rightly condemned as savouring of presumption. Yet the writer of the article in question would alter the Hebrew text in many cases on, as it seems to me, too slight grounds.

He adduces several parallel passages from different books as

proving, by their want of complete agreement, that numerous corruptions have crept into them. One of these is Psalm xviii. as compared with 2 Samuel xxii. If he means to assert, as he seems to do, that *all* the variations in those passages have arisen from errors of transcription, I suspect few will agree with him. Any one who compares them together will, I think, be convinced that neither of them can be regarded as a corruption of the other, or of a common original, but that they are independent *editions*, so to speak, of the same composition, and that *most* of the variations are inherent, proceeding from the author himself, and not caused by careless transcription either before or after they were inserted in their present places in the sacred canon.

With regard, also, to that portion of the history of King Hezekiah which is found both in Kings and in Isaiah, I think it may be safely maintained that *all* the variations existing between the two passages are not the result of careless transcription. Most probably the author of at least *that* portion of Kings was Isaiah himself, and the discrepancies in the two narratives are to be ascribed to him. An author, in writing two accounts of the same transactions, is not bound to use precisely the same expressions throughout, or to write both with equal fulness. It must be confessed that some difficult questions arise in connection with parallel passages of Scripture such as those, and the two lists of David's mighty men in 2 Samuel xxiii. and 1 Chron. xi., which I do not attempt here to discuss. But assuredly such questions are not to be summarily disposed of by asserting that their variations have originated in course of frequent transcription.

One of the canons laid down by the writer of the article is the following:—"We suppose (says he) error to exist, just as in any ancient author, wherever an inapposite sense or ungrammatical construction appears in any passage." That error exists in *some* of those cases may at once be admitted; but that this may be said of *all* of them, I consider to be a dangerous rule of criticism. Great caution must be exercised in judging of meanings and constructions. Our inability to perceive the meaning of a passage arises more frequently from our ignorance of some circumstance or custom to which it refers, than from an erroneous reading. Our notions of appositeness may be different from those of oriental writers; and even amongst ourselves contradictory opinions on such a point will often be entertained. This shews the danger of altering the text of Scripture wherever an inapposite sense is supposed to be given. And as to ungrammatical constructions, it is not always easy to decide what, as such, are to be condemned. Is every construction which is unusual, or not elsewhere found in the comparatively small portion of ancient Hebrew now extant, to be set down as ungrammatical, and therefore rejected? Moreover, every author uses some expressions more or less peculiar to himself. Are all such to be altered and amended till they are smoothed down to a complete uniformity with the commoner forms of expression? I cannot

believe that the writer of the article would maintain such positions; yet they are only natural deductions from the unqualified form in which he lays down his general principle.

But to advert to some of his illustrations. In Genesis xiv. 15 he thinks לָקַח is an error of transcription for לָקַח , which he would accordingly substitute. The emendation would certainly give an *easier* reading than the present. But of several readings the easiest is not necessarily the correct one, very often the reverse. Literally rendered, it now is:—"And he was divided against them by night, he and his servants." As to this use of the niphal of לָקַח compare Job xxxviii. 24, $\text{וַיִּקַּח אֶת אֲרָיוֹ וַיִּדְּלֵם בְּיָמָיו}$. The meaning is, he divided his men into several bands, that they might fall upon the enemy from several quarters at the same time, and, aided by the darkness, throw them into confusion. This surely gives a more suggestive meaning than the tamer, "he went against them," and there appears no such difficulty in it as to call for any emendation of the text.

In Psalm xcvi. 11 he proposes to read וְיָרֶם for וְיָרֵם , the metaphor being, as he thinks, incongruous. But not so thought the author of *Paradise Lost*,—

"Now morn her rosy steps in the eastern clime
Advancing, sowed the earth with orient pearl,"

which explains and illustrates the Psalmist's fine image, from which it is doubtless borrowed. As to this use of the preposition לְ compare Hosea x. 12, $\text{לְקַיֵּץ אֶת הָאֲדָמָה}$, which is very similar. I admit that "light is *risen* on the righteous" is a good meaning, but "light is *sown* for the righteous" is equally good and much more beautiful. Some would, perhaps, condemn the following line as containing an incongruous image:—

"To sow a jangling noise of words unknown,"

and conclude the reading to be incorrect; but there is no error in it, and Milton is the author of it also (*Par. Lost*, xii., 55).

Though "he gave gifts unto men" in Ephes. iv. 8, is different from "thou hast received gifts for men" in Psalm lxxviii. 18, it does not follow that the apostle read in his copy of the Old Testament וְיָרֶם for וְיָרֵם . It is universally allowed that the New Testament writers do not always quote from the Old with verbal accuracy, but merely give the *sense*. The thought in both passages is really the same—Thou hast procured, fetched, or received in order to give.

Because "the course of the sentiment in Psalm vii. 4 is suddenly arrested by a parenthesis, instead of the usual parallelism of two lines," he proposes to read $\text{וְיָרֶם אֶת אֲדָמָה}$ for $\text{וְיָרֵם אֶת אֲדָמָה}$, which would give, "If I have oppressed him that without cause is mine enemy." But this would make the supposition to be self-contradictory; for if the Psalmist had *oppressed* his enemy, the hostility of the latter towards him could scarcely be said to be *without cause*. The present reading is much to be preferred. That the parallelism is not quite so complete as the proposed correction would render it, is no good objection to the text as it stands. The writer here pushes the principle of

parallelism too far. It does not pervade even the poetical books to the extent which he maintains. There are numerous cases of imperfect parallelism such as this.

It is not, however, my purpose to follow him into all the passages he proposes to amend, as to do so would necessitate a lengthened article. I will only say farther, that several of his corrections seem fanciful and far-fetched. I would specify as examples his proposed readings of Genesis v. 29 and Psalm xxxix. 5, 6, and the methods by which he arrives at them.

He proposes that a concordance of parallelisms should be drawn out, that, with the materials for criticism thus obtained, the correspondence between those lines in which the parallelism is now deficient might be restored. Biblical criticism might, no doubt, derive help in some cases from such a method. But there is a fallacy in the supposition that an author is always to use the same parallel expressions even in reference to the same things. Besides, if the principle he advocates were to be carried out to the extent of rendering complete even all those imperfect parallelisms in which the sense may not be very clear, the alterations of the text would be endless. But even this would not satisfy him. "The first effect (says he) of this close application of the principle will be to discover errors where none have been perceived to exist, because they furnish a fair sense." He would not only alter the text where there is obscurity, but where there is none, merely that a certain preconceived theory and unvarying parallelism may be rigorously worked out. Surely this is going too far.

We must not rashly change a reading because we do not very well understand the meaning, or because the style or forms of expression fall short of our modern ideas of correctness. Were the writings even of modern authors to be amended on such principles, what havoc would be made in them! When we remember that the Old Testament is a collection of books of extreme antiquity, written in languages which have long ceased to be spoken, and of which the only genuine remains are to be found in the sacred volume; describing a state of things which has long since passed away, and of which we possess no other contemporary record; containing many allusions of which the key has been lost; and a great portion of which assumes the form of type, symbol, and prophecy, we need not be surprised that there are many passages in it hard to be understood; and though the text is not perfect, its criticism should be conducted in a cautious, not to say reverential spirit.

Balmerino, 20th February, 1864.

J. C.

THE PROPHET AMOS, AND THE "RIVER OF THE WILDERNESS."

My attention having been directed to certain strictures by Mr. Grove, in Dr. Smith's invaluable *Dictionary of the Bible* (iii., 1772), on the

recently alleged connection of the prophet Amos with the "South (or rather Dry) country," and the identification of his "river of the wilderness" (Amos vi. 14), with the modern Wady el-Jeib, I feel it to be due, alike to Mr. Grove's eminence as a Biblical geographer, and to myself as the humble originator of these suggestions,* to make some remarks in defence and explanation of them. As a subscriber and occasional contributor to *The Journal of Sacred Literature* from the beginning, I shall feel obliged by your kindly inserting my rejoinder in your correspondence, in the hope that the subject may not be without its interest to Biblical students generally.

I. In disputing the propriety of the designation, "Prophet of the Negeb," which I applied to Amos, Mr. Grove appears to stand alone. No other writer, I believe, has called it in question. Indeed, the only other reference to this point, so far as I am aware, is in the *Reader* of May 2, 1863, which is thus expressed: "For general readers, perhaps the most interesting section of the book is that in which the author draws out the fact that Amos was pre-eminently 'the Prophet of the Negeb.' Every district of Palestine had its own peculiar prophet—Ephraim its Samuel, Gilead its Elijah, Samaria its Hosea, Jerusalem its Isaiah; and it is pleasant to be reminded that even the dry, rocky, remote 'south country' had its Amos." Of course, when I spoke of Amos as "the Prophet of the Negeb," I did not for a moment suppose that I should be understood to assert that his prophetic functions were exclusively or even chiefly exercised in the Negeb. I merely intended to express my conviction that the imagery employed by Amos proved him to be familiar with the phenomena of the Negeb; which, indeed, is no matter of surprise when we know that he was a "sheepmaster" of Tekoa.^b The connection of Amos with the Negeb had not even crossed my mind when I began to write, but as I found instance after instance in which the most appropriate illustration of Negeb characteristics was supplied by Amos, I was startled by the coincidence, and led to look into the subject; when the whole was explained by the fact of his personal familiarity with life in the Negeb, recorded by himself (Amos i. 1; vii. 14. 15). Being thus no preconceived idea, but one which has grown with the progress of the work, it is the more likely to be a true statement, and not a mere theory.

(1.) I had previously satisfied myself that the Negeb (or Dry country) extended, on the east side of Judah, quite up to its northern limits. The word "wilderness" (*midbar*) is applied to the pasture grounds east of Maon (1 Sam. xxiii. 25), of Ziph (1 Sam. xxiii. 15), of Tekoa (2 Chron. xx. 20), and of Bethlehem (1 Sam. xvii. 28), as well as to the region west of the Jordan near its mouth (Matt.

* See *The Negeb; or "South Country" of Scripture*, pp. 17, 34—36, 41, 45—48, 60, 189.

^b See *Negeb*, p. 45, note. Surely there was at least as much propriety in designating Amos "the Prophet of the Negeb," as in designating Elijah (from a single incident of his life) "the Prophet of Horeb"—which is the title of a published lecture by a popular preacher of the present day.

iii. 1). Nay, the very word *Negeb* is used in connection with the inheritance of Caleb (Joshua xv. 19; 1 Sam. xxx. 14), which, we know, was adjacent to Hebron (Joshua xxi. 11, 12), and therefore immediately adjoined the "wilderness of Tekoa." Thus while these cities (Tekoa perhaps excepted) were themselves in the "Hill country" (Joshua xv. 54, 55), their respective "commons" (as we should call them) were in the Negeb.

(2.) Such is the testimony of Scripture as to the extent north-eastwardly of the "Dry country," and as to the strict application of that term to the district of Tekoa; and with this agrees that of Dr. Robinson. I need only refer, in passing, to his map, which represents the "Wilderness of Judah" as extending to the latitude, not of Tekoa only, but of Jerusalem itself. Of the Arab tribe Ta'âmirah, he writes, "They may be said to occupy, in general, the district lying between Bethlehem, Tekoa, and the Dead Sea; the eastern part of which is a mere desert" (*Bib. Res.*, ii., 176. First edition). And in reference to the oasis at the fountain of Engedi, he says, "So far as the water extended, the plain was covered with gardens, chiefly of cucumbers, belonging to the Rashâideh.^c These Arabs were now encamped in the tract called Husâsah^d towards Tekoa; and had only watchmen here to protect the gardens. The soil of the whole plain is exceedingly fertile, and might easily be tilled and produce rare fruits" (*Bib. Res.*, ii., 212). It will be observed that the district, thus jointly occupied by these two Arab tribes, is the identical tract which was known in Scripture both as the "wilderness of Tekoa" and the "wilderness of Engedi."^e

(3.) This evident connection, in ancient as in modern times, between the pasture grounds of Tekoa and the fruit gardens of Engedi, throws a curious and interesting light upon the double occupation of Amos, as an owner of sheep and goats, and a "gatherer" or "dresser of sycamore fruit" (Amos vii. 14), and so far strengthens the views for which I am contending.

(4.) In proof of the homogeneousness of this north-eastern extension of the Negeb and its main portion further south, we find Dr. Robinson thus expressing himself, when travelling between Carmel and Engedi: "We recognized among the shrubs many old acquaintances of the southern desert, the 'Ajram, the Retem, and several others; and found ourselves thus in an hour transported back into the scenes of our former journey" (*Bib. Res.*, ii., 202). A little south-east of Maon, he says, "The extensive tract we now overlooked had

^c Lynch says these gardens "were owned by the Ta'âmirah" (p. 291). This slight discrepancy simply proves the intimate connection of the two tribes.

^d This word, applied both to the district and to one of its wadys which "rises near Tekoa" (*Bib. Res.* ii. 244), is evidently a trace of "Hazazon-tamar which is Engedi" (Gen. xiv. 7; 2 Chron. xx. 2); the other part of the compound having doubtless survived in the Ta'âmirah, just mentioned, who give their name to a wady which rises near Bethlehem, and falls into the Dead Sea, a little north of the Husâsah, and whose only village is named Beit-Ta'mar (*Bib. Res.*, ii. 176, 244).

^e See 1 Sam. xxiv. 1; and compare 2 Chron. xx. 2, with verse 20.

much of the general character of that around Beersheba; with which indeed it is connected, stretching off in that direction around the south-western termination of the long ridge which we were now crossing. . . The tract belonged anciently to the south of Judah, lying beyond the mountainous district of that tribe, and extending so as to comprise Beersheba and Kadesh" (ii., 467).

I think it will now be admitted that Mr. Grove was "incautious (to say the least)" in hazarding the assertion that my identification of Amos's "river of the wilderness" with the Wady el-Jeib is "a mere conjecture, without a single consideration in its favour beyond the magnitude of the Wady el-Jeib, and the consequent probability that it would be mentioned by the prophet." But even this partial concession is withdrawn in a note, where he adds, "It has not even the support that it was in the prophet's native district. Amos was no 'Prophet of the Negeb.' He belonged to the pasture grounds of Tekoa, not ten miles from Jerusalem, and all his work seems to have lain in Bethel and the northern kingdom. There is not one tittle of evidence that he ever set foot in the Negeb, or knew anything of it" (Smith's *Dict. of Bible*, iii., 1772).

II. Notwithstanding this strong language, I will venture to assume, after what has already been adduced, that Amos, as "a sheep owner of Tekoa," may with propriety be designated the "Prophet of the Negeb." But it is equally capable of easy demonstration that a Tekoite may not unnaturally be supposed to have some acquaintance with the south-eastern extremity alike of the Negeb and of Palestine. (1.) It is well known that the Bedawin Arabs do not invariably confine themselves to their own districts, but roam about with their flocks, according to the exigencies of the season. (a.) Scriptural examples of this occur in the persons of Abraham (Gen. xii.) and Moses (Exod. iii. 1). (b.) And the usage is still the same. Dr. Robinson, when at 'Akabah, "met a large caravan of the Haweitât coming from the eastern desert, whence they had been driven out by the drought. They were now wandering towards the south of Palestine" (*Bib. Res.*, i. 239). It is in reference to these same Arabs that he elsewhere adds the important remark, "The right of pasturage in a given region does not belong exclusively to the tribe inhabiting the tract; but any foreign tribe that chuses may come in and pasture, and go away again without asking permission" (i. 268). (c.) Now it so happens that Ta'âmirah (i.e., Tekoite) Arabs acted as De Saulcy's guides and protectors from Jerusalem, *viâ* Bethlehem, Mar Saba, Engedi, and so southwards along the Dead Sea, to the country of Moab (*Trav.*, i., 136; ii., 7). The same tribe with their fellow-Tekoites, the Rashâideh, were encountered by Lynch at 'Ain el-Feshkhah, 'Ain Terâbeh, 'Ain-Jidy (Engedi), Sebbeh (Masada), Wady Mubughîk (the probable site of Hazar-Gaddah, see *Negeb*, pp. 114—121), and Usdum; and he actually introduces the portrait of a Ta'âmirah of his party, just after passing the spot

where the Wady el-Jeib finds its way into the Dead Sea (*Exp. to Dead Sea*, pp. 279—314). (2.) This, it will be remembered, is the wady which I have ventured to identify with the *Nachal ha-'Arabah* of Amos, and against which Mr. Grove takes exception. I would, however, invite comparison between this very natural and indeed obvious identification of "*the water-course of the 'Arabah*" with the Wady el-Jeib, twice described by Dr. Robinson as "*the vast DRAIN or WATERCOURSE of all the 'ARABAH*" (*Bib. Res.*, ii. 497; see also p. 500), and Mr. Grove's proposal to locate it "at the brook of the willows" (Isaiah xv. 7). His frequent experience and acknowledgment of the precision of the sacred writers should make him the last person to affirm that the difference between singular and plural is of slight importance. I would argue, on the contrary, that it makes all the difference in the world, and is enough, in itself, to indicate that two distinct wadys are intended. I must leave him, however, to explain how the southern boundary of Moab (south-east of the Dead Sea) can also be the southern boundary of the northern kingdom (west of the Jordan); for such seems to be the purport of his article, which scarcely exhibits the accurate research and sagacious reasoning that usually mark his writings.

III. I am equally at a loss to see how he can, with propriety, restrict the application of Amos vi. 14 to "the northern kingdom." (1.) The prophecy in general is undoubtedly addressed to "*the whole family*" of the children of Israel (iii. 1). This is evident from the preamble, which employs the comprehensive term "Israel," and specifies the *southern* as well as the northern king (i. 1); thus intimating, in accordance with the prophetic usage, that his work lay in *both* kingdoms (compare Hosea and Micah, and contrast Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Zephaniah). It is equally apparent from the reference to Zion and Jerusalem, and to Carmel (i. 2), which is clearly the *southern*, not the maritime Carmel, from the pastoral context, and whose "dark mountain ridge" (still called Jebel Kurmul, according to Seetzen) would be so familiar an object in the southern horizon to the Tekoite shepherd-prophet (*Bib. Res.*, ii. 189, 194). The same inference is deducible from the allusion to Judah and Jerusalem (ii. 4, 5); to events common to the twelve tribes (ii. 9—11; iii. 1, 2; v. 25); to the general expression "house of Israel" (v. 1—4, 25), as opposed to the more restricted terms "house of Joseph" and "remnant of Joseph" (v. 6, 15); to Gilgal and Beersheba as well as Bethel (v. 5). This brings us to the sixth chapter, of which the verse now in question is the conclusion; and there the two kingdoms are clearly alluded to, from the mention of Zion side by side with Samaria (verse 1), and of David with Joseph (5, 6), and then of the two combined under the name Jacob (8); the whole being wound up with the prediction of Assyrian invasion, when the "house of Israel" should be "afflicted from the entering in of Hamath unto the nachal of the 'Arabah,"—evidently referring to the extremes of Palestine north and south, just as in viii. 14, where the more usual formula is implied in the mention of Dan and Beersheba. Not until

we reach the seventh chapter is there distinctive reference to Bethel and the northern kingdom, and to the prophet's actual presence there: but even then, the allusion, though special, is not exclusive (see "Jacob," "My people Israel," "the high places of Isaac," "the house of Isaac," verses 2, 5, 8, 9, 15, 16); and the eighth chapter resumes the former method of regarding the two kingdoms in one comprehensive glance. This is plain from the reference to "My people of Israel" (verse 2); to "the songs of the temple" (3); to "the excellency of Jacob" (7); to "the altar" and other parts of the temple (ix. 1); to the natural caverns of the southern Carmel, frequented by fugitives such as David (verse 3, cf. *Bib. Res.*, ii. 472); to the Exodus of "the children of Israel" (7); to "the house of Jacob" (8); to the dispersion of "the house of Israel among all nations" (9), which is especially true of Judah; to "the tabernacle of David" (11); and to the return of Israel from captivity (14), which has hitherto been fulfilled in respect of Judah only.

(2.) After this analysis of the book of Amos, it may scarcely appear needful to adduce any further considerations in reply to Mr. Grove's assertions that "Amos was no 'Prophet of the Negeb,'" and that "all his work seems to have lain in Bethel and the northern kingdom." I will therefore conclude with a short extract from the article on "Amos" in Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, by the Bishop of Calcutta, whose opinion may fairly be set against that of his fellow-labourer in the same great work: "He travelled from Judah into the northern kingdom of Israel or Ephraim, and there exercised his ministry, *apparently not for any long time*. . . . As the book is evidently not a series of detached prophecies, but logically and artistically connected in its several parts, it was probably written by Amos, as we now have it, *after his return to Tekoa from his mission to Bethel*" (i. 62, 63).

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5th January, 1864.

OUR LORD'S VISIT TO NAZARETH.

PERMIT an American reader and admirer of your Journal to offer upon an old question some considerations which he has never seen published. Is Luke iv. 16—31 identical in the events narrated with Matthew xiii. 54—58 and Mark vi. 1—6? We believe that it is, and that Mark best indicates the actual historical order in which they stand in the life of our Lord. All that is necessary to prove this is to shew that Luke has placed them by anticipation at the opening of our Lord's Galilean ministry, instead of at the point of their occurrence in order of time. And we may say, once for all, that students of the Gospel history find abundant reason to understand Luke's promise to write with connected arrangement (*κοθεξῆς γράψαι*) of logical rather than chronological order. We find then a sufficient logical reason for his placing this account out of its order of time.

He was writing to Theophilus a narrative of Jesus. He had described him in his early life as of Nazareth—had given that as his residence, his home. He followed him to Judæa at his baptism and temptation. He then tells Theophilus that "he returned to Galilee, and that there went out a fame of him through all the region round about, and he taught in their synagogues, being glorified of all."

Luke knew his friend would naturally still associate Jesus in his mind with Nazareth when in Galilee, and look upon that as his home and the centre of his movements, while he also knew that the fact was, that on his return he made Capernaum his home instead.

He, therefore, proceeds at once to notice and account for this change of domicile by narrating the temper of Jesus' former townsmen toward him, as exhibited when he did visit them, so that the reader may from the first give to his Galilean ministry its proper centre, and to Jesus himself his true home.

Accordingly, he concludes this notice of the treatment Jesus received at the hands of his former acquaintance by the particular statement that he went down to Capernaum, *a city of Galilee*, and was there teaching (*ἦν διδάσκων*) on the Sabbath days.

Even Wieseler admits (*Chron. Syn.*, p. 285) that Luke preposes the preaching in the synagogue at Capernaum to the calling of Peter, James, and John, for the sake of contrasting his reception at Capernaum with that at Nazareth. This agrees precisely with our idea of Luke, and is similar to the ground on which we believe that he preposes the visit to Nazareth to all the events which precede Mark's account of it in chap. vi.

Verses 14 and 15, which precede Luke's narrative, give important aid in explaining its position. They give the result of considerable time. There are two ways of understanding them, either of which favours the view we urge. If they are to be taken as a summary of what occurred before the visit to Nazareth, they certainly postpone that visit to the portion of our Lord's ministry, where Mark and Matthew place it. Wieseler and Ellicott, indeed, accept this, and locate the two supposed visits to Nazareth within three weeks of each other! Or if these verses should be understood as an anticipatory statement of *all* Jesus' earlier Galilean ministry, they lead us not to expect chronological order in what follows, but form a kind of caption under which Luke so arranges the events as best to exhibit the progress of that "fame," while "he taught in their synagogues, being glorified of all," placing the events at Nazareth first for the reason I have stated.

But it is objected that Matthew (iv. 13) speaks of Jesus *leaving* Nazareth at apparently the same early date to which Luke refers. But it by no means follows, in the first place, that this was the visit described by Luke, if we admit that Matthew implies that Jesus was at Nazareth soon after returning to Galilee. He may refer to a visit made on the second journey of Jesus to Cana. A glance at the map shews how natural it would be for him to pass through Naza-

reth on his way to Cana, which was but a few miles north. Indeed, we could hardly suppose he would go to Cana from the south except by way of his former home. But he may not have tarried there, or made any public manifestation of himself any more than he did at Capernaum on his first visit (John ii. 12). But if this visit in Matthew (iv. 13) was on Christ's way to Cana the second time, it could not have been the one narrated by Luke, for it preceded all but the first miracle in Galilee (John iv. 54). While in Luke his townsmen call upon Jesus to do among them what he had done in Capernaum. Their language and his own language implies *many* miracles wrought there, if not a residence of considerable time. They are offended at his partiality, and demand that he shall do for them as many things (*ὅσα*) as they had heard of his doing at Capernaum.

But Dr. Robinson (*Harmony*) would have the first visit to Nazareth (Luke's account) to have occurred when, according to the limitation in John (iv. 54), Jesus had wrought but two miracles in Galilee, but one in Capernaum, and that not by him present there in person! The narrative in Luke, therefore, must not be interpreted by this allusion in Matthew.

But the language of this allusion in Matthew is not necessarily understood of any presence of Jesus in Nazareth. The word he employs, which is rendered "leaving," is *καταλείπων*, which, whatever else it may imply, certainly means "quitting," "abandoning," as a place of residence, especially as Matthew, with the same design as Luke, uses it as introductory to the information that he came and dwelt, *i. e.*, made his new home at Capernaum. This is not a word which the New Testament writers employ of ordinary departure from one place to another. There are twenty-one words rendered *depart* in our version, but neither *λείπω* nor any of its compounds is in the list. In the Septuagint the word is used over two hundred times, but never of simple departure from a place. In the New Testament it is connected with the name of a place in only one other similar instance (Heb. xi. 27), where it is said, Moses forsook, *i. e.*, abandoned as a residence, Egypt. Its ordinary use is of permanent separation (Matt. ix. 5) or of contemptuous leaving (Matt. xvi. 4); it certainly implies no return in three weeks. Taking the word in this sense, it is not even necessary to suppose that Jesus returned at this time to Nazareth at all. Matthew too had before given Nazareth as the home of Jesus' childhood, but he now says, that on his return to Galilee, *quitting* Nazareth, he made Capernaum his home. He does not stay to account for it as Luke does, and so farther on he narrates his experience with his townsmen in its proper order of succession. It is noticeable also that John seems to indicate this removal (ii. 12).

These considerations, in addition to the presumption of identity, on the face of the accounts, and the fact that it was not consonant with the practice or teaching of Jesus, for him, after he had once been assailed with danger to his life, to expose himself to the same

hands again—witness his staying away even from the passover (John vii. 1),—are enough to satisfy us that the evangelists have recorded but one visit of our Lord to Nazareth.

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NOTES ON MATTHEW XXIV. 21, 22.

BEFORE commencing the remarks I propose to make on the above passage, I beg to be allowed to advert briefly to the notice taken by your correspondent, M. N. H., in the January number, of my "Notes on Mark ix. 43—50," contained in the number of last July. M. N. H. correctly describes my commentary on that passage as an endeavour to ascertain the *true* doctrine of Scripture respecting the ultimate destinies of mankind; but at the same time he dissents from my views, and appears disposed to acquiesce in the conclusion so generally adopted in the present day, that we know all that we can know on this momentous subject. What I have written upon it I have written from a contrary conviction, and in obedience to the dictates of conscience. But I have no desire to urge my views by controversy, and shall, therefore, limit myself to saying, with reference to M. N. H.'s objections, that I am unable to discover any grounds either in reason or revelation for asserting that the feeding of the worm on *dead* bodies symbolizes remorse and the sense of guilt, for which the scriptural symbol undoubtedly is the operation of *fire* (see Rom. xii. 20). For this reason I still maintain that "the worm that dieth not," *taken by itself*, has no other signification than that death is swallowed up by life, and that in the interpretation given to the passage as a whole this signification must be included.

The principles of exegesis I am about to apply to the passage of St. Matthew are the same that are exemplified in my remarks on Rom. iii. 3—9 in the number of this Journal for April of last year, and in those on Mark ix. 43—50 just referred to. I begin with observing that in verse 21 our Lord states prophetically that at some future time there will be great tribulation (*θλίψις μεγάλη*), such as has not been from the beginning of the world till this time, nor ever will be. That tribulation, therefore, stands out from all others as being the *greatest* and the *last*. In the Book of Revelation, which, it should be remembered, is entitled "the Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave to him," we read (vii. 14) of those "who came out of the great tribulation." [No other translation of *ἐκ τῆς θλίψεως τῆς μεγάλης* is admissible]. Now it is reasonable to conclude that the tribulation thus specifically referred to is the same that is described by the same great prophet in the passage of St. Matthew. The Authorized Version, by omitting the definite article, contradicts the original, and entirely alters the sense of the revelation. Possibly the translators suffered themselves to be biassed by doctrinal views.

There is, in fact, great difference in point of doctrine between the meanings conveyed by "great tribulation" and "*the great tribulation*" in this passage, when the context is taken into account. Those who are here said to have come out of the great tribulation, and to have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb, are in verse 9 described as "a great multitude whom no man could number, consisting of [for this is the force of *ἐκ*] all nations and tribes and peoples and tongues." Assuredly this is not the number we mean when we pray that God will shortly accomplish the number of his *elect*, as is evident from the very meaning of the word "*elect*." The representatives of God's elect are the twelve times twelve thousand of the tribes of Israel (Rev. vii. 4—8), the number twelve, as well as the name Israel, being significant of election. These, being servants of God, and receiving his seal in their foreheads, that is, being antecedently separated from the rest of the world by obedience rendered in faith and knowledge in the present life, do not enter into the great tribulation. In Rev. xiv. 4 they are called "the first-fruits unto God and to the Lamb." St. James writes (i. 18), "Of his own will begat he us with the word of truth, that we should be a kind of first-fruits of his creations" (*ἀπαρχὴν τινα τῶν αὐτοῦ κτισμάτων*); and St. Paul in the Epistle to the Hebrews speaks of "the church of the first-born written in heaven." Even in the law of Moses the same distinction is prefigured by the preference given to the first-born (Numb. xii. 12, 13), and by the record which was made of their exact number (Numb. iii. 43), which Dr. Colenso irreverently calls "an ugly number." I now proceed to shew the bearing of the above views on the interpretation of the passage of St. Matthew.

After the mention of the great tribulation our Lord goes on to say (verse 22), "Except those days should be shortened there should no flesh be saved; but for the elect's sake those days shall be shortened." Plainly these are gracious words. They seem to say that the days of tribulation are numbered;—the years of evil have an end; and that if it were otherwise, there could be no salvation, not even of the elect. The salvation of the world seems to be bound up with the salvation of the elect, so that the one must co-exist with the other. "If the first-fruit be holy, the lump is also holy" (Rom. xi. 16). This interpretation is in agreement with what has been said above respecting the revelations contained in Rev. vii. For immediately after the vision of the sealing of the elect comes the vision of the countless number of the saved, apparently for the express purpose of indicating the sequence and relationship of the one company to the other. The latter company are, however, introduced here by anticipation; for the terms in which they are spoken of at the end of chap. vii. are for the most part the same that in chap. xxi. are applied to the inhabitants of the new heaven and new earth, shewing that they are the very same people. The reason that those who come out of the great tribulation are said to have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb, appears to be, that

the blood of Jesus Christ, which cleanses from all sin, and by which alone sin is cleansed, consecrated the way *through* suffering to righteousness and life.

The foregoing views admit of being confirmed by reference to other passages of Scripture. For instance, Isaiah (liv. 1—3) prophesies respecting the church of God, that though it be barren and unfruitful in the present age, eventually it will be greatly enlarged by “inheriting the nations.” Again, in Rev. xxi. 7, it is written, “He that overcometh shall inherit all things,” that is, in the new heaven and new earth, when all things are renewed and made good. Isaiah also, as quoted by St. Paul (Rom. ix. 27), cries concerning Israel, “Though the number of the children of Israel be as the sand of the sea, the remnant shall be saved;” which seems to mean that the covenant name Israel is ever more and more comprehensive, embracing eventually an innumerable multitude, and that when the work of God is completed (as signified by λόγον συντελῶν in the next verse), whatever remains is saved, or nothing remains that is not saved. This general signification is required by the *neuter* substantive τὸ κατάλειμμα, which is certainly not correctly translated by “a remnant” in the Authorized Version.

Cambridge, March 7th, 1864.

J. CHALLIS.

THE “WHOLE DUTY OF MAN.”

(*J. S. L.*, Jan. 1864, p. 470.)

MR. BARHAM should have obliged us with the “satisfactory evidence” that Dr. Allestree wrote the *Whole Duty of Man*. Hitherto no attempt has been made to refute the statement that the original MS. in the handwriting of Lady Pakington was in her family’s possession early in the last century.¹ The relation of Dr. Hammond, the actual editor of the book, to the Pakington family is well known, and no evidence not satisfactory is likely to remove the presumption that Lady Pakington was the author of the *Whole Duty of Man*. Will Mr. Barham give us the summary at least of his argument?

T. P.

FISH OF THE LAKE OF GENNESARET.

IN reference to Mr. Barham’s note upon this subject, perhaps the following passage from Dr. Clarke’s *Travels* may be acceptable. This writer says:—

¹ *English Baronetage*, 1741, vol. i., p. 398, to which this note is appended as authority: “Ex inform. Dom. Herb. Per. Pakington, Bar.” The monument to Lady P. declared her “justly reputed the authoress of the *Whole Duty of Man*.” This monument, however, was not erected till after 1727, and by Sir Herbert Perrot Pakington, at Hampton-Lovet.

"A most curious circumstance concerning this lake is mentioned by Hasselquist: 'I thought it remarkable,' observes this celebrated naturalist (*Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, p. 157, London 1766), 'that the same kind of fish should here be met with as in the Nile; *Charmuth*, *Silurus*, *Bænni*, *Mulsil*, and *Sparus Galilæus*.' This explains the observations of certain travellers, who speak of the lake as possessing fishes peculiar to itself; not being perhaps acquainted with the produce of the Nile. Josephus considers the Lake Gennesareth as having fishes of a peculiar nature (Lib. iii., cap. 18, *De Bell. Jud.*); and yet it is very worthy of notice, that in speaking of the fountain of Capernaum his remarks tend to confirm the observation made by Hasselquist: 'Some consider it,' says he, 'as a vein of the Nile, because it brings forth fishes resembling the *Coracinus* of the Alexandrian lake.' (Jos., *De Bell. Jud.*, lib. iii., 18.)"

The same kind of fish is mentioned in Athenæus. See also Gesner, *De Aquatilibus*. De la Valla speaks of his supper of fish at Miniyeh (probably Bethsaida), upon the borders of this lake, in his *Travels* (Lett. 13), in 1616, but only says they were such as St. Peter must have caught.

C.

Mr. F. BARHAM mentions in your last number (*J. S. L.*, p. 470), the strangeness of no scientific traveller in Palestine having ascertained *what fishes* inhabit that lake. I beg to say that two or three German naturalists have described some of the species of fish inhabiting certain of the waters of Palestine. Those of the Lake of Gennesaret—always famous for its supply of fish—require more examination; and I am happy to inform you that the scientific party now in the Holy Land under the guidance of the Rev. H. B. Tristram, purpose on their return from the Dead Sea to investigate the fishes of that lake, as well as the other objects of natural history about its shores; they will probably be there in the month of April. Besides the interest of knowing what species of fish were caught by the apostles, it will be further gratifying to ascertain whether the same kinds are, as Hasselquist states, found in that lake as in the river Nile. And this supposition had previously been alluded to by the Jewish historian Josephus. A letter recently received from Mr. Tristram says, "that he and his six friends, with their attendants and guard, were just leaving the convent of Mar Sâba, (*Saint Sabas*) about seven miles on the north-west end of the Dead Sea, for the circuit of it; and that they meant to go as far as they could with safety on the eastern side," through the province of Kerak (the *Moabitis*), and a part of the Belkah, or *Ammonitis*. There indeed will be, as I fully expect, a wide and unknown district, not only rich in geology and every branch of natural history, but also in archæology, and the remains of many cities and places that have not been explored by any recent travellers. De Sauley,—who has just, according to the newspaper accounts, been ransacking some of the famous tombs of the "kings of Judah,"—entitled his late work "A Journey Round the Dead Sea;" whereas in fact he did not traverse the *east* side of that sea.

Mr. Tristram, having been furnished with some letters to the principal sheikhs in those regions, will, I earnestly hope, be successful

in investigating the chief portions of them, and in bringing away with him a goodly harvest of natural and archæological subjects. All the party were in robust health, and enjoying greatly their enterprising expedition. I may further add, for those interested in the botany of the Holy Land, that Dr. Hooker has, only a few months ago, published some interesting remarks on certain trees and plants, which he noticed during his short tour in Palestine and the Lebanon.

JOHN HOGG.

THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF EARLY CHALDEA—No. II.

In reviewing the conditions of ancient Babylonia we must bear in mind the fact of there having been two distinct races in the country; the Turanian Aborigines, and the Semitic Casdim "conquerors." The greater part of Asia seems originally to have been peopled by tribes of the Turanian type, whose high civilization has found an echo in the "Chronicles of Eolus," the Pali stories, and Justin's Vexoris. But beyond this mere fact the most devoted disciple of Niebuhr could not extract any decisive information about them from these doubtful myths; and it is only now that cuneiform discovery has unfolded to us their language, history, and social status. We cannot here enter into any extended survey of these results, but will briefly touch upon the most important points, with special reference to the ethnography of early Chaldea. The language, then, is essentially Turanian in character. The word-root is never disguised in any way, but is always plainly distinguishable, whatever be the demonstrative additions. At the same time the grammar, or rather the want of grammar, approaches more nearly to the Chinese type than to either the third Achæmenian or any of the present various Turanian dialects. In general the several parts of speech have no particular inflexions, and for their connection with each other depend entirely on their position in a sentence. The genitive, for instance, had no case-ending to denote it, nor even a preposition, but one word-root placed after another was sufficient to express this relation. Certain post-positions were, however, used to point out "any special relationship," in the same way that prepositions were among the primeval Aryan nations. Thus the accusative of nouns was formed by the post-position *cu*, and the oblique cases of the plural by *a* or *na*, as in *iei ribanna* ("heap of witnesses"); *ei anna* ("temple of the gods"); though we just as often find the plural expressed by simply repeating the word, as *nis kal-kal* ("king of tribes"), *an gal-gal* ("the great gods"). *Te*, again, was a locative affix, which was often added to *na*, this last denoting the plural of words which ended in a vowel. So again, according to Dr. Hincks,¹ "after the name of a god" *lal* was used, "implying subordination;" but *ga*, "if the relation was one of dominion," as *nis ci-ga*, *nis cal-ga* ("king country-holding," "king

¹ *Polyphony of the Assyrio-Babylonian Cuneiform Writing*, p. 22.

power-holding"). This last affix might, however, be replaced by another, *cit*, "in," which Dr. Hincks says, "is a contraction for *ki-ta*, and is literally, 'in the place of.' The place of a man includes his immediate vicinity; and accordingly *kit* after the proper name of a man, or an appellative noun denoting a person, signifies 'with.'" Owing to its binominal derivation, when combined with the pronouns, it suffered tmesis, as is shewn in a valuable bilingual tablet discovered by Dr. Oppert, which has fortunately preserved to us the Accadian personal pronouns. The following are the contents of this interesting record: *ci-mu-ta*, "with me" (*itti-ya*); *ci-zu-ta*, "with thee;" *ci-ni-ta*, "with him;" *ci-mi-ta*, "with us;" *ci-zunini-ta*, "with you;" *ci-nini-ta*, "with them." The renderings of the second and third persons plural are not however quite certain, the character read *ni*, having also the variant phonetic values of *dha*, *ab*, and *iz*, the last being the Accadian or Janban' name of "fire," for which the sign in question is a monogram, having in Assyrian the common value of *cum* (𐎠𐎢), to which Dr. Oppert adds *kharrak* (𐎠𐎢𐎫) and *nuvur* (𐎠𐎢); these two last values, however, are purely conjectural. *Ab* and *iz*, as beginning with vowels, are inadmissible here, and *dha* is almost certainly out of the question, so that by common consent the character is in this case read *ni*; which view is further favoured by the fact of the third personal pronoun singular being *ni*, and the possessive thence derived *ani*, or after vowels, *ni*. This latter is of frequent occurrence on the Janban bricks, a mysterious *tsa*¹ being often added, which seems to give to it the stronger sense of *proprius*; we may, however, read the character as *ir*, supposing the old Babylonian scribes to have confounded the two signs which had the powers of *tsa* and *ir*, as we know they did those which had the values of *bi* and *in*. This *ir* may then be compared with the Elamick affix *irra* ("each").

We now pass on to the verbs. I cannot do better than again to quote Dr. Hincks:¹ "There is no such thing as concord between the verb and its nominative in Chaldean. If the nominative be a pronoun, it is agglutinated to the root at its beginning, no change being made at the end for either number or person, but the time being marked by a termination. Thus, *in-nu* was 'he hated;' *in-nu-ri*, 'he hates;' *in-nu-riz*, 'he will hate;' *in-nu-is*, 'he has hated.' Any other pronoun singular or plural, might be substituted for *in*; and if an object were to be expressed, the proper pronoun was inserted between the pro-

¹ Ibn Wahshiya, speaking of Tammūz, says he, "was one of the Nabatheans that inhabited the land of Babel before the Casdim," and "was one neither of the Casdim, nor the Canaanites, nor the Hebrews, nor the Assyrians, but of the primeval Janbānīs (el-Janbāniyuna 'l-Auwālūn)." See *J. S. L.*, for April, 1862, pp. 104, 105. It is not likely that Ibn-Wahshiya would invent the name, and I think therefore that it was probably the real nomenclature of the primitive inhabitants of Chaldea.

² On the Polyphony of the Assyrio-Bab. Cuneiform Writing, p. 19.

³ A syllabary gives *tsa* translated by what seems to read *kurnu*. The first character, however, has other values of *sat*, *mat*, *lat*, and *nip*, besides *kur*, but out of these the only one admissible in this place would be *satnu*, of which the root perhaps is 𐎶𐎶𐎶.

nominal subject and the verb: thus, 'I hate him,' would be *mun-nan-nu-ri*. It is only a pronominal object that could thus be expressed; if it were necessary to express, 'I hate the enemy,' the arrangement would be 'the enemy I-him-hate.'" To this last statement I must, however, demur, with all due respect for such an authority as Dr. Hincks. The form *mu-* appears to me to be a causative; how else, at all events, could the expression *mu-na-nin** be explained, except by "caused them (*i.e.*, Kudur-Mabuk and his son) to build." It may be objected that "them" refers to the two *namtis* (? "treasuries") previously mentioned, but if so, how can, *e.g.*, Merodach-adan-akhi's brick inscription be translated? The names and titles of the goddess must otherwise be without any connection whatsoever with the rest of the legend, whereas the simple translation, "the Lady Ri, Lady of the East country (Nipur), his lady, *has caused* Merodach-adan-akhi, king of Babylon, son of Irba-Merodach, king of Cingi-Accad, to build" Bit-Anna, her *sacred* (?) place," commends itself at once to the senses."

It now only remains to treat briefly of the prepositions. These are not numerous, and seem originally to have been verbs. Thus *uddu* ("over") had primarily the meaning "coming forth;" and so Nebuchadnezzar calls one of the four gates of Babylon *Ka Par uddu*, "the gate of sun-rising." Another Janban word for "over" seems to be *mukh*, which is equally with *uddu* translated by the Semitic *eli*; but, perhaps, there was a slight difference between the two, the first being definite, and the second indefinite in sense. *Si* again, is "before," as in the common title of Nergal, *Sidu* "he who goes before;" and so in Assyrian has the further power of *pani*. Besides these we have *in*, explained by *adi* ("to"); and *ruv* replaced in Assyrian by *ina* and *as(su)*; while a variant value of *ana* ("for") is *tis*, which *may* have been the Janban equivalent. I do not know of any others.

Most of the word-roots are monosyllabic, *e.g.*, *gar* ("to do"); *duq* ("to ask"); *lal* ("to fill" or "weigh"); *dip* ("to engrave"); *rit* ("to write"); *giq* ("difficult"); *mes* ("many"), etc. But we also meet with many that are dissyllabic, as for instance, *gir* ("after"); *siba* ("to feed"); *apzu* ("end"); *hutsu* ("soul"); *dugut* ("heavy"); *lamma* ("a colossus"), etc.; and a few even of more than two syllables, such as *huruma* ("hostile"); *hurudu* ("iron"), and others.

We see, then, that the language of the early settlers in Chaldea was a primeval form of what has now developed into the various dialects of the Turanian Tchud family.^o It seems to have been allied to

* In Nebuchadnezzar's inscription the monogram here translated "build," answers to the character having the common power of *nu*, but I believe in Janban times it was the prototype of *ip* or *bani* which stood also for the root *izir*.

* Another insuperable objection to Dr. Hinck's theory, as I think, is that in the same legend we often find the third personal (possessive) pronoun together with the form in *mu*. Now we cannot suppose that the Janban kings would thus confuse the principles of universal grammar, and that, *e.g.*, Sacat-tur-ká would write "His lady—I reared it (*muna.uddu*)."

^o Its vocabulary will be found to agree most nearly with the Finnic class of languages, including the Basque. Compare *huru* (a city) and Basque *iria*, *uddu* and B. *urten*, *du* and B. *tu*, etc.

that spoken in the peninsula of Hindustan before the invasion of the Aryans. And in its freedom from the shackles of inflexion it betrays ages of previous civilization! Nevertheless we have hitherto found no human remains in Chaldea at all approaching to such an antiquity; nothing that can vie in age with the pyramids of Egypt, and the centuries of preceding culture which they disclose. The earliest relics yet exhumed do not, I think, go beyond the second millennium B.C. But even these indicate a great progression in the "education of the world." The forefathers of the present nomade tribes of Mongolia and Tartary had by that time invented a phonetic system of writing, had built fortified cities and stately temples, had learned to enshrine their dead in stone coffins, and, in a word, had advanced to as high a stage of civilization as the Israelites in the time of Saul. Future revelations may yet be made to us by the dynastic tablets of this early period, the greatness of which is evidenced by the mighty cities whose names are found on the bricks of the first Janban kings we know of. And of some of these it is now our purpose to treat.

The most important cities were those whose ruins now bear the names of Niffer, Mugheir, Warka, Hillah, and Senkereh. The first of these Sir H. Rawlinson formerly attempted to identify with the territorial title of Accad assumed by most of the Janban monarchs. This identification, however, further research has shewn to be unfounded; Accad being the name not of a town but of a country, which is always associated with another group of characters; these differ, however, in the various epochs to which the inscriptions belong. On those of the early Janban kings we invariably find the formula "king of Cingi-Accad." Now the word *Cingi* presents some difficulties. The last syllable is expressed by a character which answers to both the Assyrian *gi* and *tsi*, and it may therefore be read *Cintsi*. If this be correct, we may compare the name *Intsi* which occurs in several Assyrian inscriptions, the first syllable of which is written in the same manner as on the ancient brick-legends, i. e., with the monogram for "lord," in Janban *inu*. Thus Shalmaneser says, his "hand has conquered from the land of Intsi to the land of Tsukbni." Here it will be noticed that the initial *ci* is unwritten, which requires some explanation. A distinguishing mark of the Janban origin of places, is their having an affix or suffix *ci*, which in the old language, according to syllabaries, answered to *irzituw* (𐎶𐎵), *asru* (𐎶𐎶), "a place"), and *kartuw* (𐎶𐎶), and which in Janban times was always added to the names of towns, etc. It was, however, not sounded, and was only a relic of that hieroglyphical manner of writing which gave birth to the cuneiform; just as in Egyptian the determinative *kah* was always affixed to the names of places. But there was a further mode of expressing this ethnic title. In Assyrian inscriptions it is written "Sumiri and Accad:" so on the pavement record of Rim-zallus III.^p (*B. M. S.*, p. 70), Tiglath-Ussur

^p This is the royal name which I read doubtfully Van-zallus in my last letter. My reasons for reading the Air-god as *Rim* are the following:—His name is usually written with a character having the phonetic power of *im*, which in Janban denoted

is called "king of the land of Sumiri u Accad(cu):" but afterwards another form became prevalent in the place of *Sumiri*. This, which is specially employed by Esar-haddon and the dynasty of Nebuchadnezzar, consists of two signs, the first being *ku*, a monogram for *lisanu* ("tongue" or "tribe"), and the second a character which usually has the phonetic power of *cu*. Its primary meaning seems to have been that of "swiftness," as in *gish cu*, "wood of swiftness," i. e., arrow. From this it received a further value of *tur* or *tus*, an Aryan nomenclature. The meaning of "arrow" gave rise to that of "soldier," and hence of "servant" and "service;" and so this *cu* came to have in Assyrian a third value *tukul* or *takil*, as in *Tukulti-pál-sirra* (Tiglath-Pileser), "servant of the son of Bit-zirra" (viz., Nebo). This word *takil*, which is not found in the cognate languages, had afterwards the signification "swift" from the double meaning of its Janban equivalent, and was so applied to the Tigris by the neighbouring Semitic nations, who called it *ḫṭ* (ḫ), which I do not think the same as the native name Tigris. *Kal-cu* I conceive therefore to mean "the swift race"—a name most applicable to hardy mountain tribes. *Sumiri* is probably a Semitic translation of this from a root akin to *ṣ*; at all events it is identical with the *ṣ* of Jer. xxv. 25, where *ṣ* has been changed into *š*.

So much for etymology. As for geography, the Sumiri and Accadair dwelt in the highlands on the eastern side of the Tigris, bordering upon Babylonia on the south, and upon the river Dhurnat or Tornadotus (the modern *Odorneh*) on the north-west. Upon these points Samas-Rim on his Monolith, col. iv., gives much valuable information. I therefore translate the inscription in extenso:—"On the fifteenth day I went to the land of Kar-duniyas. I crossed the river Zaban (Lower Zab). In the fords of the city Zaddi, a city of Zaban (near Kerkook), I sacrificed. . . . Three fierce (?) lions I slew. I passed through the land of Ebikh. I came in sight of the city of the waters of the Dhurnat. Exceeding fear of Assur and Merodach the great gods, my lords, fell on the inhabitants. They took my yoke upon them. I caused these men to be brought forth, and I carried them with their treasure (and) their gods to the midst of my country. I enrolled them among the men of my country. I crossed the river Dhurnat in its lowest part (?). I threw down, dug up, (and) burned with fire its capital city Garnie, besides two hundred cities which belonged to it. I passed through the

"exaltation," and was therefore given in Assyrian the value *rim*. Now the name of the king of Damascus with whom Shalmaneser fought, begins with this god's title; and this monarch was the Rimmon-worshipper of 2 Kings v. 18. I believe, therefore, that his name must be read *Rim(mon)-idri* ("Rimmon is glorious"). A variant inscription, moreover, affixes *ma* to the name of the Air-god, which proves it to end in *m*. The meaning of "wind" was a later signification given to this sign *im* or *rim*, from its being used to express the name of the god.

† With *Sumiri* compare Sumere (the modern *Samarrah*) where Julian the apostate was killed.

‡ According to Sir H. Rawlinson (*Athenæum*, August 22, 1863), "Akkad is rendered in Assyrian by *Tilla*, from *טלל* 'to be high,' and by *Urthu* in Aryan; compare Zend *Eredhwa* 'high,' and the 'Ortho-Corybantes' of Herodotus."

land of Yalman.* I came in sight of the city Diabhbina. The fear of Assur fell on the inhabitants. They received my yoke. I took three thousand cities which stood near this city, besides their men, their treasure, (and) their slaves. I passed through the district of Date. I cut off the city . . . ya, which is on the sea-shore (the banks of the Euphrates), and the city Gana-suticanu, besides two hundred cities which belonged to them. I slew three hundred and thirty of their (beasts in) sacrifice. I carried away their women, their treasure, their slaves, (and) their gods. I cut down their orchards. I threw down, dug up, (and) burned with fire their cities. The men who had fled before my strong arrow to a city in the midst of their cities fortified (it as) a stronghold. I made war against this city. I captured it (?). I slew five hundred of their (beasts in) sacrifice. I carried away their women, their treasure, their slaves, their gods, their oxen, (and) their sheep. I threw down, dug up, (and) burned with fire the city. The . . . land of Accad, which from former times the terror of my arrow had subdued, feared my powerful attack which had not an opponent; and moreover I burned the city Dur . . . like stubble in a river. I laid waste the . . . roads. . . . When I had subdued this city in my progress (?), I slew thirteen thousand of its fighting-men with arrows. I poured out their blood like water. When I had overwhelmed their city . . . their warlike youth [who were valiant for the slaughter I slaughtered?]. I took captive three thousand eunuchs. I caused its royal guard-house, its royal *pavilion* (?), the guards of its palace, the amazons of its palaces, its treasure, its slaves, (and) its gods to be removed. I carried away the spoils of its palace to a countless number from the midst of this city. When I had sent the wives of its warlike youth like cattle to the armies of my country, I threw down, dug up, (and) burned with fire this city. Moreover Merodach . . . for a memorial of his *strength* (?) gave (me) confidence, and inspired the countries of the Chaldees, Elam, Namri, and Arumu, with many of its troops to a countless number for battle. They came forth to battle with me. [I do not understand the meaning of the next sentence. The inscription then proceeds:] I fought with it (*i. e.*, the city Calru). I utterly destroyed it. I carried away five thousand of its women. I took captive two thousand eunuchs. I stripped it of one hundred of its chariots, two hundred of its *siege-machines* (?), all its *granaries* (?), its royal guard-house, and its army."

Comparing this with the piece from Shalmaneser's obelisk inscription, quoted in my last letter, we gather that the Accadai, or "highlanders," were settled on the north-east frontier of Babylonia, extending from the mountains of Elam to the Tigris, and seemingly bounded on the south by the Chaldee emigrants. At least so Shalmaneser on the figure from Kileh Shergat seems to make out, where, after describing his visit to the Accadai in lines 15—18, he says (line 19), offerings "to the powerful gods of the land of the Accadi I dedicated.

* This is perhaps Alamun, a part of the land of Tsugi in Gilkhi, which Tiglath-Pileser I. describes as having been conquered by his prowess.

I went down to the land of the Caldi. I received the tribute of all the kings of the land of the Caldi.”⁶

To the south-west of the Accadai dwelt the *Kiprat-arbat*, or “four races,” to whom I referred in my last letter. This title was afterwards extended to the whole of Chaldea and southern Mesopotamia, but at first included only “the mingled (properly, ‘the four’) people that dwell in the desert,” who spread southward from Hit (*Ahi* of the inscriptions), described on the Egyptian monuments as a town of the Routen, whose situation agrees with that of the *Kiprat-arbat*.⁷ In the time of Jeremiah, however, the Routen or רֹתֵן and the *Kiprat-arbat* had become separated among Hebrew writers, but not, as it seems, among the Assyrians, since we never find the name רֹתֵן in the inscriptions. The characters which stand for *Kiprat-arbat* on the Janban bricks may however have been so sounded, as Route(n) is sufficiently like “Arda” to justify the comparison. For in the early Chaldean inscriptions the name in question is written in a way considerably different from that used in the Assyrian ones. It begins with the eight-rayed star, the prefix of divinity, followed by a sign which had the variant values of *ar* and *up*; the last character being *da*. Then comes the usual monogram of “four.” I should thus explain this mode of transcription. The first character, which was never sounded, would imply the sacred nature of the *Kiprat-arbat*, not being the Arabic article *an* as Dr. Hincks seems to suppose. Probably they were the Magians of the ancient Janban world. The next character signified “a region;” and the affix *da* seems to be a particle denoting individuality: thus Kudur-Mabuk is called *huru-da D. P. Martu*, “citizen (city-man) of the West.” *Ar-da*, therefore, would be “region-man,” or “denizen;” and so the whole expression is exactly equivalent in meaning to *Kiprat-arbat*, “the four peoples.” Before I leave the subject I would again protest against the notion that this ethnic title has anything to do with lingual differences. The “four tribes” may have had dialectic variations in speech, but they were most certainly of the same race. And though *lian*an is found interchanged with *Kiprat*, it is only in its later general meaning, since *kip* or *kibr* originally meant “progeny,” and had no reference whatsoever to language.

I now pass on to the last and most important ethnic division of the country. A most frequent name occurs on the Assyrian monuments, which however variously written is always to be sounded *Kar-duniyas*. It is a curious fact that this name is never met with on any of the Janban inscriptions, from which we might argue that it was unknown until after the coming of the Casdim (cir. B.C. 1270). It probably had its rise in some great Elamite revolution. Indeed when first mentioned *Kar-duniyas* included only the country between the Lower Zab and the Diyalah, and it was not till afterwards that it came to com-

⁶ In my last letter I have inadvertently described the Accadai as inhabitants of Southern Mesopotamia. It is true the name Accad is sometimes applied to this part of the country, but the Accadai proper only bordered on it.

⁷ Arias Montanus states that Lud colonized the country round the confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates.

prehend Babylonia as well. In this contracted sense Assur-izir-pal (formerly read Sardanapalus) on his monolith speaks of Nebo-pal-adan, king of Kar-duniyas, having sent troops to the assistance of Saduta king of Tsur, which latter place was a strongly-fortified city on the Tigris a little above Is. And it is in a still more contracted sense that Taibur and Merodach-mumu are said to be kings of Kar-duniyas, the latter of whom, Shalmaneser tells us, on being defeated by him fled to the city of the waters of the Dhurnat, as if that were his strongest citadel. But the limits of Kar-duniyas are widely extended when Assur-izir-pal in the standard inscription speaks of the "fortified land (*mada-Birati*) of Kar-duniyas;" or when Sardanapalus (on an alabaster vase from Koyunjik) calls himself "king of Assyria, king of Sumiri and Accad, (and) king of Kar-duniyas." Its name is of Elamite origin, and signifies the "fortress of Duniyas;"^v *Kar*, in the Janban dialect *Cal* (compare the Turkish *Kul-asi*), meaning a "fort" or "castle," as in *Cal-anu* (Χαλαννη),^w "the fort of Anu." With the termination of *Duniyas* we may compare the Elamite names Khumbanagas, Amman-aldas, etc., and those of the Janban kings Purna-puriyas, and Saga-raktiyas. I have no idea what it signifies; but it is sometimes written with the symbols for five and six following one another, and an inscription of Essar-haddon gives *duni* by two characters which have respectively the values of *khu* and *e* (y). In the later Assyrian inscriptions, it must be remembered, Kar-duniyas generally applies to Babylonia only; thus Sardanapalus (the son of Essar-haddon) speaks of making his brother Saul-mugina (Sammughes) king of Kar-duniyas, meaning Babylon: but this ambiguity of application is often very perplexing.

I defer a discussion of Babylon and Din-Tirci to some future opportunity.

Bath.

A. SAYCE.

MATTHEW XV. 27, AND MARK VII. 26.

SOME of the incidents in the gospel history,—especially if not altogether those narrated by the "synoptics" Matthew and Mark,—strike us as being very perfect specimens of that art of uniting simplicity in detail with fulness in outline of which the old world's people seemed to be masters, and the particular instance which we would select out of many to illustrate our argument is the account given by both those writers of that incident which took place in the northern part of Phœnicia, where it borders upon Syria. The accounts are singularly coincident for independent histories, and the similarity extends itself even to the form of the sentences.

^v An Elamite god probably, as the latter word has sometimes the D. P. of divinity. Perhaps it means "the giver;" as on the Elamite transcript of the Behistun inscription *dunis*—"he gave."

^w Stephanus (*s.v.*) calls it Τελάνη. *Tel* was the Assyrian translation of the Janban *Cal*.

Both Matthew and Mark make us aware that our Saviour, accompanied by several of his disciples, had not long entered the district, and that as they pass along they are met by a woman of the country called by the, to them, somewhat synonymous terms of Canaanite, Syro-Phœnician, or Greek: it is this group then which presents itself to our mind as so perfect in its simplicity, and so true in its representation of nature, that we seem rather to be examining one of those full, suggestive, life-like sketches of Hogarth, than reading a short account of a very eventful transaction written by two plain men of Judæa, and comprised within some seven or eight verses of our Bible. As the setting of our picture—to speak of it so—there is of course the appropriate Eastern scenery—the cloudless sky—and the amber-coloured air; while in the background a few tufted palms rise above the flat roofed houses of a small village; in the foreground, where the attention soon becomes wholly centred, we have the Saviour, a little apart from and in advance of his disciples, and before him, and evidently a native of the village with the palm trees, a woman in an attitude of prayerful supplication: and here it is that the well-nigh inexhaustible *suggestive power* with which the old writers were so marvellously gifted, and which they knew so well how to infuse into their few words and simple groupings, claims our reverential admiration. In the countenances and attitudes of the figures before us, the more we examine, the more shall we find to see: thus, for instance, there is reproof, which elevates while it reprehends, for those whose instinctive impulse suggests the advice to “send her away, for she crieth after us;”—and again, sectarian bigotry and party narrowness, may receive instruction almost unconsciously, through that most effective method of teaching, by extemporizing a scene in real life, and guiding, or dramatizing so to speak, the dialogue with a definitive purpose in view;—while above all, and making itself felt through the medium of faith, there is that immeasurable spirit of divine love which responds to prayer, uttered as was this Syro-Phœnician woman’s “Lord help me,” as surely as face answers to face in a glass, and of which we feel assured the woman was made fully aware the instant she looked upon her Saviour’s face, even though—except to those initiated into the divine purpose through faith, as we believe this woman to have been from the first—there seemed to be not a little hesitation and delay in granting what had been so earnestly besought. Though we have in the Gospel narrative clear evidence of the fiat of healing being sent forth to a sufferer not present (as was likewise the case in the somewhat similar example of the centurion), and also an almost visible manifestation of the efficacy of the prayer of faith, neither of the historians indulge in any rhetorical flourishes, or soar beyond ken in philosophical disquisition—but on the contrary, as one, in our own days, to whom has been unfolded the vision of the colossal man, has not less beautifully than truthfully said, “It is simple enough to be read with awe and wonder by the child, profound enough to open new depths of wisdom to the fullest experience of the man.”

In “Notes and Dissertations principally on Difficulties in the

Scriptures of the New Covenant," which, under a different title, however, have appeared from time to time in the *J. S. L.*, and which those who read and appreciated them there will be happy to learn have since taken rank as a book, I was pleased to find that your much respected contributor A. H. W. had turned his attention exegetically to the incident mentioned above," and hence it was with the anticipation of an intellectual treat, commingled with some curiosity, that I took the picture (to continue so to speak of it) as arranged by him, and passed it into his critical stereoscope: artistically the group appeared to be much the same as I had been accustomed to know it—save that in the side scene there was the somewhat startling addition of a Cyclops and Silenus: what part *they* were to take in the transaction, or indeed why they were there at all, was an enigma the solution of which I left wholly in the hands of A. H. W. Once again I seemed to hear the Saviour say, "It is not good to take the children's bread, and cast it to the dogs," but instead of the usually heard meek response of "Yea, Lord, or Truth, Lord: yet the dogs eat of the crumbs which fall from the master's table," the woman answered this time with a look of assured confidence, and something as it seemed to me of pert flippancy in her tone, which jarred not a little, "*It is though*, for even the dogs eat from the crumbs that fall from the children's table:" so far this was not a pleasing change, but as at this juncture the two Pagans in the side scene prepared themselves for speech, I deferred objection until I had heard what they had to say. The Cyclops spoke first: fixing full his *one* eye on the rubicund face of his companion, he delivered himself thus:—

"Κλάυσει φίλων τὸν οἶνον οὐ φιλοῦντά σε."

"You'll catch it for liking the wine when it doesn't like you."

Excellent this as a temperance sentiment, and unexpected too from such a source; while he of the rubicund face answered in a tone of jolly assurance, which not only gave faint prospect of conviction, but hinted lurking vanity:—

Ναὶ μὰ Δι', ἐπεὶ μοῦ φησ' ἐρᾶν ὄντος καλοῦ

"Yes, by Zeus, [it does like me though,] since it says it's in love with me because I am handsome."

This answer, though certainly not promising in a temperance aspect, contained, however, the clue to the reason of their presence in this Judæo-Phœnician scene, and revealed the satisfying fact that they were there merely as a sort of *Chrestomathy*, and that the sole point of contact or comparison between the two groups was the common ground of the Greek language.

Both Matthew and Mark bear record that the Syro-Phœnician woman answered her Lord thus: *Ναὶ κύριε, καὶ γὰρ τὰ κυνάρια ἐσθίει ἀπὸ τῶν ψίχων, κ.τ.λ.*, which we must accept on their part as a good rendering of its Aramaic equivalent, and of which king James's translators seem to have caught the veritable echo when they anglicized it as "Yea, Lord," etc.; but in that answer the criticism of modern days

has discovered a difficulty, in the fact that the first or assenting part of her response, *ναὶ κύριε*, is wanting in logical connection with the second or dissenting part, *καὶ γὰρ*, etc., and hence different devices have been tried as lingual fluxes to produce that continuous coherency which is so agreeable to scholarly minds.

A. H. W. has brought forward the passage of Euripides quoted above, and by its means has endeavoured ingeniously, and as I hope only experimentally, to fuse the gaping edges of the difficulty, and hence it is that he has, as we have seen, pitched the Canaanite mother's lowly yet quick-witted answer in a similar key to that of her conversational analogue, Silenus.

Apart from an objection on the ground of *taste* merely, I would suggest that although the woman's language may be untrue to prosody, it is nevertheless true to nature; in the every-day speech of common life, illogical connections of sentences are very far from scarce, and are rather pleasing than otherwise by their rapid transition of ideas; nor is any combination of the kind more frequently heard than the one which just suits the present case, where assent smooths the way for the dissent which follows close upon it in some such form as "Yes—but," "Very true—but," "That is true—yet," etc., [and if A. H. W. will pardon me, I would venture to put the answer of Silenus itself into this category, and freely modernize it thus:—

True by Jove; but it's it that likes me because I am handsome (or a good fellow)].

Is it not possible also to fancy, from the tenor of the woman's whole address, that lowliness of heart, which finds its prefatory utterance more frequently in assenting concession than dissenting assurance—so many diminutives made use of—"the little dogs"—"the little crumbs."

Nor do we at all incline to accept the proffered alternative of supplying *βοήθει μοι το ναὶ*, and rendering it thus "Yes, Lord; do help me though,—for even the dogs," etc.

In Euripides we have a right to expect and may look for the properties of syntax, but scarcely in the same sense in the writings of the Bible,—and for this reason, that in the one case the characters being the artistic creations of genius must speak befittingly, or things and their author will die of want of fame—while contrariwise to the Bible writers, favour or fame is not adjudicated, except in quite a secondary sense, on their merits as artists, but as TRUTH-TELLERS, and the more of this plain virtue they were found to possess, the higher would rank their value to the world. TRUTH, whether couched in polished phraseology, or put together in uncouth ungrammatical phrases, was the very axis of their mission, and in recounting what was said or done as they had heard it or witnessed it, they had to be careful, before all things, to recount the speech as it was spoken, and record the deed as it was done;—else their labour would be wanting in a purpose. Viewed more in this light, the *people*,—their common speech and daily doings, their patience and cheerfulness under privation, and labour, and sorrow,

are frequently a most helpful lexicon to the language of the Bible, and an excellent commentary on its sentiments.

The purpose of the Bible is not scholarship, and the secluded scholar, by reading it too exclusively in his closet, is liable to fall into opposing dangers—he may either become clogged in the morass of too much belief, or desiccated on the arid sands of *unfaith*, where he may wander long, like the forlorn spirit which left for a time its human habitation, “seeking rest and finding none.” Or again, as a mere linguist, there is that other danger of “making words mean too much, of drawing refinements of signification out of them, perhaps, contained in their etymology, which are lost in common use and parlance. There is the error of interpreting every particle as though it were a link in the argument, instead of being, as is often the case, an excrescence of style,” with which true words of an eminent Greek scholar I will close the subject.

In conclusion, I sincerely thank A. H. W. for the pleasure which his remarks have given me, and make the foregoing observations in a spirit of sincere regard for his abilities as a critic, and gratitude to one who lifts our thoughts out of the level of the dull routine of uncritical acceptance.

20th February, 1864.

M. N. H.

THE CENSUS OF ST. LUKE II. 2.

THE question of the construction of *πρῶτη* in this passage has been argued at length by Mr. Josiah Pratt in your last number. I wish to give reasons why I cannot adopt his rendering, which has frequently been proposed before, and why I must consider this passage as still in the category of unsolved difficulties.

In the present state of our information, it appears, no doubt, to be the “safest course” to understand the passage as it is understood by Mr. Greswell and Mr. Pratt. But will Mr. Pratt’s quotations bear him out in thus understanding it? If not, it is but a question of time and patience; for in all probability the activity of modern research will supply us eventually with what we want, and it will be shewn that any rendering, which does violence to the Greek, will have been an injustice to the Evangelist.

If we look down Mr. Pratt’s quotations, we find but one exception to the following law: that, where *πρῶτος* governs a genitive in the sense of “previous to” or “before,” *things of the same kind* are being compared together, with regard to which the ideas of “first,” “second,” etc., may be entertained with propriety. Indeed *persons* are compared in point of priority in every case but one, and then the comparison lies between two plays of the same writer. The only apparent exception to this rule is in a quotation from the *Aves* of Aristophanes, line 484, where it is said of a bird: ἦρχε τε Περσῶν πρῶτον Δαρσίου καὶ Μεγα-

βύζον. I was much surprised at this quotation, as I had imagined the idiom contained in it to be a late one, and not to occur in the best Greek writers. But on referring to Aristophanes, I found that the passage was not even a suitable one to quote at all in defence of the proposed rendering of St. Luke, and that the omission of a word had destroyed both the scansion and the classical idiom of the line. It runs in Aristophanes, ἡρχέ τε Περσῶν πρῶτον ΠΑΝΤΩΝ, Λαρείου καὶ Μεγαβύζου, so that πρῶτον governs πάντων in the ordinary way, and the two names are put in apposition with πάντων, as the part is put in apposition with the whole. But neither Aristophanes nor any writer of his date would have written what is quoted, no doubt inadvertently, by Mr. Pratt.

It would thus, so far as these quotations go, be impossible for St. Luke to have written, αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφή πρώτη ἐγένετο τῆς ἡγεμονίας Κυρηναίου, which is the only admissible paraphrase of ἡγεμονεύοντος Κυρηναίου. The meaning desired by Mr. Pratt would have been given by αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφή πρώτη ἐγένετο ΤΗΣ ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηναίου. And, for my own part, I would rather resort to conjectural emendation, and suppose τῆς to have been omitted by a careless or ignorant scribe, than put a violent and unwarranted construction on the Greek words. But, rather than either, I would let the matter stand over for further evidence.

T. T.

ON PHIL. II. 7, AND MATT. XIII. 32.

GREAT difficulties have been felt by some persons in the way of clearly understanding the real force of the expression, "ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν:" and also the meaning to be attached to our Lord's declaration, Matt. xiii. 32; "Of that day and hour knoweth no man; no, not the angels which are in heaven, *neither the Son*, but the Father."

It seems to me that these portions of the Word of God are so intimately connected, that the one explains the other, and that *neither* can be satisfactorily understood APART; but that EACH is easily understood when the passages are *taken together*. *Darkness* shrouds *each* as it stands by *itself*: but when taken *conjunctly* each emits a light, which, being *reflected* on the other, *lightens it up*, and both become perfectly *clear and understandable*.

What is the real import of the expression, ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν? and what is the meaning of our Lord's declaration, "*neither the Son?*"

1. ἐκένωσεν.

Our Lord did *not*, our Lord *could not*, in any *sense* or in any *degree*, lose for one moment of time his essential Godhead, nor his *Sonship*, as the μονογενὴς υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ from all eternity! The one and the other is utterly impossible.

The ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν, then, was his placing himself in a new *condition* for a *specific purpose*; and the *stipulation* of that new condition (which I would call, "στάσις κένωσεως") was, that (during the time he

was in it) he must *use*, in no respect, and in no degree, the *wisdom*, the *power*, and the *knowledge*, which he possessed in his *primitive glorious condition* before he entered the "*στάσις κένωσης*." He would still be God, equal to the Father! He would still be his Father's Son; *acknowledged as His Son* (both by the *Father*, and by *men*); *loved as the Son*; and *especially loved* because of his *new, marvellous, and humiliating* undertaking: but having undertaken this *new work*, he must conform *rigidly and strictly* to the *conditions* of his *new position*. The *stipulated conditions* of the "*στάσις κένωσης*" were, that all *wisdom*, all *power*, all *knowledge*, which he *used and exhibited*, must be *SPECIALLY* imparted to him, in that *new state of inanity*! If he *allowed* himself to use any *wisdom*, any *power*, any *knowledge*, *inherent in Him as God*: and *essentially belonging* to him, in his former glory, BEFORE *ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν*, then it would be *nullifying* the latter, and marring altogether the great object, to effect which he had emptied himself.

Notice a few particulars confirmatory of this statement; not to mention the *κένωσις* of his *humanity*, sufferings in that *humanity*, needing *angels' help*, etc., etc., etc.

I. *Wisdom*.—Our Lord, *ἐν στάσει κένωσης*, possessed no wisdom, but what was *specialy imparted* to him, in that *new state or condition*. Hence we read, "*Jesus increased in wisdom*" (Luke ii. 52). His *ESSENTIAL WISDOM*, *ἐν στάσει τῆς δόξης*, as God, was incapable of increase. *Wisdom*, *SPECIALLY IMPARTED*, *ἐν στάσει κένωσης*, was as *capable of increase*, as his *age and stature* were. Hence also, we find precisely the same terms (expressive of *physical growth*, *special strengthening*) applied to our Lord and to John the Baptist. "*And the child grew, and waxed strong in spirit.*"

II. *Knowledge*.—Our Lord, *ἐν στάσει κένωσης*, possessed not an *ordinary*, but an *extraordinary* knowledge of *men's hearts*, and of *future events*: but it was a knowledge, as much imparted to him, in that *particular state*, as to any one of the *prophets* or *apostles*. He was *OMNISCIENT* as God, but *NOT omniscient quoad the "στάσις κένωσης."* "*Jesus knew from the beginning who they were that believed not, and who should betray him*" (John vi. 64). "*Needed not that any should testify of man, for he knew what was in man.*" This knowledge was *imparted* in the state of inanity, not the knowledge he possessed in his essential deity.

III. *POWER*.—Our Lord was Almighty in the fullest sense of that word. He possessed all *power*, but it was a *power* *SPECIALLY IMPARTED*. 1. He *forgave sins* (Matt. ix. 6). 2. He performed divers miracles!—but by what power did he forgive the former, and perform the latter? Not by the power which he possessed *essentially* as God, but by a *power* *SPECIALLY IMPARTED TO HIM*, *ἐν στάσει κένωσης*. Hence we read, Matt. xxviii. 18, "*All power is 'GIVEN' unto me in heaven and in earth*" (John xvii. 2). "*As thou hast 'GIVEN' him power over all flesh.*"

IV. A *want* or *DEFICIENCY OF KNOWLEDGE*.—Our Lord was

omniscient quoad Στάσις τῆς δόξης! Our Lord was not omniscient quoad στάσις κένωσεως. See Mark xiii. 32; "Of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father."

Of the various attempts to explain this scripture, not one appears to me to be satisfactory. The most plausible,—"*Our Lord did not know it so as to inform others*"—is an *approach* to the true explanation; but it is an attempt to open the lock *without the proper key*, and consequently it is to my mind a failure.

The proper key to unlock the difficulty is, "ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν." In that state, he really did not know the TIME WHEN. ἐν στάσει δόξης, our Lord DID know!! ἐν στάσει κένωσεως, he really DID NOT know. The stipulation, ἐν στάσει κένωσεως, was, That he knew nothing to communicate to others, *excepting* what was *specially revealed* to him IN THAT STATE. THIS had NOT been specially revealed in that state, therefore he did not know it. It is NOT, "That he did not know it, so as to reveal to others," but he actually did not know it at all. If he had used his *prescience*, or his *omniscience* (AS GOD! as the *μονόγενης τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐν δόξῃ*), as I have observed before, it would have effectually UPSET the conditions, and marred the object of his special work and mission. Thus we read in John xv. 15, "All things that I have 'HEARD' of my Father, I have made known unto you." He had not heard THIS (i. e., the day and the hour) of the Father, ἐν στάσει κένωσεως, therefore he did not know it. See Acts i. 6, 7, "Wilt thou at this time, etc.? it is not for me to know," etc. Luke xiii. 23, 24, "Few that be saved." John xiv. 10, "Speak not of myself," etc. John viii. 28, "As my Father hath taught me." Especially John xii. 49.

I would illustrate this mode of interpreting these passages thus:—A king's son enters into covenant with his father, to place himself in a new condition to effect a great work. He becomes a slave; the young prince, a slave.

The conditions, ἐν στάσει κένωσεως, are, that he is never to use, never to take advantage of, in any sense or degree, his former princely position.

As a slave, he is still intrinsically the prince, and the son of the king. Nothing, in reality, can deprive him of these great dignities. But ἐν στάσει κένωσεως, which he has undertaken for a purpose, the conditions are, that he can never avail himself of any KNOWLEDGE, or any POWER (which he possessed, and which he still possesses, as prince), in his new position! ἐν στάσει κένωσεως, he "KNOWS" nothing, and he can "DO" nothing, but as it has been SPECIALLY REVEALED to him, or by SPECIAL power GIVEN to him in his state of κένωσις—a slave.

If asked, Will you do this? his reply is, either I cannot, because SPECIAL power has not been given me, or 2, "I WILL," because special power has been given me in my state of INANITY.

Or if asked again, "When will such an event take place?" The answer may be, "I do not know;" because it has not been specially communicated to me ("when") in my present new condition as a slave.

If in *one single instance* (either as regards *power*, or *knowledge*) he had taken advantage of his *primitive condition* as a *prince*, and as *the king's son*; he would have effectually *marred* the great work, which he had undertaken to accomplish as a *slave*.

I argue, therefore, that *ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν* implies that our Lord emptied himself of his *former position*, for a *specific purpose*. That he *was what he always was*, "QUOAD HIMSELF!!" but "QUOAD HIS NEW CONDITION," he EMPTIED HIMSELF!! And if asked HOW? I refer to *these* amongst other facts.

"*Wisdom*." GREW in *wisdom*; because *wisdom* was specially GIVEN under new conditions.

Power—specially given under *new conditions*. All power is given unto me. "Deficiency of knowledge in the new condition!—knew nothing respecting *future* events, but *what* was SPECIALLY COMMUNICATED!!" "Neither the Son, but the Father." These "FACTS" clearly explain the "*ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν*."

If asked, on the other hand, how Jesus *the Son of God*, equal with the *Father* as *God*, could be said "to grow in *wisdom*;" "to have power GIVEN him;" and *actually did NOT know* a *future event* (which the *Father*, as *omniscient*, did *know*; and which HE, as OMNISCIENT, did NOT know), my answer is, *ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν*; and thus the *ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν* explains these FACTS!! (*These facts explain the ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν!* And the *ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν* explains *these facts*.)

It appears to me, that the *mistake* which persons have fallen into in endeavouring to explain these portions of Scripture, is *this*; that instead of clearly and systematically *distinguishing between*, they have *mixed together* our Lord's *στάσις τῆς δόξης, παρὰ πατρί, πρὸ τοῦ κόσμου εἶναι*, and his *στάσις κένωσης*; and have been impressed with the idea, that our Lord *whilst on the earth*, in some sort or in some degree, *exhibited* the WISDOM, *exercised* the POWER, and *manifested* the KNOWLEDGE, which he *possessed essentially* in his former *glorious position*: and thus they have wholly lost sight of the fact, that he exhibited *those qualities*, and *exercised that power*, ONLY as SPECIALLY IMPARTED to him in his STATE of INANITY.

W. R. C. R.

Dowdeswell Rectory, Feb. 3rd, 1864.

THE TITLE OVER THE CROSS.

THE following table shews the entire agreement of the reports of the several evangelists respecting the title over the cross:—

a St. John.

"The writing was" (1) "The King of the Jews." "The title" *Hebrew*.
(2) "Jesus of Nazareth."

(1) Being "the superscription," and (2) being read before (1) in the Hebrew style.

β St. Matthew.

"His accusation written," "This is Jesus the King of the Jews."—*Greek*.

This Evangelist consistently omits "of Nazareth" because, though part of the Hebrew title, it was no part of "His accusation written," and he also quotes the Greek title.

γ St. Mark.

"The superscription of His accusation was written over," "The King of the Jews."—*Latin*.

This Evangelist consistently omits "Jesus of Nazareth" as being no part of "His accusation" before Pilate.

δ St. Luke.

"A superscription written," "This is the King of the Jews."

The use of ἐπίγραφη without the article implying that this Evangelist does not profess to give the whole title.

C. G.

"THE CHRISTIAN ANNOTATOR," ETC.

In reference to this work a correspondent in our last (p. 468) expressed a wish that we would allow the contributors to the *Christian Annotator* to appear sometimes in *The Journal of Sacred Literature*. We shall be very happy to comply with any such requests as far as our space and our plan will permit. Even now, very little control is exercised over correspondents, but we shall readily facilitate their intercommunion, especially when they have important questions to ask or answer, and generally with a view to perpetuate valuable hints and observations bearing upon Biblical topics, or sacred literature. Many isolated facts of much interest are continually coming under the notice of those who have no present use for them, and, perhaps, never will have. Of such facts a constant stream is passing into oblivion; some of them for ever, and others only to be rescued by dint of great labour, or by some happy accident. Even in the course of reading, many singularly useful illustrations, explanations, or verifications of Scripture occur, and it is desirable that they should be "made a note of." The student may frequently wish for a clue to the literature of a subject beyond what he possesses, and an inquiry for it may induce some one to supply it. It is a very common case, that information is wanted as to certain readings or renderings of versions of the Bible not understood by the student. In fact, occasions almost innumerable arise, in which assistance is needed and might be obtained, if asked for through an appropriate medium. We could not, of course, interfere with the work of our excellent contemporary, *Notes and Queries*, but we could, perhaps, occupy a more restricted field. Under these circumstances we shall be pleased to do what we can; and if correspondents will study brevity, impartiality, accuracy, and propriety, there will be no difficulty. We may probably answer inquiries at once where we can, but this is neither to be expected nor desired as a rule. It is to be understood that we must reserve the right to judge of the fitness of communications for insertion.—ED. J. S. L.

AMONG the best means of spreading information upon questions suggested by doubt, may be mentioned the plan pursued by Mr. Tonna in the *Christian Annotator*. And I would suggest that something of this kind should be introduced into *The Journal of Sacred Literature*. It is quite possible that many questions may be asked which cannot be answered satisfactorily or fully, but at least useful hints as to a course of study may be supplied to the querist; or it may be shewn that the query is one which does not admit of a solution. Thus, the foreknowledge of God is incontestible, so is the free will of man, yet both in connection appear to involve a contradiction or impossibility: what, however, is impossible with men is possible with God, and it will be found that numerous questions of dogmatic theology or casuistry are only doubtful because they transcend the limits of the human faculties. At the present time the form of doubt or, perhaps, of infidelity, turns not on questions of this nature, but on exegesis, that is, criticism of the text of Scripture, or on hermeneutics, that is, interpretation or explanation of the words in sentences; chiefly, however, from the pretensions of science supposed to have attained perfection, and to be irreconcilable with the words and opinions of the most ancient of the sacred writers, and of the comparatively illiterate men who wrote the New Testament. The Old and New Testaments, instead of being regarded as historical memorials, are thought to contain specific instructions on science, law, morals, and religion. The ignorance that prevails, occasioned by erroneous teaching and preaching, can only be met by opening the press to the wants of religious people, and thereby enabling them to correct the errors which individuals fall into from taking as certain the statements of men in and out of the pulpit, who have not learnt and cannot teach the criticism and interpretation of the Bible. The chief want of the age is not a fresh commentary on the Bible, as the speaker of the House of Commons supposes, but the arts of exegesis, hermeneutics, and dogmatics, based on philology and archæology, as well as on history and the natural sciences.

Lichfield.

T. J. BUCKTON.

EGYPTIAN ORIGIN OF THE ZODIAC; COMMERCE AND VOYAGES OF THE PTOLEMIES, ETC.

THERE is a volume with the following title, *Frid. Sam. de Schmidt Opuscula quibus Res Antiquæ præcipue Ægyptiæ explanantur*, published at Carlsruhe in 1765. One of the essays seeks to prove the Egyptian origin of our zodiac, and another contains a valuable collection of items on the commerce and voyages of the Ptolemies. Two others relate to the worship of leeks and onions, and the Egyptian names of Orpheus and Amphion. What was the difference between the zodiacs of Egypt, Greece, Babylon, and other ancient nations; or where can I procure the information?

S. P.

HEBREW SYNONYMS.

CAN you give me the title of any good work upon Hebrew synonyms?
T. M.

[We are not able to answer this inquiry, and shall be glad if any of our correspondents can give the required information, or say if there is no modern work upon the subject.—ED. J. S. L.]

ELLICOTT'S EPHESIANS.

THE Bishop of Gloucester has repeated in his second edition of the *Epistle to the Ephesians* an error in his first note on the word δούλος, *servant* (i. 1), where it does *not* occur, and where the explanation, if any is needed, should have been on the word ἀπόστολος, *apostle*. The Bishop's amanuensis appears to have mistaken Παῦλος, *Paul*, for δούλος a servant, and to have put this note in the wrong place. The latter word, δούλος and its plural, occur in this Epistle in its sixth chapter only, and thereon the Bishop has appended notes. However good the first note may be, it is misplaced in this Epistle, and evidently belongs to Romans i. 1, where Παῦλος δούλος, *Paul a servant*, occur, and where this note may be useful when the Bishop shall find occasion to annotate the Epistle to the Romans.

Lichfield.

T. J. BUCKTON.

POTHEEN.

POTHEEN is a distilled spirit, and as such was unknown to the ancient Hebrews. Manoah's wife was forbidden the fruit of the vine, and wine, and strong drink (Judges xiii. 14), conformably to the Nazarite vow (Numb. vi. 3). The word for "strong drink" in Hebrew is שֵׁכָר *shecar*. The Greeks having no word to correspond with it, the Septuagint and Eusebius (*Prep. Ev.*, xii. 25) have retained the Hebrew word σίκερα. In Arabic, as in Hebrew, it means wine made of dates, seeds, and roots. The word חָמֶצֶת *chametz*, meaning *leaven*, is applied to the vinous and acetous fermentation, and is erroneously translated "vinegar" in the received version of Numb. vi. 3, Ruth ii. 14, Ps. lxix. 22, Prov. x. 26, and xxv. 20. Such was a common drink, and bread was dipped into it (John xiii. 26). Wine mixed with spices and water was called מַחְוֹל *mahool* (Isaiah i. 22), and מֶסֶק *mesek* (Psalm lxxv. 9).—See Jerom. *Epist. ad Nepotianum* (opera iv., 364, Benedict).

Lichfield.

T. J. BUCKTON.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Sermons on Ecclesiastical Subjects. With an Introduction on the Relations of England to Christianity. By HENRY EDWARD MANNING, D.D. Dublin: James Duffy. 1863.

THESE sermons came into our hands somewhat late; and, by a strange coincidence, there came along with them the news of that most dreadful of all modern tragedies, the destruction by fire of the Church of Santiago. It is well that we should look carefully at both these sides of modern Romanism; for, indeed, its abject superstitions, its millinery, and pantomime, and stage effects,—above all, such detestable trickery as post-offices for the Virgin Mary, could never endure for a single generation if they were not the extravagances, and distortions, and perversions, of substantial truth, and the ineradicable desires of human nature. On the other hand, though Dr. Manning's sermons are far from perfect, though the showy and gorgeous ceremonial of the church to which he now belongs seems to have infected his very style, though it is quite easy to shew that many of his premisses are untrue, and his conclusions illogical; yet we ought not to forget, when we are half led away by his sophistical rhetoric, that the conflagration at Santiago is a perfectly natural result of the consistent application of those principles upon which modern Romanism is built. The church which is infallible in promulgating the definition of the immaculate conception of the Virgin, is also infallible in determining the modes in which she shall be worshipped; and can scarcely divest herself of infallibility even when she nails up letter-boxes for the Virgin's votaries, and decides how much "liquid gas" shall be burnt in her honour.

The most interesting part of this volume is the introduction (pp. 1—83), "on the relations of England to Christianity;" by which, of course, Dr. Manning means Popery. Almost everything is to be found in that introduction which is to be found, in a form more expanded and rhetorical, in the thirteen sermons. At the same time, there are one or two of the sermons that are worth a separate notice—especially the second, "Dogmatic Authority Supernatural and Infallible;" the third, "The Perpetual Office of the Council of Trent;" the fifth, "On the Certainty of Divine Faith;" the twelfth, "The Weapons of our Warfare." The first of these was preached in the second provincial Council of Westminster; and is occupied chiefly with a history of the growth and development of the dogma of the immaculate conception, which was authoritatively promulgated to the Catholic Church a few years ago; and it concludes by a statement of some of those reasons for which, in Dr. Manning's opinion, this all but unintelligible dogma is of priceless worth, and the time of its promulgation manifestly determined by a supernatural wisdom. It is difficult, indeed, for a Protestant to understand the wonderful effect of this dogma upon the Catholic world; but there is no reason to dispute

the assertion of Dr. Manning, that "never since the great Council of Ephesus, which invested the blessed Virgin with the august title of Mother of God, has so vivid and universal a joy broken forth from the heart of the Catholic Church." Not, indeed, that the Council of Ephesus gave any trustworthy indications of being an infallible organ of the Holy Ghost. Whether Nestorius was right or wrong in his view of the relation between the human and the divine in Jesus Christ, he was treated by his opponents with the utmost cruelty and unfairness; and the wisdom of an assembly may well be doubted which could see no difference between the assertion, that "we ought not to regard God as being only two or three months old," and a denial of the divinity of Christ. At any rate, even at that time the title "mother of God" was leading to great practical extravagance; and it has led to much greater extravagance, since it was sanctioned by the ignorant and disorderly assembly, known to history by the name of the Council of Ephesus. Moreover, if we are to be the slaves of mere words, we shall assuredly be involved in the most hopeless obscurities and unmeaning absurdities. The refusal of the name Mother of Christ (*Χριστότοκος*), and the authoritative promulgation of the title mother of God (*Θεοτόκος*), was surely meant to indicate that the Virgin Mary was mother of the divine and not simply of the human,—of which last the inferior title would have been a sufficient indication; and in that case, into what abysses of profanity are we not at once plunged.

It is scarcely possible to separate the extravagant veneration of the Virgin Mary in the Roman Catholic Church, from the celibacy of its priesthood. Almost every modern development both of Roman Catholic ritual and doctrine, is of the sentimental and effeminate sort. There are examples of this only too abundant even in the Romanist worship of Jesus Christ. "The blessed Sacrament alone," says Dr. Manning (p. 298), "has I know not how many guardians and special witnesses; the sacred heart, the five sacred wounds, the precious blood, each has its saint and its special manifestation." Every Protestant, surely we may say every artist, every human being in whom a sense of decency remains, must have been shocked, over and over again, by the pictures of the sacred heart which are hung up in almost every Roman Catholic Church. No excellence, not even the perfection of painting could redeem a picture of the sacred heart from indecency. And when our attention is diverted from the infinite love of Jesus Christ to "the five sacred wounds," or the ghastly corpse that was taken down from the cross, we are horrified indeed—we may be in a manner impressed by these awful tokens of the sufferings which sin inflicts on love—but we can scarcely help feeling that it is a mere desecration to exhibit to any idler who chooses to come and look, what in the case of any dead friend we should hide away in a most sacred privacy. Surely, in this sense at any rate, it is high time that we knew Christ no more. Roman Catholics seem incapable of reverencing Christ and loving Him, unless they may be permitted to fondle Him and cry over Him.

But it is in the worship of the Virgin Mary that the sentimentalism

and effeminacy of modern Romanism attains its worst perfection. Our blessed lady, our dear lady, our sweet mother, and so on, are the phrases by which they continually speak of her; and it would be almost by a miracle if the Roman Catholic priesthood were not "in love" with her. There is a feminine side of human nature. "Neither is the man without the woman, neither the woman without the man in the Lord:" and of all men in the world, the very last who can be without the woman is the Christian priest; for by virtue of his office he is brought every day of his life into the closest contact, as much with the feminine as with the masculine side of life. We must, of course, assume that the priests of the Roman Catholic Church are true to the very mischievous and inhuman vows which they have unfortunately taken; and no one can have listened often to the impassioned orations of young priests on the principal feasts of the Virgin Mary, without perceiving that those fervent affections which should have been satisfied in the rest, and joy, and love, of home, have all been bestowed upon *her*. This is, indeed, a side of Romanism that will not admit of a very minute description; but it unquestionably debases the theology, and even degrades the morals of the Catholic Church.

It is, therefore, a most unhappy omen, that the utmost that the infallible church can accomplish in these latter ages is, to add the last jewel which makes perfect the mystical diadem of Mary's prerogatives. "It is not chiefly," says Dr. Manning, "as a treasure of faith that this dogma (of the immaculate conception) is precious to us, but above all as an interposition of the perpetual and divine authority of the Holy Ghost, who is always teaching through the Church. In the midst of the conflicts and storms of these last times, when men are tossed to and fro in doubt and fear, from uncertainty to unbelief, a divine voice has descended and made its articulate speech to be heard throughout the world." So this, then, is all that the Holy Ghost can do, is it, in the latter half of the nineteenth century? There are hundreds of millions of human beings, who do not so much as know that there is a Holy Ghost. From Dr. Manning's point of view, at any rate, the most powerful nation and race in all the world is almost hopelessly lost to the Catholic Church, and is spreading heresy and irreligion over the whole earth. The morals even of Catholic France are not generally considered too rigidly correct. Even the holy father himself, the supreme Pontiff, the heir of Saint Peter, the organ of the Holy Ghost, the mouthpiece and voice of the infallible Church,—even he has been robbed of no inconsiderable slice of his territory, and is in no small danger of losing all the rest. And yet the Holy Ghost, we are assured, can find nothing better to do—nothing better in the deliverance of the Pope, in the sanctification of Catholic Europe, in the conversion of heretical England and hundreds of millions of heathens—can find positively nothing better to do than dictate the preposterous doctrine of the immaculate conception. Surely this is a wonderful testimony to the fact, that the Holy Ghost dwells and speaks for ever in the Roman Church!

Our space in this short notice will not admit of any remarks upon the rest of these sermons, not even upon those to which we have referred as being specially worthy of notice; and only a few sentences can be devoted to the introduction.

"The more," says Dr. Manning, "I have studied the religious and political history of England since the Anglican Reformation, and the more I have observed the currents of thought, the dominant tendencies in English society at this day, the more I have become convinced that the English people are upon an inclined plane. Men may strive to retard their descent, but it is inevitable. The laws of nature are not more irresistible and unerring than the law which generates unbelief from the first principle of private judgment. Even in our own lifetime, the advance of indifference, rationalism, infidelity, secularism and atheism, both objective and subjective, is vast and perceptible. The last ten years have developed these evils as with a tropical growth; and the relation of England to the Catholic Church and to Christianity, and even to the Christian society of the world, are no longer what they were when the men of our day first entered upon life. I can conceive the pity with which some will regard me when I say, that I trace this development of intellectual, social, and spiritual anarchy, to one cause—separation from the Holy See,—because separation from the Holy See is separation from the universal Church; and to be separated from the Church is to be deprived of its divine guidance and support" (pp. 25, 26).

We may very freely acknowledge that what is often lauded as private judgment, is a most mischievous folly from which no good thing can come. It is not good for a man to be alone; and for any individual to presume to determine, without assistance from the past or from his fellow men, what is the whole duty of man and the complete truth of God, is almost equally ridiculous and profane. But surely there is a wide interval between the reckless arrogance of a man who chooses to make himself the measure of all things, and the infallibility of the Roman Catholic Church; and it may truly be said, that to arrive at a belief in that infallibility is not the first and easiest, but the hardest and last of all achievements of credulity. Surely there is a discoverable medium between believing everything and believing nothing. Are we obliged to choose between the dogma of the immaculate conception, the canonization of the Japanese martyrs, the post-office, and liquid gas, and conflagration at Santiago, and blank atheism?

Dr. Manning believes that Popery is, after all, regaining lost ground in England; and, indeed, his own name, and the name of "the Right Rev. Abbot Burder," suggest that from both extremes of Protestantism some conquests have been gained by the Roman Church. But that might have been expected. The baldness of Puritan bigotry is no defence against superstition. But we will venture to suggest an explanation of the toleration of Popery in this country, which does not seem to have occurred to Dr. Manning. It is the toleration which is granted to Mormonism, and to any faith however ridiculous—the toleration of indifference and contempt.

W. K.

Scriptural Paraphrases; being a Commentary wholly Biblical on some of the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels. By a LAYMAN. Edinburgh: The Caledonian Press. London: Longmans. 1863.

THIS volume is interesting on various accounts. It is printed in Edinburgh by "The National Institution for Promoting the Employment of Women in the Art of Printing;" and we must do them the justice to say, that they have executed their work with commendable accuracy: the only objection we see to the book is the unusually narrow margin at the top, and this is so narrow that whoever sends his copy to be bound, will need to write upon the parcel, "bookbinders, beware." The author, a layman, makes no pretence to learning, and seems to have been dependent upon others for certain critical notes. But his pious diligence, and his good sense, have enabled him to produce a work of far higher excellence than many whose claim to belong to the family of Dr. Panglott has been their only claim to notice, and none to honour. The layman's plan is not a common one. His text is, as we see by his title, the Collects, Gospels, and Epistles of the Prayer Book, not including those for Saints' days, and ending with Trinity Sunday. He has, therefore, in this volume only given us a portion of the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels. The sections of the work are one hundred and two in number, and every one of them is drawn up in the form of a catechism. The whole has been executed mainly for purposes of edification, and for such purposes we conceive it to be admirably adapted. The author steers clear of most of those topics which may be regarded as disputed; and, although a sincere Churchman, as is manifest in the book from end to end, he has been chiefly concerned to assist his readers to a profitable and religious use of those prayers and portions of Holy Scripture which he has handled. He has displayed much good sense and sound discretion, and we feel sure that he has done a work which may be of lasting profit to not a few of the clergy as well as the laity. Obviously it is a work which lies open to little criticism, but we have noticed a slip or two: *e. g.*, speaking of Easter, the writer says, "In the Greek and Latin churches it is called *pascha*, derived from the Greek word signifying 'passage,' and which Greek word was, in consequence, the name given to the great feast of the *passover* held by the Jews." The word is Hebrew and not Greek: *pesach* means *pass-over*, but the Greek *pascha* is a mere transcription of it, and without meaning, except as the name of the feast. The volume is preceded by an excellent index. We add a quotation (omitting the text and marginal references) to exemplify the layman's mode of treatment:—

"THE EPISTLE FOR THE SECOND SUNDAY AFTER EASTER.

(1 PETER ii. 19.)

"SCRIPTURAL PARAPHRASE.

"Q. Whence is this Epistle taken?—A. From the second chapter of the First Epistle general of St. Peter, beginning at the nineteenth verse.

"Q. What is the meaning of the expression with which the Epistle com-

mences, This is thankworthy?—*A.* The meaning of this expression is said to be, This is acceptable; from the same original word having been so translated at the end of the following, or twentieth verse.

Q. But why shall it be acceptable, if, as follows in the Epistle, a man for conscience toward God, endure grief, suffering wrongfully; thus, in the words of St. Paul, bearing all things, enduring all things?—*A.* Because a man will, in so exercising himself to have always a conscience void of offence toward God and toward men, endure hardness as a good soldier of Christ.

Q. And shall he be then like the Captain of his salvation, who, by enduring not only the cross, despising the shame, but also such contradiction of sinners against Himself, was made perfect through sufferings?—*A.* The soldier of Christ will.

Q. And if a man be like Him, in whom God was well pleased?—*A.* This is acceptable or thankworthy.

Q. But wherefore did St. Peter point out to the converts what is acceptable, in respect to a man's enduring grief?—*A.* Because, as the Apostle has added in the Epistle, What glory is it, or wherein have we to glory, if, when we are buffeted for our faults, we shall take it patiently?

Q. How buffeted for our faults?—*A.* By receiving the due reward of our misdeeds; for every transgression and disobedience, unless duly and truly repented of, receiveth in the retributive justice of God a just recompence of reward.

Q. And why?—*A.* Because whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.

Q. Then a living man should not complain for the punishment of his sins?—*A.* No, but be patient when the Lord visits on him the evil of his doings; for whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom He receiveth; no chastening, for the present seemeth to be joyous, but grievous; nevertheless, if we endure the chastening of the Lord, it shall afterwards yield the peaceable fruit of righteousness unto them who are exercised thereby.

Q. But, as St. Peter has further added in the Epistle, if when we do well and suffer for it, we take it patiently, or endure grief, suffering wrongfully?—*A.* Then this, the Apostle says, is acceptable with God.

Q. But how are we to take it patiently?—*A.* By neither behaving ourselves unseemly, nor being easily provoked, but bearing all things, enduring all things, and above all, not avenging ourselves, but rather giving, in suffering wrongfully, place unto wrath, that we may endure grief with the patience of Job.

Q. And are they counted happy who do, as did the Patriarch, endure?—*A.* According to St. James they are; for whatever great and sore troubles God may shew unto His good and faithful servant, yet shall the Almighty, in the declaration of the Psalmist, quicken him again, and bring him up from the depth of the earth; increasing his greatness, and comforting him on every side, even as the Lord blessed the latter end of Job more than the beginning.

Q. And why?—*A.* Because the Lord is very pitiful and of tender mercy.

Q. Then it is better, if the will of God be so, that we suffer for well doing than for evil doing?—*A.* It is; for as follows in the Epistle, Even hereunto are we called.

Q. And wherefore are we?—*A.* Because Christ, who, as next stated in the Epistle, did no sin, neither was guile found in His mouth; but was full of well-doing, or of doing good, suffered for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow His steps.

Q. But how did He suffer for us?—*A.* By the Lord of glory not resisting evil; for when He was reviled, He reviled not again; when He suffered, He threatened not.

Q. Then He did not call upon God to avenge Him of His enemies?—*A.* No; but committed Himself to Him that judgeth righteously.

Q. But does the Father judge righteously?—*A.* He does; not only according to the words of the Epistle, but also according to those of the prophet Jeremiah; for, as declared by Job, the Almighty will not pervert judgment.

Q. But how did Christ suffer, besides enduring the contradiction of sinners

against Himself?—*A.* By enduring, as already mentioned, the cross; for despising the shame, He, according to what is next said in the Epistle, His own self, bare our sins in His own body on the tree; that we, who, from being dead to sins, were baptized into His death unto sin, should live, through Him by whose stripes we are healed, unto righteousness.

"*Q.* But are we healed by His stripes?—*A.* We are, according to the sure word of prophecy.

"*Q.* How does the Epistle conclude?—*A.* With these words of St. Peter to the converts: For ye were as sheep going astray; but are now returned unto the Shepherd and Bishop of your souls?

"*Q.* But had they been, before their conversion to Christianity, as sheep going astray?—*A.* They had; for this may be said to have been particularly the case with the Jewish converts, who were of the twelve tribes scattered abroad, until St. Peter, in whom was wrought effectually the Apostleship of the circumcision, brought them to Christ.

"*Q.* And did they, on being baptized into Him, return unto the Shepherd and Bishop of their souls?—*A.* They came to that one Shepherd, God's servant David, whom He, according to the Word of prophecy, promised to set over them to feed them; the Apostle and High Priest of our profession Christ Jesus; and, consequently, to the Bishop of their souls."

Plea for a New English Version of the Scriptures. By a LICENTIATE OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND. London: Macmillan and Co. 1864.

As far as we can judge from a too cursory examination of this book, it is one which is fitted to produce an impression in favour of its author and its object. The defects of the Authorized Version of the Bible are here drawn up in regular array, and most of the arguments for their removal are fairly stated. The first part is introductory, upon the general question of revision. Part II. treats of inaccuracies connected with the received text of the Hebrew and Greek originals; Part III. of inaccuracies which characterize King James's Bible as a version of the Scriptures; Part IV. of inaccuracies which characterize the Authorized Version as an English literary composition; Part V. of its divisions; Part VI. of groups of words, etc. We have observed some points upon which we should join issue with the author, but we can honestly commend his zeal, diligence, and impartiality, and thank him for this timely contribution towards an object which cannot but eventually be attained. Of our Version every one speaks the praises, but these praises are limited and almost eviscerated by the regularly appended affirmation that it is capable of many improvements. It is notorious that the Old Testament abounds in erroneous renderings, and especially in all the books not purely historical. If to these we add the archaisms, the vulgarities, and the inaccuracies, inevitable in an uncritical text, we can make out a serious case for revision. On moral grounds it ought to be; for surely the least we are bound to do is to give the public an honest Bible—the honestest Bible we have to give, and this is not done. Every man who declares his unfeigned assent and consent to the Book of Common Prayer and the Bible is, or may be, stumbled by discrepancies and contradictions between the two English versions of the Psalms. All these things are notorious, and when we come to the New Testament we are still in difficulties. It is well

known that our New Testament is itself a revision of previous translations, and more especially of that which bears the name of L. Tomson, which was also a revision based upon the text and version of Beza. When we contemplate what has been done in regard to versions, manuscripts, critical science, archæology, topography, and philology, and in every other department of learning which bears upon this subject, we cannot help thinking that it is time we made our English Bible as honest as we can, in regard alike to its readings and its renderings. We hope shortly to return to this topic, when we shall make more use of the volume before us; in the meantime we offer the following considerable extract upon a point of which we have not spoken, to shew the spirit and manner of our author:—

“‘The Bible, without Note or Comment.’ Such is the motto adopted by the British and Foreign Bible Society; and, while the writer impugns this motto, it must not be supposed that he has the slightest intention of uttering a word in disparagement of that noble institution—so worthy the admiration of universal Christendom, for having extensively circulated throughout the world God’s blessed Word, translated into various languages. Yet, in point of propriety, the motto, ‘The Bible, without note or comment,’ seems very questionable, as far as a *version* of the Bible is concerned. If the Church were in possession of the undoubted autographs of Scripture, then indeed it would be an incumbent duty to publish a copy of these precious documents *without note* or comment. But the case is very different with a translation; for, however faithful and trustworthy it may be, it cannot have the full significance of the original. Hence the cause of truth demands that what cannot be expressed in the body of the translation, *be* expressed in marginal notes, not to supplement the Word of God, but, so far as is possible, to give the English reader God’s Word in its integrity, by expressing in a *note* something which, though really expressed in the text of the original, cannot be brought out in the *text* of the translation.

“For instance, in the Authorized Version, proper nouns are meaningless sounds: whereas in Hebrew and Greek they convey most significant meanings, which, though they cannot be explained in the *text* of an English version, ought undoubtedly to be appended in a *note*, for the information of the reader. Look (*e. g.*) at Ruth i. 20, which, in the Authorized Version, reads thus, ‘And she said unto them, Call me not Naomi, call me Mara: for the Almighty hath dealt very bitterly with me.’ In perusing this verse, an English reader can see no connection between the name and the reason assigned for giving it, unless he is aware that, while *Naomi* means *my pleasantness*, *Mara* means *bitter*. To append explanatory notes of this kind is quite *within* the province of a translator; and indeed his work cannot be complete without it. The New Testament writers sometimes resorted to this plan, when, writing as they did in Greek, they made use of Hebrew words, which, but for some such explanation, might have been unintelligible. For instance, in quoting a passage from one of the prophets, the inspired historian thus writes in Matthew i. 23, ‘They shall call his name Emmanuel, which being interpreted is, God with us.’

“Moreover, when, from some peculiarity in the idiom of the original, a passage cannot be literally expressed in good English, and must, therefore, *in the text*, be represented by a free translation, a literal translation might advantageously be placed *in the margin*, to compensate for want of literality in the text. For instance in Psalm cxiv. 4, 6, ‘Sons of the flock,’ the literal translation of *בְּנֵי צֹאן*, though it could not well be introduced into the text of a good English version, might be placed in the margin. Such is often done in reference Bibles; and most assuredly, it behoves those who maintain the excellent principle intended to be expressed by the motto, ‘The Bible without note or comment,’ to account such notes indispensable to a faithful translation, and to urge the propriety of their insertion in every Authorized Version of the Scriptures.

"It is also of the utmost importance that, when one English word *must* be employed to represent two different Hebrew or Greek words, a mark should be used to distinguish those cases in which it represents the one word, from those in which it represents the other; so that, in comparing Scripture with Scripture, people may not fall into the mistake of considering a certain English word as invariably representing one and the same word of the original. Were such a salutary course adopted, an English reader would know when *life* represents *βίος*, and when *ζωή*—when *man* represents *άνθρωπος*, and when the same word represents *αυτοπαρος*; and, indeed, such knowledge is absolutely necessary to a correct understanding of the Scriptures. How great (*e. g.*) is the difference between the meaning of *life* (*ζωή*) in John xx. 31, and the meaning of *life* (*βίος*) in 1 John ii. 16.

"The writer has been endeavouring to illustrate the utility of explanatory notes, and to shew that, without such notes, an English Bible must be seriously defective. The notes here recommended, however, are not any or all kinds of notes, but only those necessary to bring out the meaning of the original more clearly than it can be brought out in the body of the translation. Whenever a translation, or the notes appended to it, overstep this limit, and express something *more* than is really contained in the original, then the presence of such extraneous matter is highly objectionable in what professes to be simply a version of the Scriptures. For instance, *venomous* in Acts xviii. 4, and *cruel* in Heb. xi. 36, are gratuitous supplements to what is expressed in the original; and, accordingly, though they might be appropriate in a *paraphrase* of Scripture, they are totally unwarrantable in a *translation*; and for this reason they ought to be deleted from the Authorized Version. Take another illustration; it would be quite within the province of a translator, to state in a marginal note that the terms Messiah and Christ mean Anointed; but it would be altogether beyond his province to explain *why* Jesus is called by these names. This is a duty which devolves, not on translators, but on preachers and expositors; and therefore, though a correct explanation of such a point might be highly appropriate in a sermon or commentary, it would be quite out of place in an ordinary *version* of the Scriptures; so that the motto of the British and Foreign Bible Society is well worthy of our highest admiration, in so far as it condemns notes and comments of *this* kind.

"But although that noble institution set out with the motto, 'The Bible without note or comment,' is it a fact that it has adhered to this motto, even in those cases in which the motto *ought* to be adhered to? This question must be answered in the negative, for the British and Foreign Bible Society does *not* publish the Bible without note or comment. Passing over the title-page of an English Bible, published in 1861 by the British and Foreign Bible Society, the first thing that meets the eye of the writer is the *epistle dedicatory*, which disgraces the beginning of so many copies of the Authorized Version, and in which a mere mortal man is profanely addressed as 'the Most High and Mighty Prince James,' and as 'most dread Sovereign,'—titles which belong exclusively to him who is Lord of heaven and earth.

"The insertion of the address to King James is not the only case in which the Society violates its own motto. Almost every chapter throughout the Bible is headed by what purports to be an epitome of its contents; so that, in illustration of this point, the writer may subjoin what stands at the beginning of the first chapter of the Song of Solomon:—

"Chapter I.—1. *The church's love unto Christ.* 5. *She confesseth her deformity,* 7. *and prayeth to be directed to his flock.* 8. *Christ directeth her to the shepherds' tents:* 9. *and shewing his love to her,* 11. *giveth her gracious promises.* 12. *The church and Christ congratulate one another.* THE song of songs, which is Solomon's,' *etc.*

"It would be altogether beyond the scope of this treatise to inquire whether or not this is a *true* explanation of the contents of the chapter; and, therefore, without entering on that question, it may here be simply remarked that such a list of alleged contents is quite out of place in what professes to be a 'Bible without note or comment.'

"So far from denying the utility of accurate epitomes and explanations, the writer holds that, like other theological works, they are highly useful *in their own place*, and in Bibles, whose avowed design it is, to give such things in addition to the text. The point here maintained is, that the *Authorized Version* should be free from all such supplements—that it should be a faithful representative of the original, and nothing more, and that, accordingly, its text should be accompanied by no notes except such as are necessary for expressing what is really contained in the text of the original.

"In revising the *Authorized Version*, and framing another version in its stead, it would be of the utmost importance to provide that the new version should combine the characteristics of a sterling literary production with the merits of an accurate translation; it would need to be a trustworthy version of God's holy oracles, and also a standard work in the domain of English literature. Accordingly, besides being good English, such a version must preserve the tone and spirit of the original.

"It is quite conceivable, that, in assuming an English dress, sentiments originally expressed in Hebrew or Greek, though retaining their literality, might lose their life; so that, while the version thus produced might be, word for word, a literal translation couched in tolerable English, it might yet be but a flat and insipid representative of the original; similarly as a sculptured monument may represent a living man, or as a dead body may, in its various parts, bear a close resemblance to what it was before. In preparing a new English version of the Scriptures, however, it would behove the translators to guard against such a serious defect as this, and to beware of letting the process of translation deprive any passage of its animation and energy. Hence, it would be proper to give careful attention, not only to the grammatical structure of the sentences, but also to the rhetorical style of the whole composition, and so far as is possible, to reproduce in the translation those animating qualities which constitute, as it were, the very life of the original.

"Both as a translation, and also as an English composition, the *Authorized Version* is characterized by many merits worthy of one's highest esteem. Yet our appreciation of its merits, instead of leading us to ignore its demerits, ought to make us all the more anxious for their correction; and hence it is from his high regard for the *Authorized Version*, and from his still higher regard for God's truth, that the writer wishes to direct attention to various inaccuracies by which the excellence of the *Authorized Version* is deteriorated."

The Songs of the Temple Pilgrims: an Exposition, Devotional and Practical, of the Psalms of Degrees. By ROBERT NISBET, D.D.
London: Nisbet and Co.

WE are much pleased with the tone and style of this volume, and we have no doubt it will become a favourite with many private Christians. The fifteen "*Songs of Degrees*," as they are called in our version, are here retranslated, with a commentary or exposition upon each. We are bound to say, however, that the value of this volume does not lie in its Hebrew criticism, certainly not in the translations, which although sometimes an improvement upon the old one, are in our judgment often *not* an improvement. They do not betray the obliviousness which distinguishes too many of those that come before us; but they are nevertheless often open to objections. It is lamentable to think how little is known among us of the Hebrew language. Many who undertake to translate the Bible utterly ignore the fact that when the Bible was written, Hebrew was a vernacular, a living, spoken language, and that a Jew no more conceived of countless mysteries in every letter and word of his Scriptures, than we do in every word and letter of our

English version. Dr. Nisbet is invariably attractive and excellent when he is practical; and some of his criticisms are good; he is in particular quite right in regarding these fifteen Psalms as deriving their name from their use by pilgrims on the way to the temple. The trifling technical exceptions we might make to this book, do not forbid us to recommend it for the use of private Christians.

The Hulsean Lectures for 1862. Five Lectures on the Character of St. Paul. With a Sermon preached before the University. By Rev. J. S. HOWSON, D.D. Second Edition. London: Longmans.

THE lectures are five: the subject St. Paul—his tact and presence of mind—tenderness and sympathy—conscientiousness and integrity—thanksgiving and prayer—courage and perseverance. The sermon is upon the ascension of Christ. To the lectures, which are a very valuable contribution to St. Paul's biography, are appended many notes containing additional criticisms and illustrations, both original and selected. We received this volume too late to give it a careful examination, and can only say now, that it is worthy of Dr. Howson's reputation as joint author of the well-known work on *The Life and Epistles of St. Paul*.

The Song of Songs: an Exposition. By the Author of *The Study of the Bible*. For private circulation.

As we have received a copy of this small book, we suppose we may enter it upon our records, and say one word about it. The author objects to the view which regards the Canticles as a mere poem, intended to set out the honours of chaste human love, and to that which limits its application to Christ and the Church; and he adopts the view that it is a symbolic and poetic representation of the thirst of the human soul after divine wisdom, when first awakened to its value,—the response of wisdom, and the alliance with its blessed results. The whole poem is viewed as consisting of four eclogues. We do not know why this interesting little work has not been published.

School Sermons preached at Leamington College. By E. ST. JOHN PARRY, M.A. London: Rivingtons.

MR. PARRY, as many are aware, is the head-master of Leamington College; in that capacity he has preached the twenty-four sermons here collected. The discourses are brief, plain, and direct, and at the same time instructive and attractive. It is not often that a series of school sermons makes its appearance, but we are glad to find in this an evidence that school sermons may be fitted to promote the moral and eternal welfare of young gentlemen. There is very little use in long, solemn, dreary harangues, which are either not understood or not listened to. We hope that all who are called to preach to the young will look into these sermons, and not only they, but others. We have found them characterized by piety and good sense; and we congratulate the Leamington College on having such a head-master.

A Literal Translation of the New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, on definite rules of Translation from the text of the Vatican Manuscript. By HERMANN HEINFETTER. Sixth Edition. London: EVAN EVANS.

Rules of Ascertaining the Sense conveyed in Ancient Greek Manuscripts. By HERMANN HEINFETTER. Eighth Edition. London: EVAN EVANS.

THE first of the above is a solid quarto of about 450 pages, double columns, and is a remarkable monument of persevering zeal in the attempt to give a revised version of the New Testament. The second publication contains some suggestions which are really useful.

The Essenes: their History and Doctrines. An Essay reprinted from the Transactions of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool. By CHRISTIAN D. GINSBURG, LL.D. London: Longmans. 1864.

DR. GINSBURG is already favourably known for his contributions to Hebrew criticism and literature, and the present essay will not detract from his credit. In the course of about eighty pages, he says nearly all that can be told us concerning the mysterious Essenes; their cardinal doctrines, practices, divisions and origin; a comparison of them with the Pythagoreans; the derivation of their name; notices of them by ancient authors; disquisitions concerning them by recent writers, etc. The book will be valuable as a manual for reference in consequence of its numerous facts, and students of Hebrew and Christian antiquities should have it at hand. Yet we do not see our road clear to the reception of all Dr. Ginsburg's suggestions, especially that which regards our blessed Lord as an Essene. As a fact, the Essenes are not mentioned in Scripture, and we think there is strong reason for thinking that Christ did not attach himself to them, as we see not only Dr. Ginsburg, but the Jewish historian Graetz imagines.

Biblical Essays. By REV. JOHN KENRICK, M.A., F.S.A. London: Longmans. 1864.

THREE essays are contained in this book. The first, "The Gospel of Mark the Protevangelium," is designed, as its title shews, to establish the opinion which has found much favour among modern critics, that St. Mark was the first to write a gospel. In support of this view he argues with learning and ability. But we are not yet prepared to abandon altogether the old traditional idea that St. Matthew's Gospel was the first. We have modified very much our expectations of reducing the evangelical narratives to a consistent "harmony," but we have not yet seen our way to the abandonment of the unfashionable notion that all the four Gospels are substantially original narratives. This being the case we cannot feel over sanguine of the success of those who have started in pursuit of a "Protevangelium." Still, we beg to commend to notice the reasonings and facts of Mr. Kenrick, as well worthy of consideration. The second essay, "The true nature of

the gift of tongues," aims to shew that it was not a miraculous endowment with the power of speaking languages which had never been heard. The third essay is on the question whether St. Paul designated the Athenians as religious or superstitious; and it argues forcibly, and we think conclusively, in favour of the sense conveyed by our version. The volume concludes with a note on some expressions used by M. Renan in his *Life of Jesus*.

Propitiatory Sacrifice and the Sacrifice of Christ, according to Scripture and Catholic Antiquity. With an appendix on the scheme of Mr. Birks. London: Rivingtons. 1864.

THE author of this book informs us that it is intended as a sort of sequel to a former publication, in which his object was to defend as scriptural and Catholic the theology of the atonement of the *Cur Deus Homo* of Anselm. The subject is avowedly one of prime importance, and no man ought to grudge the labour required for its careful investigation. We do not care much to defend the views of Anselm as his views, and every candid inquirer will rather be anxious to know what the Scripture says. To the elucidation of the teaching of the Bible, the writings of orthodox divines in all ages may contribute something: and our conclusions will be materially confirmed if they accord with, or can plead anything like, Catholic consent in their favour; for surely the Church has not now to learn what that fundamental doctrine of the Atonement is. The author of this book rejects the idea of atonement by vicarious punishment, or vicarious penalty; and holds that the true idea is of the "righteous life of the offerer himself, devoted and sacrificed to God in ransom for the sins of the unrighteous;" the victim is, therefore, not merely a substitute for, but a symbol of the person offering. The book is well written, and merits an attentive perusal.

The Christ of the Gospels, and the Romance of M. Renan. Three Essays by the Rev. Dr. SCHAFF and M. NAPOLEON ROUSSEL. London: The Religious Tract Society.

THE first of these essays is reprinted with revision and additions from the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*. It was not written in reply to M. Renan's *Life of Jesus*, but by exhibiting the perfection of our Lord's character as portrayed by the Evangelists, and as an argument for the divinity of his person and his mission, it refutes by anticipation the perverted statements of the French *savant*. It is by Professor Schaff, and is entitled, "The Christ of the Gospels." The second and third essays, "The Romance of M. Renan," and, "The Christ of M. Renan, and the Christ of the Gospels," are by M. N. Roussel, a French pastor, who has the happy faculty of treating the profoundest questions in a forcible, transparent, and popular style. We are so struck with the appropriateness and excellence of these essays, as an antidote to the "juice of cursed hebenon,"—"the leprous distilment,"—which, whether he thought it or no, M. Renan has

"poured into the porches of men's ears," that we hope the volume will have a very wide circulation. This is not a bow drawn at a venture, but with a direct aim at the enemy. We trust this little volume will be greatly blessed in counteracting modern tendencies to reject the divinity and atonement of Christ.

Jerusalem und das heilige Land. Pilgerbuch nach Palästina, Syrien und Ägypten, von Dr. SEPP. Two Vols. 8vo. Schaffhausen: Fr. HURTER. 1863-4.

THESE two massive volumes could be fairly described only in a lengthened notice. A very large amount of space is devoted to the investigation and description of Jerusalem and the surrounding localities. The remainder of the work conducts us over the greater portion of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, as well as the Sinaitic peninsula. A vast body of facts is here brought together, and the book is a monument of persevering industry. It is very profusely illustrated with wood-engravings. The two volumes are a storehouse replete with valuable information.

The Works of Thomas Goodwin, D.D., sometime President of Magdalene College, Oxford. With General Preface by JOHN C. MILLER, D.D.; and Memoir by ROBERT HALLEY, D.D. Vols. VII., VIII. Edinburgh: James Nichol.

THIS excellent reprint of the admirable theological works of Dr. Goodwin steadily progresses. The volumes before us are characterized by the same fidelity of editorship as their precursors. Vol. VII. contains dissertations and discourses on six different subjects, and Vol. VIII. is wholly taken up by an elaborate and profound investigation of the object and acts of justifying faith. The fulness with which every topic is treated proves the richness and wealth of the author's resources, and leaves little room for addition. Dr. Goodwin had a wonderful knowledge of Scripture, a deep insight into human nature, and extraordinary versatility in handling questions in doctrinal and practical theology. The basis of all he writes is Scripture, and probably most of his works were originally delivered in the form of public discourses or sermons. Without committing ourselves to everything propounded by this author, we have no hesitation in strongly urging upon our readers the desirableness of acquainting themselves with his works, which they can now procure for a very small sum.

Morning on the Mountains; or, Woman and her Saviour in Persia. By a Returned MISSIONARY. London: James Nisbet and Co. 1863.

ONE of the most interesting, and to our thinking, one of the most important mission-fields occupied in modern times, is the one to which this volume has reference. The Nestorians of the Turkish empire very generally give in a nominal adhesion to the Pope, but those who dwell in Aderbeijan, the north-west province of Persia, mostly retain

their independence. This last, if not the most ancient, is the purest of all the old churches in the East. It has never fallen in with the corruptions of either the Greek Church or the Latin, and holds on its sternly simple way, under adverse influences of the most trying description. Though few in numbers, mostly poor, and always exposed to oppression, this truly primitive Church has many claims upon the sympathy, help, and protection of England. A devoted band of American missionaries has laboured among them for a number of years, and the charming volume under notice gives some account of their disinterested and faithful labours. Every circulating and private library should contain this volume, which shews that woman also has her sphere and work in the effort to revive the ancient Christian Church of Persia.

The Psalms interpreted of Christ. By the Rev. ISAAC WILLIAMS, B.D. Vol. I. London: Rivingtons. 1864.

THE Messianic interpretation of a portion of the Psalms is, we believe, the only true one, but we do not see how it is possible, on any principle of sound criticism, to interpret them all of Christ. Over and above the sense intended by the inspired penmen, there are many places which by their sentiments, phrasology, or other circumstances, are suggestive of spiritual teachings which without the New Testament would be unknown. But we have never seen that such "improvements" or "applications" could claim any authority on the basis of texts where "the sound is made an echo to the sense." The mystical, allegorical, typical, or prophetic exposition of passages which are not known but are only believed to be such, seems always to have been found useful for purposes of edification, but it requires to be practised with caution and discretion, if we are not to make the Bible responsible for our private opinions. Under all the circumstances we think Mr. Williams is pushing his principle too far. The present volume contains Psalms i. to xxvi. It is devout in its tone, and sound in its doctrine, and so far eminently fitted for purposes of edification; but we must consider it rather as an application of the Psalms to our Lord, than a proper exposition of the Psalms themselves.

The Prince of Light and the Prince of Darkness in conflict; or, The Temptation of Christ newly translated, explained, illustrated, and applied. By the Rev. ALEXANDER BALLOCH GROSART. London: James Nisbet and Co. 1864.

MR. GROSART'S book is printed beautifully, and upon excellent paper, and he himself has bestowed no small amount of labour on its execution. He has studded his pages with quaint and curious extracts from authors of whom no few are unknown save to the bibliophile, and only to be obtained by diligence and cost. And, not content with the many little morsels of rarity accompanying or embodied in his text, our author has added an appendix of notes and illustrations, in poetry and

prose, from writers of all ages and of every ecclesiastical communion. This richness, profusion, we had almost said superfluity, of illustration, is the most apparent feature of the work. Another is a quaintness of thought and expression, which some may decry as fanciful or even affected. A third is the unmistakeable air of piety which breathes through the pages, shewing that it claims a devout as well as a literary character. Looked at from a critical point of view, we do not like the very bald translation referred to in the title, neither do we always approve of the opinions advanced, nor of the style in which they are set forth. But after all, we are interested in the book even when we do not approve; for the writer is always in earnest, and abundant in thoughts and illustrations.

A Wreath of Carols from the Fatherland. By the Author of "Foot-prints of the Holy Dead." London: William Macintosh. 1864.

We have here about a quarter of a "century" of translations from German Christmas carols and hymns. Among them are some which will be quite new to the English public; but others are variations of what we already possess. The translator appears to have succeeded remarkably well in some of his renderings.

The Arranged-as-said edition of the Book of Common Prayer, with the order for the administration of the Holy Communion; according to the use of the United Church of England and Ireland. London: Rivingtons.

THIS book is arranged on the consecutive principle, and so that the morning offices, forms, and Psalms are separated from those for the evening. In fact, it is like two books in one, and each so placed as to commence the volume; i. e., at one end we have Morning Prayer, and by turning to the other end and inverting the book we come to Evening Prayer. The work is excellently printed, with appropriate capitals, tail-pieces, etc., and certainly the editing reflects great credit upon the compiler. For those who are not apt at finding the places, it will be useful, and there is no reason why it should not be extensively adopted. We are glad to see that it is paged as all Prayer-books ought to be; and that references are introduced where there is occasion for them.

Man considered in respect of Freedom, Dependence, and a state of Probation: with remarks upon Romans viii.—xi., and some notices of the views of the Very Rev. Dean Alford and the Rev. Canon Wordsworth on these chapters. By W. W. ENGLISH, M.A. London: Rivingtons. 1863.

THIS very thoughtful book is fairly described in the title-page. It is divided into two parts, in the former of which the author proves man's freedom and dependence, and the fact that he is here in a state of pro-

bation : in the second part we have a series of remarks upon Romans viii.—xi. Mr. English displays considerable learning, and writes with care ; and some of his observations, especially upon the New Testament use of certain words, are well worthy of attention.

Shakespeare in seiner Bedeutung für die Kirche unserer Tage. Ein Vortrag zum Theil in Evangelischen Verein zu Berlin gehalten, von AUGUST SCHWARZKOPFF. Halle : R. Mühlmann.

A SMALL contribution to the long list of Shakespeare testimonials. Its tone may be guessed from its three chief topics ; 1, Shakespeare as an arsenal full of weapons against the Church-opposing powers of our day ; 2, as a ground or platform for explanations with the upright among educated opponents ; 3, as a school for the formal spiritual training of the leaders, servants, and friends of the Church.

The Science of the Soul. London : Thomas Richardson and Son. 1863.

THIS little book is, we presume, the work of a Roman Catholic. It is very elementary in its character ; some would regard it as fanciful and unscientific, and all will admit that it teaches novelties. For example : —“The gain by belonging to, or the loss by opposing, the Church would be $6 + 60 + 600 = 666$. The sin of Cain + envy, the opposite of brotherly love, is six. The sin of heresy six hundred and sixty-six.” And again : “There are seven original languages, Latin, Greek, Teutonic, Slavonian, Tartarian, Chinese, and Hebrew, and every language consists of seven parts.” If the author publishes “*permissu superiorum*,” we hope the *superiores* at least advised him not to publish.

The use of the Burial Service as required by Law. By THOMAS S. L. VOGAN, M.A. London : Bell and Daldy.

WE do not handle ecclesiastical questions in these pages, however interesting or important they may be ; we can therefore only say that Mr. Vogan regards alleged grievances, as to the use of the Burial Service, as not sufficient to require either its revision or an alteration of the law.

Mr. Kingsley and Dr. Newman : a correspondence on the question, Whether Dr. Newman teaches that Truth is no Virtue? London : Longmans. 1864.

THIS correspondence is published by Dr. Newman in order to exculpate himself from the accusation of teaching, that “Truth for its own sake had never been a virtue with the Roman clergy.” Dr. Newman shews that he never taught this doctrine, and Mr. Kingsley withdraws his charge.

On Modern and Scriptural Geology. By JOSEPH DICKINSON, F.G.S. Manchester. 1864.

IN this pamphlet Mr. Dickinson calls attention to the difficulties pre-

sented by a comparison of geological facts with modern geological systems, and he appends an outline of his own theory, by which he seeks to reconcile the Scripture account of creation in Genesis with existing phenomena. He regards the earth as comparatively recent, and thinks all the fossil remains now found belong to species whose creation is recorded in the memorials of the six days' work. For a fuller statement of his views we must refer to his essay, only remarking that it is our growing conviction that the formation of geological strata and the lifetime of the organic remains belongs to a much earlier date than that of the six days' work recorded by Moses.

Sermons preached before His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, during his Tour in the East in the spring of 1862, with Notices of some of the localities visited. By ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, D.D.
London: Murray.

It is but right to enter upon our record a volume of peculiar interest, like the present. The sermons are;—three preached in Egypt, one on the Nile between Cairo and Thebes; two in the great hall of the temple of Karnak at Thebes; three on the Nile near Memphis; four preached in Palestine; one in the port of Jaffa or Joppa; two above Nablûs or Shechem; three at Nazareth; four at Tiberias; three preached in Syria; one at Rasheya: two at Baalbek; three at Ehden; three preached on the Mediterranean, and one at Windsor Castle. The sermons are short, simple, appropriate, and otherwise such as we might expect from the refined pen of their author under the circumstances. They are followed by an appendix of some importance, in which, after the introductory observations, there are four sections relating severally to the mosque of Hebron, the Samaritan passover, Galilee, Hermon, and Lebanon, and Patmos. We have been much gratified and instructed by a considerable portion of this appendix, which forms a valuable supplement, not only to the sermons, but to the *Sinai and Palestine* of the same accomplished writer. Readers will find here some details which may be regarded as new to the learned world.

The Book of Job, as expounded to his Cambridge Pupils. By the late H. H. BERNARD, Ph.D., etc. Edited, with a translation and additional notes, by FRANK CHANCE, B.A., M.B. Vol. I. containing the whole of the original work. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

A SUBSTANTIAL volume of more than six hundred pages, upon the book of Job, and labelled "Vol. I.," is almost enough to excite our terror in these days of fast moving and living. A commentary upon the whole Bible, on the same scale, would take more than a lifetime to write; and it would be a serious business to read it. We must not, however, forget "the patience of Job," nor the example of good Joseph Caryl, who gave the world about a dozen thick quartos upon this single book, and these were afterwards embodied in two ponderous folios. We

think the volume which Mr. Chance has produced, and which is alike creditable to his gratitude and his learning, might have been considerably reduced by his avoidance of what he himself confesses to be an appearance of prolixity. But be that as it may, we could say many things in praise of the book; and, so far as we have examined it, we have found it by no means deficient in spirit or interest. Dr. Bernard was called away before the sheets left the press, and therefore the actual editor has taken upon himself a larger share of responsibility than he otherwise would have done. The preliminary matter occupies more than a hundred pages, and the remainder of the volume consists of the translation and notes.

Mr. Chance places little confidence in the elucidation of Hebrew words by means of the cognate dialects, and trusts rather to a comparison of Hebrew texts. He has not much faith in Dr. Colenso, and other well known writers of our day: and he sets them down as guilty of intolerable dogmatizing and despotism. We are not sure that he is altogether wrong in this; but it is possible that he a little overrates the defects of some other labourers in the same field.

It is not our intention at present to criticise this work, because we have been unable to institute such a searching inquiry into it as it deserves; but we have no doubt that it will be reckoned among our more important and valuable helps towards the understanding of a confessedly difficult book. Some of the renderings have appeared to us to be very felicitous, and some of the observations very ingenious. It is free from so much of that insufferable rejection of common sense and the principles of grammar which disfigures many modern books, and displays patient research and a sincere endeavour to ascertain the true sense. It is altogether a book for students; and to their attention we commend it with pleasure.

English Biblical Criticism and the Pentateuch, from a German point of view. By J. M. ARNOLD, B.D. Vol. I. London: Longmans.

THIS book has a very direct bearing on the Colenso controversy: and on that account, as well as for its own merits, deserves to be noticed. The author is a man of extensive observation and learning, and he is familiar with German theological literature, to a degree which few Englishmen can boast of. It is well known that Dr. Colenso is fighting English orthodoxy very much with German weapons: and we really think it is desirable that German weapons should be used more extensively on the other side. If we are to have such an array of German objections, and of the general tactics of one party, let us have an equal acquaintance with the arguments and tactics of their opponents. Whatever the wishes and intentions of the free school, we cannot expect them to deal impartially in this respect. Indeed, no one can read some of their latest publications without regretting that they have done no more. We are weary and sick of the parade of the names of the "few isolated stragglers," as Mr. Arnold calls them—Ewald, Hupfeld, and the Dutchman Kuenen. Much as we respect them, we

do not know that they are to be the gods of our worship. In fact, we do not want gods in criticism at all; we are quite content to leave that form of dignity to the playhouse. We do want to know what wise and good men think or can teach us; but we reserve judgment to ourselves. Let Mr. Arnold go on as he has begun, and he will produce a work of present and lasting utility.

An Examination of Dr. Colenso's difficulties with regard to the Pentateuch.
Part Second. By the Rev. ALEXANDER MC CAUL, D.D. London: Rivingtons. 1864.

WE have had many reasons for speaking respectfully of the late Dr. Mc Caul, whose attainments in Hebrew criticism were only equalled by his life-long zeal in advocating and expounding the claims of revealed truth. The present small volume was in substance delivered in the form of Lectures at King's College, during the last term of the author. It was in part prepared by him for publication, and the whole is now edited by his son, the Rev. A. J. Mc Caul. Although very brief, it disposes of several of Dr. Colenso's difficulties in such a way that it will be highly useful to the unlearned reader. Those who have the former part, should procure this as a natural sequel to it.

"I came to fulfil." An Essay towards the Interpretation of the Apocalypse, according to this word. By the Rev. B. STRACEY CLARKE. London: Rivingtons. 1864.

MR. STRACEY differs from many of his predecessors in his explanation of the symbols of the Apocalypse, and he appears before the public with some claim to notice, as he tells us, "The interpretation of the Apocalypse, upon the plan followed in these pages, has been matter of prayerful study with me for many years." He divides his subject into two parts, the "things which are," and the "things which shall be;" the former extending over the three first chapters of the Revelation, and the latter over the remainder of the book. The details are too numerous for us to present a summary of them, and we can only call the attention of students in this domain to the new speculations here advanced. At the close of the volume four plans are given in illustration of some of the conclusions arrived at from a study of the closing chapters of Ezekiel's prophecy. We must decline to pronounce an opinion as to the probable accuracy of this interpretation of a book the difficulties of which are proved by the diversity of the explanations which it has received.

Saintliness: a Course of Sermons on the Beatitudes, preached at St. Mary's Church, Putney. By ROBERT HENLY, Perpetual Curate of Putney. London: Rivingtons. 1864.

THESE are eight sermons suitable for the edification of a plain congregation in an ordinary parish. Some passages indicate a spirit and an

understanding quite up to the level of our times : for example,—“The love of the many has waxed cold : we live in an age of smooth, civilized, unbelieving indifference, and we keep trying to get that work done by subscription lists, and meetings, and clap-trap speeches, and votes, the silly appliances of modern agitation, which nothing can do but the Spirit of God working on men at home and abroad through believing, loving hearts. Our worship is a mechanical, lifeless, form, having nothing to do with our character and daily lives, performed for us once a week by the clergyman.” Homely truths like these, must not be rejected because they are distasteful. There are passages where the style seems to be a little inflated, and the general tone of the book seems to favour a certain broadness of views on some questions ; but it is certainly not destitute of life, spirit, and earnestness, which is more than we can say of all the sermons which are printed. If the pulpit is to have more power, sermons must not only be of respectable merit from a literary point of view ; they must speak with emphasis, and must be imbued with vital Christian truth.

We have also received the following, some of which arrived too late for notice in the present Number :—

Studien zur Kritik und Erklärung der Biblischen Urgeschichte (Gen. i.—ix.) Drei Abhandlungen von Dr. Eberhard Schrader. Mit einem Anhang. Zurich: Meyer and Zeller.

Kirchengeschichte von F. R. Hasse. Herausgeg. v. Dr. A. Köhler. Vol. I. Leipzig: Engelmann.

Commentar über das Evangelium des Johannes. Von W. Bäumlein. Stuttgart: Metzler.

Bardesanes von Edessa nebst einer Untersuchung über das Verhältniss der Clementinischen Recognitionen zu dem Buche der Gesetze der Länder. v. Dr. A. Marx. Halle: Pfeffer.

Proposed Water Supply and Sewerage for Jerusalem: with Description of its Present State and Former Resources. By J. I. Whitty, C.E., D.C.L., etc. London.

The Divine Treatment of Sin. By Jas. B. Brown. London.

The Rise and Progress of Religious Life in England. By S. R. Pattison. London.

The Book of Ruth in Hebrew, with a Critically Revised Text, Various Readings, including a new collation of twenty-eight Hebrew MSS. (most of them not previously collated), and a Grammatical and Critical Commentary : to which is appended the Chaldee Targum, with Various Readings, Grammatical Notes, and a Chaldee Glossary. By Charles H. H. Wright, M.A., of Trinity College, Dublin, and Exeter College, Oxford ; British Chaplain at Dresden. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. 1864.

MISCELLANIES.

Simonides once more.—The following appeared in the *Literary Churchman* (Nov. 1), and the *Guardian* (Nov. 11). The *Guardian* printed the Greek originals of the letters signed "Callinicus," and of the answers of Dionysius to the queries of Mr. Wright.

(Translation.)

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'LITERARY CHURCHMAN.'

"Greeting in the Lord.

"On my arrival in the island of Rhodes, from Beyrout, I found in circulation many absurd and ridiculous stories (for which I was not prepared) attacking the genuineness of my letter, which I sent to you from Alexandria. I pity those who have published falsehoods so unfounded; for it appears to me, that these men attempt to mislead public opinion for the sake of individual interests; but I understand that the 'golden fountains are babbling,' as the proverbs say.

"And so I say to you boldly, for the sake of sacred truth, that I sent three letters from Alexandria, one to the editor of the *Guardian*, a second to the *Times*, and a third to the *Literary Churchman*. I wrote them myself, my subordinate, *Eusebius*, copied them, and then I signed and forwarded them, and sent the original to Simonides; and they who say the contrary, utter a manifest falsehood, for Simonides had no previous knowledge about these letters, but when he found from me what I had done, reproved me for it properly, because he did not wish the matter to be borne testimony to by me, for political reasons.

"And further, I repeat, that the MS. in dispute is the work of the unwearied Simonides, and of no other person. A portion of this was secretly removed from Mount Sinai, by Professor Tischendorf, in 1844. The rest, with inconceivable recklessness, he mutilated and tampered with, according to his liking, in the year 1859. Some leaves he destroyed, especially such as contained the Acrostics of Simonides; but four of them escaped him, viz., one in the Old Testament, and three in *Hermas*, as I long since informed Simonides: many palæographical symbols also [escaped his notice], but I do not know whether these were eventually overlooked with the acrostics.

"I have to add, that some of the more foolish among our monks at Cairo were bribed to copy and sign certain letters sent from Leipzig and England, containing many things adverse to Simonides. I do not know, for certain, what came of it; but I warn you not to fall into the meshes of those who are systematically plotting against humanity, for the sake of lifeless gold.

"Farewell, pardon the old man,

"KALLINIKOS HIEROMONACHOS.

"Rhodes, September 17, 1863."

(Translation.)

"+ TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'GUARDIAN,' GREETING.

"Joy unto thee.

"I am astonished that they are not ashamed who give out that Simonides wrote the letter which I addressed to thee last year from Alexandria, concerning the MS. taken away from Mount Sinai by Professor Tischendorf.

"I, friend editor, wrote that letter of my own accord and through the medium of my clerk, *Eusebius*, and I signed it with my own hand; and this I did for truth's sake, and that I might free humanity from Tischendorf's error. I also wrote two more letters on the same subject, one to the editor of the *Times* and another to that of the *Literary Churchman*, and I also sent the originals of those letters to Simonides; and besides these I wrote also others to Simonides on the same subject.

"And as regards the letters, I wrote them all. But Simonides wrote the Codex that was taken by Tischendorf from Mount Sinai, and which was corrupted by Tischendorf himself. Let, therefore, those give over that distort truth for the sake of worldly interest.

"Know also that lately two pseudo-monks have been hired that they may write against Simonides, and make their nonsense known through the English press, as at other times also those miserable men did in Germany, France, and Turkey.

"Good health unto thee in the Lord, and excuse

" + CALLINICUS THE MONK,

"Who blesseth thee with all his heart.

"*Rhodes, September 27, 1863.*

"[We print the above letter of Callinicus for fairness' sake. In any case it would not do his cause or that of Simonides any good. But after the letter from Mr. Wilkinson, which we give below, it is to be presumed that we shall hear no more of either of them.]"

"M. SIMONIDES AND HIS UNCLE.

"Sir,—On the 5th of June last I wrote to Mr. Wilkinson, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at Salonica, requesting him to obtain for me from the monks of Mount Athos answers to seven questions respecting Simonides. His reply reached me this morning. I enclose a copy of my questions, which you will see bear upon the story of Simonides as told by himself in the *Guardian* of Sep. 3, 1862.

W. ALDIS WRIGHT.

"*Trinity College, Cambridge, Nov. 8.*"

"*Salonica, Oct. 23, 1863.*

"Dear Sir,—I have delayed replying to your letter of the 5th of June last, as I was in hopes of visiting Mount Athos in September. My occupations here having prevented me from carrying out my intention, I have been obliged to request the Archimandrite Dionysius of the monastery of Xeropotami, a person well acquainted with the history of the Holy Mountain, to furnish me with the information you require respecting Simonides. I have now the pleasure to enclose the Archimandrite's replies to your queries, from which you will perceive that your suspicions were but too well founded. The Archimandrite Dionysius is now, and has been for many years, the spiritual head of the monks of the Monastery of Xeropotami. He is a well-informed man, and his statement may be relied upon as correct. The Monastery of Xeropotami is situated close by the 'Rossico,' or St. Panteleemon. I send you the Archimandrite's own letter, but being written in rather barbarous Greek, I have added to it an English translation. . . .—Believe me, dear sir, yours faithfully,

"RICHARD WILKINSON.

"W. Aldis Wright, Esq., etc., etc., etc., Cambridge."

"*Questions sent by me to Mr. Wilkinson, the English Consul at Salonica, to be answered by the monks of the Rossico Monastery.—W. A. W.*

"*Copy of answers, as translated by Mr. Wilkinson.—W. A. W.*

"1. Was one named Benedict the spiritual head of the monastery between the years 1837 and 1840?

"1. Benedict belonged to the Russian monastery, but he was never the spiritual head of the monks.

"2. Did he die in the year 1840, in the month of August?

"2. The said Benedict died in 1840, in the month of April, and not in August.

"3. Was Simonides his nephew, and was he resident in the monastery between November, 1839, and August, 1840?

"3. Simonides was neither his nephew, nor was he otherwise related to him.

"4. Did Benedict discover a hidden library in the year 1837?

"4. The alleged discovery by Benedict of a library is entirely false.

"5. Did Benedict and the brethren of the monastery contemplate making a present to the Emperor Nicholas in the year 1839 of a transcript of the Scriptures in ancient characters on vellum?

"6. Was Dionysius at that time the professional calligrapher to the monastery, and did he decline the task which Simonides undertook?

"7. Was Simonides ever at Mount Athos at all, and in what capacity was he known there?

"5. The Rossico Monastery never possessed the Scriptures on parchment; it is impossible, therefore, that the monks should have ever contemplated presenting the emperor with any such.

"6. In the Rossico there were many monks of the name of Dionysius, but none of them was ever a calligrapher.

"7. Simonides came twice to Mount Athos, in 1840 and in 1851. The last time (1851) the monks were so annoyed with his 'tripotages,' that they sent him away after a stay of only four months, during which he did nothing but visit some of the monasteries."

Assyrian and Egyptian Monuments in Syria.—The Prince of Wales visited these remarkable memorials of bygone times, still existing near the mouth of the Dog River. Dean Stanley, who accompanied His Royal Highness, makes the following observations regarding them:—

"When I had visited this spot in 1853, the inscriptions and sculptures, which have made it so famous, had been very imperfectly deciphered. Since that time, the researches and the contests of scholars have fixed the attention of travellers on these curious memorials, here alone in the world united, of the three ancient empires of Egypt, Assyria, and Rome—to which, in more modern times, have been added the marks of the early empire of the Turks and the present empire of the French. These two more recent inscriptions may be briefly dismissed. The first, left by Selim I., the conqueror of Egypt and Palestine, is near the bridge which spans the river. The second was written to commemorate the occupation of Syria by the French army in 1860.* But those of the three former empires are of permanent interest, the more so, as their gradual resuscitation from the neglect of centuries has kept pace with the gradual advance of a more critical knowledge of the ancient world; and they have thus become, as it were, water-marks of its rising tide. The first that attracted the attention of modern travellers was the Latin inscription of the Emperor Antonius to commemorate the cutting of the Roman road through the pass. This, which remained unobserved through the middle ages, was not beyond the comprehension of the travellers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and they accordingly have all noted and copied it. But the others, which have within the last few years rivited the regards of Europe, were then hardly thought worth a passing remark. Maundeville imagined them to be 'perhaps the representations of some persons buried hereabouts.' Pococke saw in them only 'some small figures of men in

* It has sometimes been said that the French army erased one of the ancient inscriptions in order to substitute their own. This is not the case. The tablet on which their inscription (questionable perhaps under any circumstances) is written, though ancient, was blank. It is the one marked by Dr. Robinson (*Lat. Res.*, p. 619), who saw it in 1852, as "No. 1, square at top; no figure, apparently no sculpture."

relief . . . very much defaced by time.^a The Egyptian scholars first demanded for them the celebrity which they have since acquired. M. De Saulcy afterwards denied that any were Egyptian, and claimed them all for Assyria. It is now certain that of the nine tablets three are Egyptian, and six Assyrian; although it may be argued further^b that Egyptian tablets have been, in some instances, appropriated by the Assyrian invaders six centuries afterwards, as one, at least, has been appropriated by the French invaders nearly three thousand years afterwards. It is on these tablets alternating along the face of the cliff upon the ancient road, that the interest of the Biblical student is chiefly fixed. There, side by side, we encounter the figures of the earliest and latest oppressors of Israel,^c—Rameses and Sennacherib. Rameses must have passed by that road at a time when the course of sacred history had hardly penetrated into Syria. His memorials can scarcely seem more ancient to us than they did to the first Grecian travellers who saw and recorded these or like vestiges of his conquests. When we trace the well-known figures—exactly as we see them on the temples of Thebes,^d—the king and the god, as usual, giving and receiving offerings—it is with much the same sense of remote antiquity as that with which Herodotus (if so be) must have climbed the same pathway, and ‘in the part of Syria called Palestine’^e (to use his own words), himself saw the monuments of Sesostris still in existence

“But the Assyrian tablets, if they do indeed contain the name, as they undoubtedly represent the country and empire, of *Sennacherib*, have a still more striking connection with the ancient history of Israel and of Syria. In the speech which is reported as delivered by his messenger in the historical narrative of the prophet Isaiah,^f the king of Assyria thus describes his march into Palestine:—‘By the multitude of my chariots am I come up to the height of the mountains, to the “edge,” of Lebanon; and I have cut down the height of his cedars and the beauty of his fir-trees; and I entered into the height of his border and the forest of his “park.” I have digged and drunk water; I have made a “bridge.”’^g

“‘The multitude of his chariots,’ such as they are seen on the Assyrian monuments of the further east, must have wound their difficult way through these romantic passes up to the very heights of the mountain ranges, and along the extreme edges of Lebanon,—along the banks of the streams which he drained off by his armies, or over which he threw bridges for them to pass. But there was one spot more sacred than all, to which the conqueror boasts that he had penetrated. He had gone

^a See Robinson's *Lat. Res.*, p. 623.

^b *Ibid.* 622.

^c See *Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church*, p. 90.

^d The Egyptian sculptures are less distinct than the Assyrian. But the figures are unmistakeably Egyptian; and though, as I saw them, it was difficult to conceive how Dr. Lepsius could have read the hieroglyphics, yet it was equally difficult to conceive how Dr. Robinson (p. 620) and others should have failed to see the figures. The fact is that, as he himself suggests, “under different conditions of light and shade,” both sculptures and inscriptions become more or less visible or invisible.

^e Herod, ii. 106.

^f Isaiah xxxvii. 24, 25.

^g Isaiah xxxvii. 25 (in the LXX.)

into 'the extremest height of Lebanon,' the forest of its 'park,' and there he had cut down with ruthless insolence the heights of its cedars, the beauty of its fir-trees."^a—*Dr. Stanley's Sermons in the East*, 212—214.

Presentation to the Prince of Wales.—On Friday, March 11th, a copy of the Bible and of the Book of Common Prayer, together with a carved oak Lectern, were presented to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales at Marlborough House, in the names of eight thousand three hundred and ninety-two shilling subscribers. The deputation consisted of the Marquis of Cholmondeley, chairman; the Earl of Shaftesbury, K.G., the Earl of Dalhousie, G.C.B., the Earl of Roden, K.P., represented by George A. Hamilton, Esq., the Earl of Gainsborough, represented by the Hon. G. Noel, the Lord Charles Russell, the Lord Henry Cholmondeley, the Lord Berners, the Lord Calthorpe, the Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, M.P., Sir Brook W. Bridges, Bart., M.P., Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Bart., represented by E. Buxton, Esq., General Buckley, M.P., General Powney, C. N. Newdegate, Esq., M.P., Anthony Lefroy, Esq., M.P., T. B. Horsfall, Esq., M.P., J. C. Colquhoun, Esq., James Bateman, Esq., Richard Nugent, Esq., honorary secretary.

After a few words of introduction and explanation from the chairman, the secretary read the following address:—

"May it please your Royal Highness,

"The undersigned gratefully accept the permission accorded to them by your Royal Highness of presenting the accompanying offering as an expression of their dutiful attachment. An illustrious English Queen, on the day of her coronation, amongst other costly gifts, was pleased to accept the 'Holy Bible' as the most precious of them all, declaring it to be 'the best book.' For, indeed, it is not like other books, which may err; it conveys perfect truth; written with the pen and in the language of men, it declares the mind and the will of God. In like manner, your Royal Highness will, they trust, be pleased to recognize the offering which is now made as most suitable from a body of Englishmen. For the Holy Bible (of which the Prayer Book is a faithful exponent), incorporated into our laws by the wisest of our Saxon kings, has been for centuries the national charter of Great Britain and the basis of our national greatness. To its influence, pervading our institutions and the framework of society, may be ascribed that love of order and submission to law, as well as that love of freedom and the manly energy, which characterize the English people. To it is likewise owing that settled loyalty at which other nations marvel; a loyalty not variable as the changes of human opinion, but stable as the authority by which it is sustained. Under the reign of our gracious Sovereign this loyalty is rendered not simply as a Christian duty, but as the willing service of sincere affection. In the person of our beloved Queen, and in the associations connected with the memory of your illustrious and ever-to-be-lamented father, respect and admiration are so blended with tender sympathy, that her sorrows have become our sorrows,

^a As in the English version, but it may be "cypresses," or "pines," or even 'young cedars.'

her joys our joys, and in her widowhood we have found our own bereavement. The undersigned congratulate your Royal Highness upon your marriage with a princess whom the whole nation has received with one joyous welcome. They ask permission to convey to you the prayers of many earnest hearts, that you may long experience all the blessings of an affectionate union; that when, in the providence of Almighty God, you are called to inherit the crown of these realms, you may also inherit a people's affectionate loyalty; and that when your course of duty here is ended, you may attain to an imperishable crown, in a realm where happiness is perfect, because every heart is loyal to the King of kings."

His Royal Highness replied as follows: "My lords and gentlemen, it is with more than ordinary gratification that I receive the offering you are now pleased to make me. You have reminded me of the expression of an English Queen on receiving a similar present on her coronation day, and I sincerely concur with you in believing that the Bible, and our Prayer Book, its exponent, are so interwoven with our institutions and our love of order and freedom, that the Sacred Book has a peculiar claim on the veneration and affection of Englishmen. I thank you cordially for your present, and gratefully acknowledge your good wishes."

The members of the deputation were then severally presented to his Royal Highness, and withdrew.

The sacred books presented to the Prince were the large edition of "Bagster's Comprehensive Bible," and the Oxford Royal 4to edition of the Prayer Book, both bound in the finest Turkey morocco leather, inlaid with various colours, which harmonize and richly blend together. The sides are embossed with the tudor rose and the passion-flower, raised in relief in the transverse corners, on a royal purple ground. Between the corner sections is the cross, of a brown colour, studded with crimson diaper work; and in the centre, the monogram, A.E., surmounted with the coronet.

The rims and clasps of the Bible are of a Gothic design, with raised bosses to rest the volume upon. The edges are most beautifully illuminated by James West; bearing on the front the text, "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest," with the monogram and coronet in centre; on the top, "Seek ye out of the Book of the Lord and read;" and on the bottom, "Delight thyself in the Lord," "Fear God and keep His commandments." The insides of the boards are lined with leather tooled in gold to an elaborate design, inlaid with rich crimson watered silk. The vellum fly-leaves at the commencement of the volume are a beautiful feature of the presentation, possessing all the richness of colour found in mediæval illuminations, combined with freedom of design. The first bears the initials in centre, surrounded with the garter, the coronet surmounting it, and on a scroll the text, "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life;" the rose, shamrock, and thistle being gracefully introduced. On the second, "This Bible and Book of Common Prayer are most respectfully presented to his Royal Highness Albert Edward Prince of Wales, by gentlemen of the United Kingdom. The Book of God is the only inspired record of eternal truth; the only standard which exalteth a nation; the only solid founda-

tion of a throne ; which brings light to the understanding, peace to the conscience, guidance to the conduct, and salvation to the soul. The Book of Common Prayer, containing the principles and doctrines of the Holy Scriptures as set forth in the articles and formularies of the Established Church of these realms, presented with the earnest prayer that all the blessings to be derived from both these volumes may rest on his Royal Highness and his Royal Consort through time and eternity."

On the illuminated edges of the Prayer Book are the texts, " Watch and pray," " Blessed is he that watcheth," with monogram in centre ; on the first vellum page, the Prince of Wales's plume beautifully rendered, surrounded with a wreath of the rose, shamrock, and thistle ; and on scroll beneath, " Wait on the Lord ;" on the second, " Trust in the Lord with all thine heart, and lean not unto thine own understanding : in all thy ways acknowledge Him, and He shall direct thy paths." The titles are also most chaste, being in white and gold. The Lectern is of carved British oak, of a Gothic design, from drawings by Mr. G. R. Clarke. On the ends are the arms of the Prince, surmounted with the coronet and plume ; the finals at the top being formed of a group of beautifully-rendered lily blossoms and buds. The pads are of the richest crimson silk velvet for the books to rest upon. The production of the whole was entrusted to Messrs. Samuel Bagster and Sons, the Biblical publishers of Paternoster-row.

The whole of the subscribers' autographs, in a volume bound in crimson morocco, were also presented to his Royal Highness, with the Bible and Prayer Book.

The Sheik's Harem.—After a little mysterious whispering we were asked if we should like to visit " the house," this being the only term by which it is permitted to allude to the female portion of the family. We gladly assented, though feeling a doubt as to the kind of interview we should have, our Arabic being limited to five words, and of course these ladies speak no other language. At this moment two fine little boys ran into the court, sons of our host, about seven and four years old. They were splendidly dressed, and each had a superb aigrette of diamonds in his fies ; both had their eyes deeply stained with antimony. Our companions and all the other men now went away, and we were left alone with the Sheik, who, opening a door at the end of the court, introduced us into a room far more European in its furniture than any of the others. The floor was covered with a bright coloured velvet carpet ; a four-post bed, with muslin curtains, stood in one corner ; and over an English fireplace was a looking-glass, and several ornaments of bad French china. Indeed, there was nothing Eastern about the rooms but a long divan under the latticed windows.

Two ladies now entered, evidently very nervous and frightened. The eldest, the Sheik's wife, looked much older than her husband ; she might have been fifty from her appearance, but probably was not thirty, as women in the East age rapidly ; the constant use of the hot bath, want of exercise, and the quantity of sweetmeats they eat, making them lose their teeth and their complexions quite young. She was magnificently dressed

in crimson brocaded satin, with a velvet jacket of the same colour, covered with gold embroidery. It was very open in front, shewing a sort of chemisette, which, as well as the under sleeves, were of thin gaze, trimmed with gold lace; round her throat hung several gold chains, with medallions set with pearls, diamonds, emeralds, and other precious stones. Her features were still handsome, though very strongly marked, the eyes much blackened with antimony; otherwise she was not painted, nor were her hands stained with henna. The younger lady, her daughter, was about fourteen. She had fine eyes and a gentle expression of countenance. Her dress was like her mother's in shape, the petticoat only being of velvet brocade and the jacket green. Both ladies wore long violet gauze veils fastened to the head by beautiful diamond ornaments; the hair was cut square to the face, while a quantity of false hair hung behind in innumerable plaits, to which gold coins were fastened. . . . A black woman now brought in an unfortunate baby who had evidently been going through the misery of a toilette. The eyes were painted with antimony, while the tears caused by the operation had washed long streaks of black down its poor little cheeks. On its head it had three caps, the upper one being of velvet, perched quite on the top of its head, and ornamented with diamonds. But the grandeur seemed to be reserved for the higher regions, as its legs were rolled up in a sort of muslin rag. This baby belonged to the younger lady; we had seen it before, for a moment, strapped into a most miserable cradle inlaid with mother-of-pearl.

Dancing Girls.—On returning in the afternoon we again committed ourselves to Hassein's care before encountering the crowd of ladies in the garden. The festivities were now at their height; there was smoking, laughing, tom-tom playing, and even fighting. On the platform the dancing girls were performing—girls they can scarcely be called, for they were old women looking at least sixty, though probably not more than half that age. To make amends they were very gaily dressed in yellow petticoats, blue and red jackets, and full trousers of spangled muslin, with headresses of the usual handkerchief arranged with natural flowers. Their arms were covered with bracelets; their ears, pierced in many places, were hung with jewels; and to add to their attractions they had nose rings, or rather little studs fastened into the nose on either side. Their eyebrows, shaved off, were replaced by one thick line drawn completely across the forehead; and their hair, cut square to the face, hung down straight on each side of their cheeks.

We did not think their dancing more charming than their appearance. It consisted chiefly in movements of the arms, which they waved slowly about, and in undulations of the body, and accompanied by constant shuffling of the feet. Their efforts, nevertheless, gave universal satisfaction, judging by the applause that ensued after every dance; and we heard afterwards that they were celebrated in their way. These dancing people are a class quite apart; they intermarry among themselves, and are in general rather looked down upon. The orchestra consisted of two tom-toms and a sort of fiddle, making most discordant music. Our appearance excited as much curiosity as it did in the morning; and as we looked

at the hundreds of faces around us, we thought we had never seen so much ugliness before. Those who go to the East with the idea of finding a great beauty among the women will be sadly disappointed, for the sort of beauty which finds favour in oriental eyes is generally quite opposed to European ideas; still, however, Circassians and Georgians of unquestionable loveliness may sometimes be seen. On the present occasion there could not be two opinions as to the frightfulness of the features before us; every description of ugly nose and mouth was there; and even the freshness of youth was lost by the streak of black supplying the place of eyebrows, and the unsparring use of red and white paint. The only handsome woman was a black slave, whose tall and slight figure had the grace so often found among the Nubians. To judge from a fight we saw going on, the older women seemed very tyrannical to the younger: an old fury had seized a girl of sixteen or seventeen, and was striking at her quite with savage violence, shrieking at the same time with all the force of her lungs; the girl did not attempt to resist, but crouched down in abject terror until another woman came to her assistance and dragged the old woman away. This scene caused neither curiosity nor remark, as if it were simply an affair of every-day occurrence.

Tanith, a Carthaginian Goddess.—After giving a translation of an inscription found upon a Punic votive tablet, Dr. Davis continues thus:—"In this inscription four deities are named; the first is Tanah, Tanat, Tanith, or Tanas. By this appellation Sanchoniathon mentions no divinity, and yet this name flourishes upon every inscription in the same pompous terms it does upon this. *Quid vero est Tanas?* is a question for the solution of which we shall look in vain to the other monuments discovered at Carthage. With a slight variation in orthography, we find this to be a deity among the Persians and Armenians, who patronized slaves. Tanais (so the name of the Persian divinity is written) is supposed to be the same as Venus. Artaxerxes, the son of Darius, was the first who raised statues to her. The same licentiousness prevailed in the celebration of her festivals as did those of the goddess of love. Mr. Franks, of the British Museum, in his paper on my discoveries at Carthage, which I believe he read before the Society of Antiquaries, and which has been printed in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii., has collected the following particulars respecting this deity:—"The name of Tanith occurs on a bilingual inscription found at Athens shortly before the year 1797, and preserved in the United Service Museum. It is on the tombstone of a Sidonian named in the Greek inscription Artemidorus (the gift of Artemis; in the Phœnician inscription his name is Abdtanith the servant of Tanith).

"This shews that when the tombstone was executed, which was probably about three centuries before Christ, Tanith was looked upon as the Greek Artemis, not, however, the goddess of the chase, the Diana of the Romans, but the oriental Artemis, the great goddess of eastern nations.

"She was no doubt the Ἄρτεμις Ἀναίτις whom, according to Pausanias,^a the Lydians worshipped; and she was possibly the Ἄρτεμις

^a Pausan., iii., 16, 6.

Περσικῇ before whose temple the same people erected a statue of Adrastus.³ Plutarch, in the life of Artaxerxes II.,⁴ tells us of that monarch having made Aspasia priestess of Artemis Aneitis at Ecbatana.

“This agrees with the account given by Clement of Alexandria,⁵ on the authority of Berosus, that Artaxerxes II. introduced into his dominions the adoration of images instead of fire-worship; and, after setting up the image of Aphrodite Tanais, at Babylon, Susa, and Ecbatana, caused her to be worshipped by the Persians and Bactrians, as well as by the people of Damascus and Sardis. This passage serves to identify Tanith with Aphrodite as well as with Artemis. Strabo tells us that the Medes and Armenians practised the sacred rites of the Persians, especially the Armenians, who worshipped Tanais.⁶ We learn from the same author how extensively the *cultus* of the goddess prevailed in the east, from there being a temple of Anaea,⁷ near Arbela; and he tells us that the Persians, to commemorate their victory over the Sacæ at Zela in Cappadocia, raised a mound by heaping up earth round a natural rock, so as to give it the appearance of a hill, and erected upon it a temple to Anaitis, and the gods worshipped with her Omanes and Anadatus, Persian divinities.⁸”

“The question which, however, naturally suggests itself is, How does a Persian divinity come to obtain so high a renown at Carthage? Sallust supplies us with the answer:—He informs us (and his authority was a Carthaginian work of king Hiempsal’s) that the Gætulians and Libyans were the first who possessed Africa. ‘These,’ he says, ‘were governed neither by customs, law, or rule of any kind, roaming about for a resting-place wherever night overtook them. But after Hercules died in Africa, his army, composed of various nations, soon fell to pieces after the loss of their leader. The Medes, *Persians, and Armenians* seized those parts which are nearest to our sea. The Persians extended as far as the ocean, and used for dwellings the bulls of the ships which brought them to Africa, turned bottom upwards, instead of cottages, for want of materials or opportunity of buying or bartering any from Spain; and, moreover, a wide sea and a language unknown to them prevented any commerce. These men by degrees mingled with the Gætulians by means of marriages, and, having wandered about to test the soil, they called themselves Numidæ. To this day the rustic Numidians have their cottages oblong and covered over, with curved sides, and are just like the keels of ships. But the Libyans joined the Medes and Armenians, for these lived nearer the African sea, whereas the Gætulians lived towards the sun. . . . The Libyans by degrees altered their names, calling them Mauri instead of Medi. But the affairs of the Persians increased in a short time, and afterwards the Numo-Numidæ, on account of their great numbers, having separated from their parents, possessed that region, which being close to Carthage, is called Numidia.”⁹ The Persians and Armenians, thus early brought into this part of Africa, undoubtedly introduced their religion

³ Ibid., vii., 6, 4.

⁴ Clem. Alex., *Protrept.*, 5.

⁵ Strabo, xi., 8, 4.

⁶ Plut., *Artax.*, 27.

⁷ Strabo, xi., 14, 16.

⁸ Strabo, xvi., 1, 4.

⁹ Sall., *Bell. Jug.*, 18.

also, and propagated it among the natives, with whom they themselves were in course of time amalgamated. In this manner the goddess Tanaïs was found here on the arrival of the first Phœnician settlers; and, indeed, the worship of that deity was at that time already so fully established, and her authority acknowledged, that her name was given to one of the towns, and perhaps the largest town then built on this portion of the African coast. Tunis in Punic is written precisely in the same manner as the name of the Persian Venus. It would be unreasonable to suppose that this was accidental, particularly as it was customary to call towns after the gods;ⁱ as is evident from *Veneræa*, the modern Kef, only a few days distant from Tunis. If the goddess Tanaïs was not already familiar to the Phœnician colonists before their landing in Africa, it required no great stretch of conscience, on their part, to embrace her peculiar worship (if any particular existed), since she only differed in name from the chief female deity of their native country. In all other respects she appears to have been the same. The Phœnicians, moreover, had an object in view: they were strangers, and their aim was to accumulate wealth, and to make themselves ultimately masters of the country. It would, therefore, have been extremely impolitic on their part to have manifested any scruples on a subject on which, in those days, no scruples existed. It was sufficient patriotism in them not to have abandoned their national religion altogether; and if it were then considered meritorious to propagate a creed, then they certainly adopted the most judicious policy in accommodating themselves to the peculiar religious views they found in the country. In this manner they were enabled to adore their principal female deity under the name of Tanaïs or Tanis, without abandoning Astarte, 'the queen of heaven;' and having thus satisfied the local creed, they had, most assuredly, a right to expect some concession from the natives.

"By such a mode of procedure the Phœnician settlers were, in the course of time, permitted to introduce into their adopted countries their national mythology. But the prominence Tanas thus received was by habit and custom so confirmed, that she apparently retained her dignity during the whole period that the Phœnicians wielded the sceptre in Africa. Her origin was, in all probability, in the course of time quite forgotten; and her very ambiguity, no doubt, tended only considerably to enhance her popularity, and increase her importance."—*Carthage and Her Remains*.

Sir Charles Lyell on Transmutation of Species.—It may be thought almost paradoxical that writers who are most in favour of transmutation (Mr. C. Darwin and Dr. J. Hooker, for example), are nevertheless among those who are most cautious, and one would say timid in their mode of espousing the doctrine of progression; while, on the other hand, the most zealous advocates of progression are oftener than not very vehement opponents of transmutation. We might have anticipated a contrary leaning on the part of both; for to what does the theory of progression point? It supposes a gradual elevation in grade of the vertebrate type, in the course of ages, from the most simple ichthyic form to that of the placental

ⁱ Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.*, iii., 16.

mammalia, and the coming upon the stage last in the order of time of the most antthropomorphous mammalia, followed by the human race: this last thus appearing as integral part of the same continuous series of acts of development, one link in the same chain, the crowning operation as it were of one and the same series of manifestations of creative power. If the dangers apprehended from transmutation arise from the too intimate connection which it tends to establish between the human and merely animal natures, it might have been expected that the progressive development of organization, instinct and intelligence, might have been unpopular, as likely to pioneer the way for the reception of the less favoured doctrine. But the true explanation of the seeming anomaly is this;—that no one can believe in transmutation who is not profoundly convinced that all we know in paleontology is as nothing compared with what we have yet to learn; and they who regard the record as so fragmentary, and our acquaintance with the fragments which are extant as so rudimentary, are apt to be astounded at the confidence placed by the progressionists in data which must be defective in the extreme. But exactly in proportion as the completeness of the record and our knowledge of it are overrated, in that same degree are many progressionists unconscious of the goal towards which they are drifting. Their faith in the fulness of the annals leads them to regard all breaks in the series of organic existence, or in the sequence of the fossiliferous rocks, as proofs of original chasms and leaps in the course of nature—signs of the intermittent action of the ereational force, or of catastrophes which devastated the habitable surface. They do not doubt that there is a continuity of plan; but they believe that it exists in the Divine mind alone, and they are therefore without apprehension that any facts will be discovered which would imply a material connection between the outgoing organisms and the incoming ones.

Scientific Expedition to Palestine.—From the *Natural History Review* for January 1864, we borrow an account of a well organized expedition which left this country in November last for Palestine; under the leadership of the Rev. H. B. Tristram, a gentleman whose name is well known as that of the author of *The Great Sahara*, and of many other valuable contributions to literature and science. The object of Mr. Tristram and his friends (Messrs. C. P. Meddlycott, G. G. Fowler, and H. M. Repcher) is to enlarge our very imperfect knowledge of the zoology, botany, geology, and physical geography of Palestine and Syria; for which purpose they have secured the additional assistance of Mr. H. Bowman, as photographer, Mr. E. Bartlett as zoological collector, and Mr. B. T. Lowne, as botanist. They proposed to devote November and December to the country between Beirût and Jerusalem; January and February to the Dead Sea and surrounding country; March, April, and the beginning of May to the Jordan valley, from Jericho up to Tiberias; and to pass the summer in the Lebanon, returning home in the autumn. Happily, thanks to the exertions of the authorities at Kew, Mr. Tristram has been supplied with a very promising young botanist, who is already favourably known as the author of a *Natural History of Great Yarmouth*. Mr. Lowne is, we understand, to be aided by a donation from the Government grant to

the Royal Society, and the arrangements made for him by Mr. Tristram and his party are most liberal and encouraging. Syria and Palestine contain one of the richest floras on the globe. Several thousand plants have already been collected there by Bové, Boissier, Roth, Gaillardot, and others; but few specimens have as yet found their way into general herbaria; and owing to the multiplication of species, and incompleteness of their descriptions, the flora of that country is in a state of greater confusion than that of any other part of the Mediterranean region.

Furthermore: the floras of Europe, Asia, and Africa, here meet; and a collection of the various forms which the eastern and western regions assume on this neutral ground, cannot fail to throw great light on some most interesting points connected with the origin and distribution of species.

Fulfilled Prophecy.—Of the prophecies relating to earthly kingdoms, the first place must be given to those which relate to the descendants of Abraham. These are found in great numbers in various parts of the Old Testament; but the most striking is that which is recorded towards the end of the Book of Deuteronomy. We have there a series of promises, and a series of denunciations, both expressed in terms so definite as to impress the reader with the conviction that the future of the people was present to the vision of the prophet; and both promises and denunciations have been fulfilled in the fortunes of that people in a manner which gives to the prophecy the exactness of history. Unbelieving criticism has indeed endeavoured, contrary to all rational evidence, to bring down to comparatively recent times the date of the Pentateuch; and on this ground has alleged that parts of the prophecy were written after the events. But there are other parts, and these the most important, to which no device of the kind can possibly be applied. Long after the canon of Scripture was closed, the words of Moses began to receive their most exact fulfilment; and the known history of the Hebrew people, their present unique condition in the world, and the aspect of the Holy Land, constitute a standing demonstration of the faithfulness of the Divine Word which no honest mind can resist; while the unquestionable truth of these parts of the prophecy affords an abundant warrant for confidence in the whole. With regard to the promises contained in that wonderful address to the Israelites—made at a time when neither the people of Israel nor the country to which they were tending, afforded anything like the hope of such prosperity—there is every proof that it was exuberantly fulfilled. In a Psalm, written probably after the acme of their prosperity had passed, the prophet could say, “He hath blessed thy children within thee; He maketh peace in thy borders, and filleth thee with the flour of the wheat. . . . He hath not dealt so with any people.” In fact, the Holy Land, besides supplying abundantly the wants of a full population, exported large quantities of grain and other products to neighbouring nations. And then, with regard to the conditional “denunciation,” accompanied as it was with the remarkable mitigation that they should not suffer the “annihilation” denounced against other peoples,—it is terrible to read in their history how every word of the Mosaic description of their fate has been verified:

and the present condition of Palestine is an awful comment on the words: "He turneth a fruitful land into barrenness for the wickedness of them that dwell therein." In short, as Dean Goode remarks; "The Jewish nation, and the land they once possessed, remain to this day standing witnesses, presented to the eyes of all men, of the Divine origin of the prophecies of Holy Scripture, and, consequently, of the revelation with which they stand connected."—*Clerical Journal*.

A New Commentary on the Bible.—(The following from the *Guardian*, some time since went the round of the press, was intended for insertion in our last, but was accidentally left out.) We are happy to see that the objections brought against certain portions of the Bible are about to be met by leading theologians of the Church of England in a very practical way. If a false and unfair system of interpretation has been applied to the text of Scripture, the best way of confuting it is to apply a true and legitimate one. The honour of originating the plan is due to the speaker of the House of Commons, who consulted several of the bishops on the subject, and the Archbishop of York, at his instance, undertook to organize a plan for producing a commentary which should "put the reader in full possession of whatever information may be requisite to enable him to understand the Word of God, and supply him with satisfactory answers to objections resting upon misrepresentation of its contents." The plan has received the sanction of the primate. A committee, consisting of the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of London, Lichfield, Llandaff, Gloucester and Bristol, Lord Lyttelton, the Speaker, Mr. Walpole, Drs. Jacobson and Jeremie, takes the general supervision of the work. The Rev. F. C. Cook, preacher at Lincoln's-Inn, will be the general editor, and will advise with the Archbishop of York and the Regius professors of Divinity at Oxford and Cambridge upon any questions which may arise. The work will be divided into eight sections; the first of which will consist of the Pentateuch—a difficult subject, and will be edited by Professor Harold Browne, the Revs. R. C. Pascoe, T. F. Thrupp, T. E. Espin, and W. Dewhurst, contributing. The historical books [Is the Pentateuch, then, not "historical?"] will be consigned to the Rev. G. Rawlinson, editor, and the Revs. T. E. Espin and Lord Arthur Hervey, contributors. The Rev. F. C. Cook will edit, and the Rev. E. H. Plumptre, W. T. Bullock, and T. Kingsbury will annotate, the poetical books. The four great prophets will be undertaken by Dr. McCaul as editor (since deceased), and by the Revs. R. Payne Smith and H. Rose as contributors. The Bishop of St. David's and the Rev. R. Gandell will edit the twelve minor prophets, and the Revs. E. Huxtable, W. Drake, and F. Meyrick will contribute. The Gospels and Acts will form the sixth section; the first Gospels will be edited by Professor Mansel, the Gospel of St. John by the Dean of Canterbury, and the Acts by Dr. Jacobson. The editorship of St. Paul's Epistles is appropriately assigned to Bishop Ellicott and Dr. Jeremie, with Dr. Gifford, Professor T. Evans, Rev. J. Waite, and Professor J. Lightfoot as contributors. To the Archbishop of Dublin and the Master of Balliol is assigned the rest of the sacred canon. This really promises to be a work second only in importance to the LXX.,

or the English version made by order of King James. Perhaps it will be quoted as "the XXX." The names of the editors and contributors, while they ensure orthodoxy, give promise that the comment thus put forth, almost with the sanction of the Church of England as a body, will not be the utterance of any narrow school, or section of it.

Modern Scepticism.—It was not so difficult to deal with the open scepticism of the French republicans of the last century, as it is with the modified, though still more dangerous, scepticism that infects English society at this hour. The votaries of the first rejected the Bible altogether, or any idea of revelation whatever; the latter do not absolutely reject the Bible, but they only accept just so much of it as suits their purpose. One of the writers of this school, in a recent number of the *Spectator*, speaks of the Sacred Volume as "a miscellaneous collection of literary, historical, and prophetic books of all kinds and degrees of inspiration, from broken traditions to authentic letters—from the words attributed to a quadruped, generations at least after the period to which they referred, to the divine words of the incarnate Son." It is not easy to understand the drift of the scoffing allusion to Balaam, and it can hardly serve any good purpose to remind one who writes in such a spirit, that no difficulty was found in the circumstance by St. Peter, who, in his second epistle, says that Balaam "was rebuked for his iniquity; the dumb ass speaking with man's voice forbad the madness of the prophet." The story of Balaam has always been a favourite theme with the scoffer and the sceptic, and we are not surprised that a critic who regards the Bible as little better than a collection of fables, should seek to give pungency to his sceptical lucubrations by referring to it. Nor need we point out that the above description of the Sacred Volume is quite at variance with the account given by those who, under the inspiration of God, were its authors; and were it correct, the Bible could be of no value to man. It is not to be wondered at that this writer should entertain vague notions on other articles of faith, or that he should venture to assert that the laity at large "cannot believe in a God who makes the *hereditary* penalty of a single sin infinitely wider in extent, and more certain of its aim, than the grace and love which are to deliver us from it." Having surmounted, as he imagines, in this flippant and scoffing style, the difficulty of original sin, he draws from the text—"For as in Adam *all* die, even so in Christ shall *all* be made alive"—this conclusion:—"It is not the *laity* of this generation who can believe in a God who expressly ordains a universal and inevitable malady, and only a very exclusive and partial remedy." And he plunges boldly from one depth to another, until he denounces the doctrine of eternal punishment, and eulogizes Mr. Maurice for his assault upon this article of the Christian faith. Such is the system by which in these days it is attempted to set the creature above the Creator, and to reject everything which cannot be readily grasped by human reason.

Our object is not to enter into a lengthened refutation of this writer's arguments; we merely refer to them in order to direct the attention of our readers to the alarming spread of this sceptical spirit. We may be

told that these heretical opinions are not so dangerous in the columns of a weekly newspaper of liberal tendencies, as when they are circulated by clergymen who have not severed their connection with the Church. This may be true in one respect, although it is an ominous sign when periodicals that rarely discuss religious questions voluntarily become the exponents of infidelity. At first these sceptical doctrines were breathed in whispers to congenial listeners, or enshrined in obscure treatises and pamphlets that were only read by the few. Now, however, they are proclaimed in high places, and advocated in political organs. And this brings us to the consideration of one good result that has ensued from the publication of *Essays and Reviews*, Dr. Colenso's criticisms, and other works of the kind. It has compelled the doubters to proclaim themselves; it has brought forth the sceptics from their hiding-places. So long as the evil exists it is better that its true dimensions should be ascertained. Its concentration, while depriving its advocates of half their strength and importance, enables its opponents to grapple with it more effectually, and therefore with better chances of success.—*The Press*.

Hindoo legend concerning Man.—Formerly, when Brahmá was desirous of creating the world, the several castes, Bráhmans, Kshatriyas, Váisya, and Súdras, were in succession produced from his mouth, breast, thighs, and feet. The beings thus created, were at first endowed with righteousness: they were pure, their hearts were free from guile: they abode wherever they pleased, and were filled with perfect wisdom. After a while Kála infused into their minds sin, the seed of iniquity, the impediment of the soul's liberation, and the cause of all misery here and hereafter. In consequence of this, sacrifices were offered daily, the performance of which expiates the offences of those by whom they are observed. But some, from whose hearts the dross of sin was not removed, assented not to sacrifices, but reviled the gods and Vedas. For these, the places assigned after death are the terrific regions of darkness, of fear, and of great terror, the fearful hell of sharp swords and scourges. The sun, the moon, the planets shall repeatedly be and cease to be; but those who adore the deity shall never know decay.—Monier Williams's *Sanskrit Manual*, p. 147. (From Wilson's *Vishnu Purána*.)

Cromlechs.—The *Jewish Chronicle* recently contained the following enquiries:—Somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Jordan there still stands a *Cromlech*; the only one existing in Palestine or Syria. If some of your kind readers, either those at home or abroad, would favour me through your columns with any particulars respecting this interesting remain, I should feel much obliged, as I am examining the subject of *Cromlechs* generally.

Any information thereon, from any part of the world, may assist me materially to elucidate the history of these marvellous remains.

C. E. H.

Syro-Egyptian.—Feb. 9. Mr. Ainsworth read a paper "On the Site of Capernaum, or Caphar Nahum." The writer pointed out that the error on the part of Josephus in calling the En (spring) Kachal of the

Jews, and "Round Fountain" of the Arabs, "Fountain of Capernaum," had led to two mistakes: first, to the identification of the same spot with the Capernaum of the New Testament by some; and secondly, to the unnecessary search after springs at other places, also identified with Capernaum, as the Fig-tree Spring and the Mill Springs on the shores of the Sea of Galilee. Mr. Ainsworth pointed out that the Black Fish of the Nile, said by Josephus to be engendered in the spring—the Coracinus of Pliny—was the *Macropteronotus niger* common to most rivers in Syria and Egypt—the Shelbe of the Nile, and Kambari fish of Speke; that it bred in springs, rivulets and shallows, and was caught with a hook fastened to a pole, whence the allusion in Matt. xvii. 27, "Cast an hook." The actual Tell Hūm was not, as Dr. Robinson read it, "the ruined heap of a herd of camels," but the site of the Jewish Caphar Nahum, Kefar Nachum and Kefar Tanchumin, the supposed burial-place of Nahum and Tanahum, and the Capernaum (as advocated by others) of the New Testament. The identity was established by the comparison of rabbinical and mediæval notices with those of modern travellers, and with the facts of the case; only the fountain was not that of Capernaum of the Jewish historian. Mr. Ainsworth also pointed out that above Magdala were the caves or sepulchral grottoes called by the Rabbins Telirnan, and Talmanutha, whence the Dalmanutha of Mark viii. 10, as compared with Magdala of Matt. xv. 39.

The Sheik of the Druses.—Said Beg is a young man between thirty and thirty-five years of age, with an agreeable and prepossessing countenance, well-formed features, dark and intelligent eyes, a mouth expressive of decision and kindness, shaded by a small black moustache, but no beard covers his square and resolute chin; his figure is slight and middle-sized, and he was dressed with far more simplicity than any of his attendants. He wore a loose cloak of violet Damascus silk, with a little gold embroidery round the collar; beneath this was a dark purple silk dress, bound round the waist with a handsome shawl; scarlet slippers and a fez cap completed his costume. His brother-in-law, who walked at his right hand, was a most martial-looking personage, his face bronzed almost to blackness by exposure to sun and wind; his sinewy athletic figure and bright gleaming eye shewed the daring soldier; and we were not surprised to hear that he was Ali Kamati, better known as General Kamati, the famous Druse chief, who had shared with Sir William Williams the privations and horrors of the siege of Kars, and who, out of the five hundred brave Druses who had accompanied him to Constantinople, brought back but a scanty remnant to their native mountains. He retains much affection and admiration for his old brothers in arms, and to him is mainly to be attributed the good understanding that exists between his people and the English, and the friendship with which the latter are always received in the Druse villages. Unlike the other Druses, who usually wear white turbans or the fez, Ali Kamati wore a kuffia, or Arab head-dress; this is a brown and yellow silk handkerchief, fastened round the head by a band of twisted camel's hair. The shawl around his waist was well filled with silver-mounted pistols and knives, and his sword was

of unusual length. Loose trousers were tucked into boots which came half-way up to his knees, and his outer dress was the usual Turkish robe of striped red and black silk. Notwithstanding this warlike exterior, his manner and voice were singularly mild and gentle, the fierce eye softening and the whole countenance lighting up pleasantly when speaking.

The Early Christians.—The term *min* or *minim* occurs in the earliest rabbinical writings; both its meaning and etymology were only vaguely guessed at. Maimonides, in "Hilkhoth Teshubah," defined it as designating infidels and free-thinkers. It was generally derived from Manu, the founder of the sect of the Manichæans. In modern time it was conjectured that *min* (מין) was in reality an abbreviation of the three words מַיְמוֹן בֶּן יוֹסֵף (believer in Jesus the Nazarene). The last conjecture seems now to have received its confirmation from a passage in an epistle of one of the fathers of the church. We quote the following from the *Israelite*:—

"A passage in an epistle of Hieronymus to St. Augustine, we believe, is decisive; and it must be borne in mind that the saint lived at Bethlehem from the year 400—420 C.E., and was on friendly terms with the rabbis of Tiberias.

"In the eighty-ninth epistle of Hieronymus addressed to St. Augustine, he says:—'Usque hodie per totas Orientis Synagogas inter Judæos hæresis est quæ dicitur Minæorum,' etc., etc. The whole passage may be rendered thus:—'There is up to this day a sect among the Jews of the oriental synagogues called Min (or Minim). They are much condemned by the Pharisees, who call them Nazareans. They believe in Christ, the Son of God, born of the Virgin Mary, and say he is the same who suffered and rose under Pontius Pilatus, in whom we also believe. But as they desire to be both Christians and Jews, they are neither Jews nor Christians.'

"Hieronymus lived eight centuries before Maimonides, and having close connection with the rabbis of Tiberias, who must have known best what the author of the *Mishnah* understood by the term 'Min,' we believe his testimony settles this question."

We further see what the primitive Christians, springing from the ranks of Jews who had known Jesus and his apostles personally, really believed. They, of course, believed that Jesus was the promised Messiah—*i. e.*, Christ. But they also believed that it had never been his intention to abolish the law of Moses, as expressly stated by the evangelist, but rather to fulfil it. It follows, therefore, that those missionaries who teach converts from Judaism, that they are absolved from the observance of the law of Moses, act in direct opposition to the will and practice of the founder of their religion. It was the Gentile Christians who, when they at a later period joined the Jewish Christians, insisted upon the doctrine that the law of Moses was abolished; and, as they formed the majority, it was in their power to outvote the primitive disciples of Jesus, and to declare their doctrines a heresy. And as these true Christians were thus repelled by both their former co-religionists and the new Christians, they in time were absorbed by the dominant, now called the orthodox, church.—*Jewish Chronicle*.

Ali Agha's History.—This Ali Agha's history is no unusual one in the annals of Turkish rule. He had been for many years a favourite and secretary of Ibrahim Pasha, who had loaded him with favours. The viceroy sent for him one day, and in full confidence of receiving some fresh proof of friendship Ali Agha repaired to the palace. Ibrahim, however, overwhelmed him with reproaches, accused him of treacherous correspondence, and without allowing him to defend himself or to bring proofs of his innocence, commanded him to prepare for instant death. The wretched man entreated permission to take leave of his family and arrange some of his affairs; this was refused, and only a few hours after he had left his home, his headless body was brought back to his house—the first intimation which his daughter received of the fearful catastrophe.

This lady was taking her mid-day siesta, but begged we would see her house. The court-yard is large and handsome, full of fountains, trees, and flowers, but less shady and picturesque than either of those we had seen. The rooms (which all open from the court) are large, well-proportioned, and richly decorated, the audience-hall most elaborately so; the ceiling is of gilt fret-work, on a pale green ground with small pieces of looking-glass let into the centre of each medallion. The upper part of the walls is painted in landscape, the lower half is incrustated with a mosaic of coloured marbles, mother-o'-pearl and tortoiseshell. Round the room are little niches, the arches supported by gilt columns, and in the recesses stand china dishes, cups, silver ornaments, and lamps. A raised dais occupies half the floor, surrounded by low divans, upon which are piled an abundance of silk and velvet cushions, embroidered and fringed with gold. A fountain stands in the lower part, encircled with water plants. The pavement is of inlaid Italian marbles, covered with fine matting and rich Persian carpets. Glass chandeliers of European manufacture hang in every room.

All the other apartments were a repetition of the audience-hall, only smaller and less elaborately ornamented.

The great height of these rooms, the brilliancy of the colouring, lavish decoration, the shaded light, the sweet scent of the flowers, and the splashing of the fountains, make one feel on entering as if suddenly transported into the scenes of the old stories of childhood. As the fairy palaces of the Arabian Nights are real, so must be their fairy owners. Good genii or beneficent Perizades could alone be meant to dwell in such quaint oriental magnificence; and it seemed but right that the ugly old lamp in the corner should be the identical one by which Aladdin summoned his faithful slave; and then how we should have rubbed it to have been able to carry away so pleasant an abode.

The Temple of Jerusalem.—The following is the prospectus of an important work upon this subject:—*The Temple of Jerusalem*; a Monograph of the Haram esch Sherîf, Mosque of Omar (Dome of the Rock), and Mosque of el Aksa; together with an examination of the topography of the Holy City. By the Count Melchior de Voguë, Member of the Society of Antiquaries of France, etc., etc., Author of *Les Eglises de la Terre Sainte, l'Architecture Civile et Religieuse en Syrie*, etc. To be

published in one volume folio of French text, with numerous wood engravings, and forty engraved plates; the glass, mosaics, encaustic tiles in colours.

This volume is the fruit of a lengthened residence in Jerusalem, during which M. de Vogüé was aided in his researches by Mr. Waddington, the well-known archæologist, and Mr. E. Duthoit, architect. Every facility was granted to the party by the Moslem authorities for prosecuting their investigations at leisure inside the sacred enclosure; and they were thus enabled to measure, sketch, and photograph at their ease, the very important monuments contained in that interesting and inaccessible spot, and all details of Mosaics, stained glass, sculpture, Arabic inscriptions, etc., with a copiousness and care never before attained by any other traveller.

The topography of the Holy City is elucidated by levels taken throughout the town, and by excavations, which have disclosed a portion of the "second wall" of Josephus, and an ancient gateway.

The volume further contains remarks on various points of Hebrew archæology and art.

The Libraries of Constantinople.—As the literary treasures of Constantinople will at last become accessible to the public, let us hope they will also be explored in the interest of Judaism. We copy the following from a literary journal:—"It is perhaps not generally known that the capital of Turkey possesses a large number of public libraries, a general catalogue of which is now being made. According to an estimate which is considered reliable, the total number of manuscripts thus catalogued will exceed a million. Unfortunately, however, many of these MSS. have been so damaged by lying in heaps in damp cellars or worm-eaten chests, as to be partially, and in some cases entirely, illegible. It is to be regretted that, until now none of the treasures of the early periods of Byzantine literature, which it was hoped would be brought to light, has been found. It has, on the contrary, been proved that all the works of those times which are known to have existed have been ruthlessly destroyed. The remaining works are consequently chiefly in Arabic, or in other Semitic languages; but they form, on the other hand, the richest collection of oriental literature in existence. Ahmet-Vafik Effendi Subhi-Bey, and other Turkish men of letters, have proposed that this inestimable mass of literary treasures be collected in one building, so as to render it accessible to students engaged in historical researches, and there is every reason to believe that this proposal will be adopted, notwithstanding the opposition it has hitherto met with. The first step towards the formation of an imperial library has already been taken by placing 40,000 volumes of good works, in various European languages, and which belonged to Il-Hami-Pasha, in the Dar-al-Fanoon, the building of the University. Orders have been given to increase this collection considerably, so as to create a tolerably complete library for consultation, to which the public will be freely admitted. Adding to such a collection the MSS. already mentioned, Constantinople would be superior to any capital in a literary point of view, especially if by some lucky chance the plays of Menander,

or the lost books of Livy, or the remaining tragedies of Æschylus, were suddenly brought to light from amidst the parchments now being so carefully examined."

The Immaculate Conception; appalling calamity in Chili.—The steamer "Atrato" arrived at Southampton at the close of January, and brought the intelligence of a terrible calamity at Santiago, the capital of Chili, resulting in the sacrifice of not much less than two thousand persons, mostly ladies. This melancholy event occurred at the festival of the "Immaculate Conception," and resulted from the Church of La Compania taking fire when crowded with devotees honouring the newest doctrine of the Popish church. This doctrine was promulgated in 1854, and to celebrate it special devotions, lasting from November 8 to December 8, are ordained by the heads of the Roman Catholic Church. The period of special devotion was about to terminate when the catastrophe, particulars of which will be found below, took place; the unfortunate victims principally belonging to the chief families of Santiago, and representing the youth, beauty, and fashion of that capital. The *Panama Star and Herald* of January 8 supplies the following account of this calamity:—

"One subject occupies the mind in this republic, the particulars of which make men's blood run cold, and the awful news of which will be received in every part of the world with the utmost horror. We do not remember to have heard of such a calamity—so sickening, so awful. The country seems to be stricken, and no wonder, under this awful judgment of God. All political matters are suspended for the present. Men can think of nothing but this calamity; for in Santiago, the capital, scarce a family but mourns some of its number, having searched in vain for a vestige of their remains, while whole families have entirely perished. Nearly two hundred cartloads of burned corpses have been taken from the awful pile and carried to the cemetery, where fifty men were too few to dig a hole large enough to bury what the fire left of the richest and best families of Santiago.

"Perhaps never in any country has a calamity so dire and unmitigated, so sudden and awful, ever happened. It is scarcely known how much influence the priests of the Church of Rome exercise amongst the people of these republics; but for some years past all reason seems to have been banished from the minds of chiefly the female part of the people of Santiago, and a return has gradually been making to a worse than pagan idolatry in their worship. Since 1857, the year of the invention at Rome of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, the church of "La Compania" has been the focus of devotion of a large number of the ladies of Santiago, and every year, from 8th November to 8th December, was carried on a celebration in the most splendid style—a festival in which was orchestral music, singing, and an astonishing prodigality of incense, lights of every kind, etc. Every corner of the building, from the ground to the ceiling, and especially about the altar, was a sea of muslin and drapery, flooded with every variety of illumination. But, not content with such display, the chief priest of the church, a man named Ugarte, would outstrip the Catholic world, and had invented a 'celestial post-office,' by

which direct communication by writing was obtained with the Virgin Mary, and in which offerings accompanying the letters were to be deposited. The same man recently got up a religious raffle for the benefit of the Virgin; but it was on the evening of the 8th of December that these celebrations were to reach their climax.

"The church of La Compania, built in the end of the seventeenth century, had a spacious nave, but a roof of painted wood of very recent construction. The only door of easy access was the principal door, the small side doors opening only half, and obstructed with screens; near the high altar was a small door into the sacristy. This evening was the closing day of the month's celebration—over three thousand women and a few hundred men had crowded into the church. Ugarte was to give a closing discourse; the nuncio from Rome, Elizaguirre, was also to preach; and hundreds had turned away from the door, unable to obtain admittance. Those who had the best places had been admitted early by tickets, and were mostly young ladies, the flowers of the beauty and fashion of the capital. Twenty thousand lights in long festoons of coloured globes filled the church, with gauze and drapery of every description, pasteboard mummery and figures in every direction. There could not have been better preparation made for a sudden conflagration than had been prepared for this fatal night.

"The performances had not yet begun when the crescent of lights at the foot of the gigantic image of the Virgin over the high altar communicated fire to the drapery overhanging, and to the pasteboard devices, and in an instant a sheet of flame rushed along the festoons of lights to the roof, and in a shorter time than we can write it the fire had spread over the building in all parts. The suddenness of it was awful, and words fail to tell of the horrors that ensued. At once nearly the whole people rushed to the principal door—fainting ladies fell down and were trampled on. The scene at the door who shall describe, as jammed, squeezed into one solid lump, the door was blocked by the people? Arms were wrenched from bodies which could not be extricated, and from the lintel to the arch of that awful passage became a crushed heap of mangled bodies. Most of the men escaped by the doors of the sacristy, and a few by the side-doors; but inside of the area of the church only a few minutes elapsed ere the lamps suspended so plentifully from the roof poured a rain of liquid fire down on the people below, and in less than a quarter of an hour over two thousand persons, mostly females, were no more than blackened corpses.

"It must have been awful! The conduct of the priests is simply this, as reported in the *Mercurio* of Valparaiso: 'When the fire broke out, and people were escaping by the sacristy, they blocked up this door that they might more undisturbedly save their gimcracks. After saving these they all sought their own safety, except that one priest favoured the agonising victims with his absolution, and Ugarte requested them to die happy, because they went direct to Mary.'

"The news of this event will be received with deep sorrow all over the world, and the people of Santiago may be assured of the sympathy of all who hear of their bitter trial."

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ECCENTRICITIES OF HYMNOLOGY: EARLY MORAVIAN HYMN BOOKS.*

THERE may still be persons who treat as caricature or slander, passages in some of our older writers where sarcasm is poured upon the old Moravian hymns, and upon the phraseology which they represented. It is however no exaggeration when Bishop Lavington exclaims, "How pretty is it when 'the infants, babes, and weaklings of grace, require daily to be borne on the sides of Christ, and be dandled upon his knees,—till they come to

* 1. *A Collection of Hymns, with several Translations from the Hymn Book of the Moravian Brethren.* The third edition. London: Printed for James Hutton, near the Golden Lion Tavern, in Fetter Lane, MDCCLXVI.

2. *An Appendix to the Collection of Hymns, consisting chiefly of Translations from the Hymn Book of the Moravian Brethren.* The third edition. London: Printed for James Hutton, opposite Westharding Street, Fetter Lane, 1746.

3. *A Collection of Hymns, with several Translations from the Hymn Book of the Moravian Brethren.* Part II. London: Printed for James Hutton, in Fetter Lane, opposite Westharding Street, MDCCLXVI.

4. *A Collection of Hymns, consisting chiefly of Translations from the German Hymn Book of the Moravian Brethren.* Part III. London: Printed for James Hutton, Bookseller, in Fetter Lane, over against West-Harding-street, MDCCLXVIII.

5. *A Collection of Hymns, consisting chiefly of Translations from the German.* Part III. The second edition. [J. Hutton, 1749.]

6. *The Song of the Redeem'd: or Hymns compos'd for the Use of Immanuel's Church Meeting in Petticoat Lane, near Whitechapel Bars.* O my dove that art in the clefts of the rock, in the secret places of the stairs, let me see thy countenance, let me hear thy voice; for sweet is thy voice, and thy countenance is comely, *Song of Songs*, chap. ii., 14. London: Printed by J. Hart, in

walk continually under the droppings of his blood! They see the sweet Jesus shewing his lovely face; and his favours and precious promises drop down his lily lips like sweet-smelling myrrh. They know that his arms are round them; for his arms are like the rainbow.' To which may be added part of a Lilliputian hymn, composed by Count Zinzendorf, the Moravians' infallible bishop:—

' Chicken blessed,
And caressed,
Little bee on Jesu's breast;
From the hurry
And the flurry
Of the earth thou'rt now at rest.' ”

The reference given for this quotation, is “Hymn 33.” And on turning to the fourth of the books on our list, we find it at p. 26, accurately given, except that the original has “*this* earth” in the last line, and runs on as follows:—

“ From our care in lower regions,
Thou art taken to the legions
Who 'bove human griefs are rais'd;
There thou'rt kept, the Lamb be prais'd!
Chicken blessed,
Bee caressed!
Thou that sleep'st on Jesu's breast.”

Popping's Court, Fleet Street; and sold by J. Lewis, in Paternoster Row, near Cheapside; and at the place above-mention'd, 1749.

7. *A Collection of Hymns of the Children of God in all Ages, from the beginning till now.* In two parts. Designed chiefly for the use of the Congregations in Union with the Brethren's Church. “Speaking to yourselves in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord,” *Eph. v. 19.* London printed; and to be had at all the Brethren's Chapels, MDCCLIV.

8. *Collection of Hymns, chiefly extracted from the Larger Hymn Book of the Brethren's congregations.* London: Printed and sold at the Brethren's Chapels, MDCCLXIX.

9. *A Collection of Hymns for the use of the Protestant Church of the United Brethren.* [Quotations from Ps. c. 2; lix. 16; Col. iii. 16; 1 Cor. xiv. 15.] London printed; and sold at the Brethren's Chapels in Great Britain and Ireland, MDCCLXXXIX.

10. *A Collection of Hymns, for the use of the Protestant Church of the United Brethren.* Revised and enlarged. [Same texts quoted as in No. 9.] Bath: printed and sold by J. Hazard; sold also by Henry Haslop, No. 10 Nevil's Court, Fetter Lane, London; and at the Brethren's Chapels in Great Britain and Ireland, MDCCCI.

11. *Liturgic Hymns of the United Brethren;* revised and enlarged. Translated from the German. London: printed in the year 1793.

12. *Liturgic Hymns of the United Brethren;* revised and enlarged. Second edition. Translated from the German. Manchester: printed by Nanfan and Davis, 1811.

^b *The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists compared.* In three parts. London: 1754. Part ii., p. 5.

The bishop in another place, quotes as from one of Count Zinzendorf's "Elegant Moravian Hymns," the couplet,—

"No angel is so bold and rash
But quakes at thy Shemhamphorash!"

This also occurs in the same book, at p. 48, along with other edifying stanzas, of which take this example:—

"Thou'rt Numen Gentium,
And the Ens Entium,
And th' Causa Causarum!
The Acting God, in sum."

And lest the simple brethren should not be quite clear as to what they were singing about, explanatory notes are introduced:—thus, after Shemhamphorash, "Unutterable Name:" after Numen Gentium, "That great Spirit (as the heathens speak):" after Ens Entium, "Being of Beings (as the philosophers speak):" and after Causa Causarum, "Cause of all things." Such explanatory notes are not uncommon in several of the volumes before us, and it can hardly be said they are needless; the very lines following Bishop Lavington's last quotation, run in this strain:—

"Thy Father, God in the abyss,
Hath then begot thee, sure it is;
And that I this in words express,
Non erat ubi non eras."

Where to the note is,—"No moment can be conceiv'd when thou didst not exist."

The symbolical chickens occur not only in the two editions of the *Moravian Hymn Book*, part iii., but also in the second part, where, in No. 393, a sort of dialogue we read at verse 8,—

"What is now to children the dearest thing here?
To be the Lamb's lambkins and chickens most dear;
Such lambkins are nourished with food which is best,
Such chickens sit safely and warm in the nest."

This choice specimen of hymnology concludes with a quatrain of similar elegance:—

"Now when you know so much, dear children, then see
That each on the wound-holes may suck as a bee;
The grace got in baptism right value and hold,
So will He more myst'ries unto you unfold."

Before we go deeper into these chambers of imagery, it may as well be observed that the figures are not all repulsive, that some are decidedly appropriate, and some are more fitted to

excite a smile than a frown. Of the latter take a specimen in passing; one which contains both a fable and a moral:—

“ Once on a time a man there was,
A saint whose name was Martin,
Concerning whom Severus says,
Satan came to him darting
As lightning quick, and bright arrayed;
'I am thy Jesus dear,' he said,
'Me thou wilt surely worship.'

“ Martin looks straight towards His side;
No side-hole met his vision:
'Let me,' says he, 'in peace abide,
Thou hast no side's incision,
Thou art the Devil, my good friend!
The place where Jesu's sign does stand
Blindfold I could discover.'

“ The same's the case ev'n at this day
With Jesu's congregation;
For larks who round his body play,
Have of his wounds sensation;
Because our dear incarnate God,
Will with his wounds as man be view'd,
Be felt, and so believ'd on.”^d

A few years ago somebody wrote to *Notes and Queries*, asking for an account of the earlier editions of the Moravian hymns. The writer called attention to the *Oxford Magazine* of 1769, as containing some extraordinary specimens, avowedly from “a book of private devotions, printed for the use of the *Unitas Fratrum*, or Moravians.” We know of no book with any such title, but the lines quoted occur in the first edition of the *Hymn Book*, part iii., with a little variation. Like most of the hymns in the volume, this is printed as prose, but may be thus arranged:—

“ To you, ye Jesu's wounds! we pay
A thousand thankful tears this day,
That you have us presented
With many happy virgin rows
Since the year thirty, who are close
To Jesu's heart cemented.
Pappa! Mamma!
Your hearts Flamelein,
Brother Lamblein
Gives the creatures
Virgin hearts and virgin features.”^e

^d Hymn 76 in *Moravian Hymns*, part iii.

^e *Notes and Queries*, No. 113, p. 502, 1851.

The stanza which follows this we cite, but with considerable diffidence, only as an indication of the direction of many pieces in the volume, and far from going the length to which some of them go ;

“ What sing you 'fore your spousal man,
Ye Brides, that he shall do and can ?
Much he hath done already.
You bow down to the thro'-bored feet,
With thousand kisses them to greet,
To faint before him ready,
O Lamb ! What shame
Lay on them all,
Till faults female
Were quite banish'd
In the Bridegroom's wounds, and vanish'd.”

This hymn is No. 106, and called “The single Sisters' Hymn ;” it contains eleven burning stanzas.

The subject was taken up by the contributors to our gossiping and erudite contemporary, and occupied attention for half a year. It was made manifest enough that there were many hymns quite as extravagant as the one quoted, and not a few which were more so. Besides this it came out that the volume which excelled all others in the bold and sensuous character of its imagery (our No. 4) was toned down in its second edition, and that in this way some of the objectionable passages had been got rid of. An illustration of what we mean is supplied by the hymn last quoted, the first verse of which in the reprint stands in this form :—

“ To you, ye Jesu's wounds ! we pay
A thousand thankful tears this day,
That you have us presented
With many happy virgin rows
Who without nunnery, are close
To Jesu's heart cemented.
This is a bliss
Which is sure, to secure
Virgin carriage
In the state itself of marriage.”

The alterations were not all improvements, however, and the larger proportion of what would be now called intolerable stuff, was permitted to remain. The consequence is, that the second edition, as really as the first, exhibits multitudes of verses, and many entire hymns, which no “*Honi soit qui mal y-pense*” would persuade us to transfer to these pages. No doubt there are those who can range unsullied over the literature of mystic love

divine, but we imagine that even of the devout and spiritual-minded who are able to do this, very few in our days would care to do it. It may be considered a mere matter of taste, but for our parts we deeply regret that the taste of Count Zinzendorf and his friends was what it was.

We shall now proceed to speak of the several books before us in their chronological order. The copy of No. 1 which we use is of the third edition.^f It consists of a preface, 187 hymns, and an index. The preface concludes with this intimation:—"Our brethren and sisters who have made these hymns, are mostly simple and unlearned people, who have wrote them down at the time, when the matters therein expressed were lively to their hearts; and, therefore, they are without art, or the niceties usually expected in poetry: yet notwithstanding, to every heart that knows, or desires to know Jesus Christ, we doubt not but they will afford some satisfaction and comfort of a much better kind." Of course this is quite true, but there was really no necessity for compiling such a collection at all; other, and far better hymns in English were accessible enough, and a wise policy would rather have selected from among them than published these for public worship. As it is, they are not altogether original. Some of them, as stated in the title page, are translations from the German hymn book of the brethren, and others are modifications of hymns already current, by Watts, Wesley, etc. It is not our purpose to trace the borrowed lines and thoughts to those with whom they originated, but we mention the fact that there are many such. Here is one of the translations from the German:—

"Thy eyes, thy mouth, thy side,
Thy body crucified,
Whereon we build so sure,
We then shall see secure,
And kiss, and inly greet,
The prints in hands and feet.

"Till then my faith shall view
Thy eye-streaks black and blue,
The clam on mouth and tongue,
Thy corpse with torture wrung,
As in the holy hymn
Described from limb to limb.

^f The first edition of this book has the same title and imprint, except that the latter ends "Printed for James Hutton, at the Bible and Sun, in Little Wild Street, near Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1742." This is page for page the same as the third edition, and seems never to have had the Appendix (our No. 2).

"I b'lieve in either hand
A piercing nail did stand;
And I believe my Lord,
Thy holy feet were bor'd;
And that another wound
Within thy side was found.

"Thou know'st, O God, that I,
Were I just now to die,
No other Saviour have,
No other wish or crave,
But Jesus, sinners' Friend,
A Saviour without end."—p. 234.

The difficulty of reducing some parts to rhyme and metre may be inferred from the following melodious verse:

"Bless the pilgrims and their toil,
A right pass they have, O Lamb,
Where they go, let free grace blow,
And th' accuser lose his aim;
In Cape, Surinam, Barbies,
Thomas, Ceylon, Acra, Cruz,
Algiers, Jan, Balls, Chekomek,
Iceland, Torna, Wayomek!"—p. 297.

In all probability this delectable morsel was sung with unction at some of the meetings of the brethren. It cannot have been despised, for it is a translation from a German composition. The Germans have been great hymn writers, and have produced some noble specimens, but verily our Moravian friends a hundred and twenty years since derived from them a good deal of trash. Here is another in the same tone as the last:—

"Can there among you one remain,
Ye brethren who the Saviour know,
Who're freed from sin's accursed chain,
Whose very Spirit does not glow.
For Surinam and Thomas Isle,
For Pensilvania and Barbies,
The Cape and Greenland's distant soil,
The Calumeks and the Cherichees!
Who for the heathen hast not burnt and glow'd,
To dip them in the stream of Jesu's blood?"—p. 301.

This is from the German, and so is the next, which we give entire as it stands in the editions of 1746 and of 1754.

* This hymn is printed somewhat altered, in the large edition published by authority in 1754, Part ii., p. 218. A like remark applies to the verse next quoted which occurs in the large book, Part ii., p. 188. It would be easy to shew that if the first Hymn books were not authorized, they were largely quoted in the books that were authorized afterwards.

“Youth divine! with staff in hand,
 Who protect’st thy sheep from harms;
 Think on thy poor little band,
 Thou who wast a child in arms:
 Let our joy be daily new,
 That thou once wert here below:
 Thou wert childlike, happy true:
 Make us happy children too.”—p. 306.

The hymn which comes next to this is a hymn for “little children,” and among other utterances contains this (also found in both the books No. 1^a and No. 7) :—

“For when we as sinners come,
 In thy nail-holes we find room.”

The “little children” must have had their spiritual faculties precociously developed, if they were able to realize the truth hidden under this (to the Moravians) familiar, but to us repulsive language.

No 2, or the appendix to the collection, is said to consist “chiefly of translations from the hymn book of the Moravian brethren.” Our copy is attached to the collection, and contains hymns 188—239, and a table of first lines. If it contains milk for babes, it also contains strong meat for those who have their senses exercised. The 194th hymn, apparently intended for children, winds up with the following delightful rhapsody [produced in No. 7, part ii., p. 197] :—

“Give to us, poor little souls,
 Rooms and beds in the dear holes
 Of thy hands and feet; yea, hide,
 Each and all within thy side.

“And when Satan at an hour
 Comes one chicken to devour,
 Let the children’s angels say,
 ‘These are Christ’s chicks, go thy way!’”—p. 321.

“Poor little souls!” Indeed they might well call themselves such, who were nourished with such husks. But here is a morsel of history [in No. 7, part ii., p. 254] :—

“Few years ago
 (As well we know)
 We were but five,
 To us did four arrive.

^a We shall generally designate the respective volumes and parts by the numbers attached to them in the list at the head of this notice. In most cases the numbers will indicate the chronological order of the books, and favour brevity as well.

We lost twain of our few,
 They too,
 What did we gain
 For the Lamb slain?
 O Thousand souls
 Who sound of his wound holes," etc.—p. 322.

And this rubbish is from the German too, as also is another of the chicken brood:—

"Jesu, our joy and loving Friend,
 Both thy dear wings around extend,
 Thy little chickens hide;
 Would Satan seize us as his prey,
 Then let the angels sing and say,
 'This chick shall undisturbed abide!'"—p. 328.

Some of the sacramental hymns are distinguished by the boldness of their metaphors. What, for examples, would now be said to this:—

"The Breath which can the dead bones raise,
 And to the members life conveys,
 Thy spirit, soul, and body move,
 Lamb's mortified wife, with love:
 The cup of blessing here with life runs o'er,
 Which flows from Jesu's blood for evermore.

"Here lies, O God, thy body now,
 Let thy blest Spirit pierce it thro';
 That which must heal each sinful soul,
 From head to foot restore it whole,
 And which has thousand sinners form'd anew,
 How soon can this, thy body Lord, go thro'?

"Blood-congregation, rise and bow,
 Thy sovereign's power is stirring now;
 Take, drink the blood so freely spilt,
 For thine and every sinner's guilt:
 Spirit and incense, living coals and fire,
 Are freely offered to the soldier's choir.

"Now then thou Husband of thy Bride,
 The Church's mouth is opened wide,
 The members want to feel thy might,
 To help them faithfully to fight;
 We thirst for life; O Prince, thou know'st it well,
 What one who thirsts, within himself must feel."—p. 344.

¹ This hymn is reproduced in No. 7, Part ii., 213, but in verse 2, we have "Here lies, O Lamb, thy body now," for "Here Lies, O God, thy body now." In verse 3, "Blood congregation" becomes "O congregation;" "soldier's choir" also becomes "faithful Choir."

But after all, the colours here are tame and flat compared with what we see in some of the books. We cannot resist the temptation to quote a verse from the hymn next to this, although we have given a specimen or two of the same sort:—

“The word, the small word blood,
Makes all the churches good.
May that still more adorn
Herrnhaag, Herrndyk, Herrnhuth,
Bethl’hem and Marienburn,
Niesky, Gnaadentall,
Buhrow, Montmiral,
Siten shrine and all.”—p. 345.

This delectable enumeration, or one very much like it, if we remember correctly, occurs elsewhere. By way of compensation we append a few lines which will not distress the vocal organs quite so much [repeated in No. 7, part ii., p. 257].

“Think Lord on thy relations here,
Thy blood-communicants so dear,
Knights of the blessed thorn,
(Which wounded thy most sacred head)
Thy bees which on thy wounds do feed,
Pour on them oil out of thy horn.”—p. 362.

From observations we have made, we fear that oil poured upon bees would be fatal to them, but where mixed metaphors are the rule and not the exception, it is not to be expected that entomological facts should be attended to. Our next example shall be altogether a doctrinal one, “from an old German hymn at a baptism.”

“The eye sees water, nothing more,
How it is poured out by men:
But faith alone conceives the power
Of Jesu’s blood to make us clean.
Faith sees it as a quite red flood,
Coloured with Jesu’s blood and grace,
Which heals each sore and makes all good,
What Adam brought on us his race,
And all what we ourselves have done.”

This is repeated, but a little softened down, in No. 7, part i., p. 181.

We come now to No. 3, or Part ii. of the collection. Like the appendix it has a separate title, but like it, it is paged as a continuation of what precedes. It is also worthy of remark that the hymns are in all three arranged alphabetically, or nearly so, according to an old German plan, and one which

might be followed among us more often that it is in popular selections. The first hymn is numbered 240, and falls on page 397; and the last hymn numbered is 403 on p. 763. This is followed by miscellaneous hymns and verses to p. 806, when we encounter the word "finis," though not the end of our volume, which also contains "a supplement of a few hymns,"—only twelve pages in fact, and the first lines of which are not comprehended in the table which concludes the whole. In this, actually the third of our contributions to Moravian hymnology, there is not much improvement; it is rather a fact that the enigmas, allegories and metaphors of its predecessors are repeated, multiplied, and amplified. We have already had the "little bee," and we shall have it again, but now see what is made of it here:—

"An heart dipped in the Lamb's most precious blood,
Is like a bee, that's hung'ring after food;
After the food in her red Rose so sweet,
Which she in one day thousand times does greet;
And sucks the honey sweet before she goes,
Out of each Hole of her so lovely Rose.
So may I suck from ev'ry pierced Hole,
The blood, which life imparts to flesh and soul,
'Till blood does cover me, and overflow,
That blood which makes the coldest hearts to glow,
So that my heart did even break and melt.
I many a time His pow'rful blood have felt,
Now would I deeper sink into each wound,
'Till I in soul and body be quite sound,
I will sit there, where blood did trickle down,
From hands and feet, and side, and from the crown,
I'll twist and twine around the cross's wood
'Till I'm lost in my Lamb's death and blood."—p. 403.

[Repeated but somewhat toned down in No. 7, part ii., p. 67.]

And again soon after we have this choice morsel of mysticism,—

"We love and kiss them much;
Sometimes his hands we touch,
And kiss him on the mouth,
Which was so parched with drowth;
And after all, we slide
Down into his dear side.—p. 410.

And again, a few pages further on,—

"O thou cavity most precious!
How I wish me quite in thee!
In thee ever, I'm ambitious
My poor little soul might be;

"Like a dove therein to tarry,
 After th' anch'rites' mode and way,
 'Till the wounds shall once in glory
 Themselves, and me too, display.

* * * *

"These Lamb's-creatures mean and little,
 The heart-grieved sinners' race,
 As wound-animals have title
 In that hole to hold their place."—p. 418.

[Repeated, a little altered, in No. 7, part ii., p. 336].

We cannot wonder that such jargon was laughed at, but our friends treated this with indifference, if not with scorn, and exclaim,—

"Makes the world a pothor
 'Twixt reproach and fame,
 As if salamander
 Struggled in the flame!"—p. 467.

[Repeated in No. 7, part ii., p. 247].

This is one of the exhortations addressed to the faithful,—

"Dear race of grace!
 Sing thou hymns on
 Four holes crimson,
 And side pierced;
 Bundle this of all the blessed!"—p. 485.

[Repeated and altered in No. 7, part ii. p. 241].

And they did sing,—

"Sweat in the garden-passion!
 Wound-holes! wound-holes!
 Scourge's wound-holes!
 Thorny wound-holes
 Four nails wound-holes!
 Spear's wound! be ye blest, ye wound-holes (id)."

It was a serious thing not to comply,—

"Who will not dwell
 In your holes here
 He must howl there
 'O ye mountains,
 Be my everlasting coffins!'"—p. 486.

Some of the hymns commemorative of the nuptials of the soul with Christ, and of marriage the earthly counterpart, delicacy forbids us to quote. Yet they occupy a prominent place in the book, and for anything we know were equally prominent in the religious exercises of these devout enthusiasts. They excited the scorn and indignation of contemporaries, and it is

well known that they have been denounced by Southey in terms of righteous reprehension. In his life of Wesley he says, 'Madness never gave birth to combinations of more monstrous and blasphemous obscenity than they did in their fantastic allegories and spiritualizations. In such freaks of perverted fancy the abominations of the Phallus and the Lingam have unquestionably originated; and in some such abominations Moravianism might have ended had it been instituted among the Mingrelian or Malabar Christians, where there was no antiseptic influence of surrounding circumstances to preserve it from putrescence. Fortunately for themselves, and for that part of the heathen world among whom they have laboured, and still are labouring with exemplary devotion, the Moravians were taught by their assailants to correct this perilous error in time' (vol. i., 173). It may be said that this does not allude to the hymns, nor does it directly; but it shews that the language and ideas current in the hymnology of the Moravians were familiar to them in more sober prose. However, Southey has something to say about the hymns:—"The most characteristic parts of the Moravian hymns are too shocking to be inserted here; even in the humours and extravagances of the Spanish religious poets, there is nothing which approaches to the monstrous perversion of religious feeling in these astonishing productions. The copy which I possess is of the third edition printed for James Hutton, 1746." Southey's authority then was the very book now in our hands. What would he have said if he had seen the Third Part, or the fourth on our list? We cannot tell: but it is quite certain that it goes very far beyond anything in the volume which he consulted. Southey gave much offence to some of the brethren by his remarks, but very unnecessarily as we think. In the performance of a literary labour, he came into contact with these monstrosities, and as a faithful historian he records their existence, gives specimens of their character, and adds an opinion of their tendency. He never intended to throw obloquy upon his own generation by what he did, any more than we do. It is a simple fact that the hymns exist, and that for a number of years the books in which we find them appear to have been the only hymn books used by the English Moravians. James Hutton, who published most of them, was what we may call the authorized Moravian publisher, as any one will see who looks at the lists of his books. Not then to reproach modern Moravians, but to shew to what unlicensed spiritual enthusiasm may lead; in a word, to teach this age by the follies of the past, is our motive in reviving the memory of these hymns. The profanity, indelicacy, and absurdity which abound in these pages are re-

ferred to by us, not to point a satire, but in sober sadness as humiliating evidences of the lengths to which even piety itself may go when not under proper restraints. To our minds, such conceptions and language appear neither fitted to refine the heart, nor to elevate the mind. Incessant and fervid allusions to gross material images may work powerfully upon the feelings and imagination, but can hardly inform the understanding or regulate the life. We do not believe such things consistent with the dignity of Christian worship, and we do not imagine that such coarse familiarity would be acceptable to the great head of the Church. The fault which we have in view is more or less common to the hymn writers of the first half of the last century, but to call it a vice of the age is not to justify it, but to condemn the age. There are plenty of hymns in Dr. Watts which none of his most ardent admirers would venture to propose for public worship, because the sensuous imagery of Solomon's Song is not throughout fitted to the taste of our times. But Dr. Watts is harmless compared with the Moravian writers, who veil nothing and say everything which can be said. Our quotations are unfortunately confined to specimens of the silly doggerel with which the books are full, or to passages which may serve to illustrate what we teach, one point excepted. Therefore, although very unbecoming, we may cite it as an example of language which in our judgment is beneath the dignity of a solemn hymn, these lines,—

"I'm now his dear sinner, and love him who came
On raggs in the stable in mean Bethlehem,
Who liv'd a poor beggar, and died as a thief:
By his wounds in all things I meet with relief."—p. 506.

Of course men may call themselves "Christ's dear sinners" if they will, or "happy sinners," as in the next example, but we do not recommend such epithets:—

"Immanuel! thy blood-stream red
Does captivate and overspread
The flock thy torments purchas'd:
Thy willing slave I will abide,
My dwelling be within thy side,
There I am fed and nourished.
Take me to thee,
Thy blood cover
Me all over,
My heart's lover!
I'm thy ransom'd, happy sinner."—p. 508.

Take another specimen:—

"My Jesus is my love,
I am his little dove
Which flies upon his hands,
And there her food demands;
Which wants herself to hide
In that his bleeding side."—p. 548.

Figures are even drawn from the process of digestion :

"This orphan-flocks both heart and head
Was like the pasture they did use;
Such drink and food, corrupt and bad,
Must need afford us wretched juice:
But when Lamb's blood and life once fill
The heart, this soon gives other *chyle*!"—p. 623.

[We have a similar version of the same hymn in No. 7, part ii., p. 13.]

The hymn commencing—

"Whene'er Him I can eat,
It is for me most wholesome,"—p. 700.

seems to point in the same direction, but is, in some places, worthy of all the censures of Southey.

This curious hymn reappears with modifications in the large authorized book of 1754, and again in the small authorized book of 1769. It contains a sort of biography of Christ, but some of its epithets are very much softened down in the second and third impressions. Perhaps a specimen or two of its *naïvetés* common to all the three books, may be not unacceptable:—

Ver. 7.—"Methinks I see him there
In Joseph's tabernacle,
As lab'ring people are;
Now he works with the sickle:
Now he digs up the ground,
Provides a meal; ties now
Carpenter's *apron* round!
Or walks and drives the plough.

Ver. 9—"And now comes to my sight
Some honey, bread, milk, fishes,
Which on a sabbath-night
Were the poor people's dishes;
The little Boy does kneel
Or stand, and sweetly prays
Before and after meal,
With an uncommon grace!"

But not to stay too long in these old pastures, we shall

dismiss the volume, with an example of the beautiful simplicity of some of these compositions, only omitting the notes :—

“ *Israel!* to thy Husband turn again ;
 He will deliver thee from curse and ban.
 The *sepher crius* he abolished hath,
 And will anew Himself with thee betroth.
 The *Lo rushamo* mercy shall receive,
 Because the *Meliz* spoke for her relief.
 He for *Isero'l* with God did intercede,
 And for us *Poschim* did for *chesed* plead.
 For our *Cappore* He did shed His blood,
 Which from the *Kodesh* now streams like a flood ;
 And washeth us quite clean from every sin
 We shall *Rephué schlemé* find therein.
 The *Tolah* is indeed *Maschiach Zidkenú* ;
 Did he but come *bimhera bejamenu*,
 In all our *Zoros* we'll to him appeal
 He that hath wounded, can us also heal.
 He will his folk *Israel* certainly
 Out of the *Golus* and from sin set free.
 Then shall we to the *Tolah Schevach* bring,
 And *Boruch habbo b'schem Adonai* sing !”—p. 805.

We can hardly say of such hymns, what the poet says of the virgins, confessors, martyrs, and widows, more particularly the latter :—

“ Hence virgins, confessors,
 And martyrs so scorned,
 True widows, like flowers
 Thy church have adorned—
So prettily, dear Lamb, for thee.”—p. 809.

[This strange hymn is reproduced, but a little altered, in No. 7, part i., p. 122].

We now come to No. 4 on our list, or Part iii. of the collection. The others are smaller books, scarcely four inches high by two and three quarters wide, whereas a rebound copy of this measures about six inches and a quarter by three inches and three quarters. There is another difference ; the former are numbered and paged consecutively, but the latter is numbered and paged independently. Finally, the former parts are printed as poetry, but this, like many German and Swedish hymn books, as prose. This book contains a preface, a rhyming version of twenty-two articles from the Augsburg confession, 119 other pieces, an index at p. 114, and a second index at the end. The last page of the hymns is 168. We are thus particular in describing the book because of its extreme rarity, and to distinguish it from the second edition. The editor seems to feel

that some explanation is necessary, and among other things says,—“As the English tongue has scarce any diminutives, and yet they have a certain elegance and effect, both in language in general, and in the German particularly, as implying not so much the littleness as the dearness, etc., of a thing: therefore we have ventured, in some instances, to introduce the German termination—*lein*. That our translation, as well as the original, has words now and then from the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, needs no apology, since as it is obvious, that the conciseness and neatness of the expression was the inducement thereto, so they are at the same time explained underneath.”

At the commencement of this article we gave a specimen or two from the book before us, and on this account, as well as not to sicken the reader, we shall quote but little more. Blood, and wounds, side-holes, and nail-holes, are constantly recurring expressions, and the tone throughout is as rapturous and extravagant as can well be imagined, *e.g.* :—

“When is she quite to thy heart’s wish,
When does she in blood’s river
Swim on, as in the sea a fish!
When lost in thee for ever!”—p. 19.

This *ad aperturam libri*; and on the next page,—

“What! who is God? a carpenter,
Who, tho’ the world’s compiler,
In this form wisely did appear,
As th’ whole world’s reconciler.”

In a paraphrastic summary of the second chapter of Acts, we are informed,—

“Astonish’d each his neighbour view’d,
And argued as they listening stood,
Are these not Galileans? How
Do they the Parthians’ language know?
’Tis Elamitish, one reply’d;
Nay Median, they of Media cry’d;
Mesopotamish some averred,
Some, we have Cappadocish heard.
We Pontish; We th’ Ionick clear,
Pamphylian we; We Phrygian hear.
Egyptian! Nay, the Libyans cry,
’Tis Cyrenean certainly.
’Tis (said the Proselytes of Rome)
Pure Latin; No, ’tis Cretish, some.
Arabs affirmed, ’tis Arabick;
Others, ’tis what the Jews now speak.”—p. 24.

And a few verses further on, Peter says,—

"The nations gathered round the house,
Are not in wine, as ye suppose;
Three hours of day are scarcely gone,
Nor can you think them drunk so soon."

In the following short piece, we hardly know which is the predominating element, blasphemy or nonsense:—

"God's side-hole! hear my prayer,
Accept my meditation:
On thee I cast my care,
With childlike adoration.
While days and ages pass,
And endless periods roll,
An everlasting blaze
Shall sparkle from that hole."—p. 32.

Here is another edifying specimen,—

"The flock of birds who are
In th' cross's atmosphere,
As little birds so white,
Like Alabaster bright
On the Lamb's head appear.
They warble sweet and bold
In verses new and old,
Suiting the cross's air,
Their *ave*, Lamb most dear!"—p. 79.

And again,—

"Who yesterday with that dear man
Have slept to rise to-day,
Enter their labours fresh again,
Eat bread, and then drink tea:
The physick-garden, wherein grows
The love-feast tea, for all the house,
Is Jesu's side-hole (thence it springs)
To which one, Glory! sings."—p. 82.

The preceding example illustrates the odiousness of comparisons; for surely it is odious to compare spiritual delights, to such a common-place enjoyment as *drinking tea*. The old pagans talked of nectar and ambrosia, and adorned their banquets with fine old Falernian, and other wines rich and inspiring. Who, save a Moravian poet, would have promised a cup of *tea*, to souls hungering and thirsting after righteousness. But this is a matter of taste, and we add no more; the poet was in earnest when he wrote, and so he was when on another occasion he exclaimed,—

"In th' bundle of the little fools
I gladly do remain,
And for their faithful little Lord
Eternal love retain."—p. 108.

Scientific allusions are not numerous, but we meet with a few, one of which we shall quote:—

"The corpse of Jesus
Is our chief object day and night
As in the air-pump faints outright
A bird when all the air is gone;
So wer't with us if our loadstone,
The hands, feet, side's afflatus
Did no more recreate us."—p. 111.

We mentioned above that this volume contains two indexes, one at p. 114, and one at the end; we should have added, that the hymns after the first index are headed "additions" (Hymns 127—161), and that the page on which they begin is also numbered 113, although really 117. The first of these additional hymns, is a paraphrase of part of the Epistle of Ignatius to the Romans. The next (No. 128) contains the following graceful and savoury passage:—

"The reeking vapours of this cell
Bedew and warm one so,
That 'tis no wonder if we smell
Of Jesu's corpse, and glow
So, that th' effluvias do impart
Their genuine ardour to each heart,
Impress that warmth on others too,
Wherewith we're tintured thro'."

There are passages more bold than this, but we prefer to change the subject, by giving four lines of a piece, dated May 26, 1749:—

"A confessor does thus,
'Bout anno fourteen hundred,
(Mongst others) write to Huss
(The sky then lowered and thundred)."—p. 143.

These lines are in a sort of medley, hymn, chorus, recitative, etc. The volume closes with five stanzas, of which we give the third and fourth: they are about the Church:—

"What sings she? Jesu's blood.
She speaks on't with heart's pleasure.
The very book of Ruth,
She digs in for that treasure.

She to the side doth sing
 As many Hosanna,
 As little grapes do spring
 From *Christi lachryma*.

“ But whence does this proceed,
 That no bright thing or wonder
 Can from our rest us lead,
 That we thereon more ponder?
 The church’s body took
 That very opium,
 Which once on Calvary’s hook,
 Forth from the side did come.”

If Mr. De Quincy had been alive, we would have recommended this last as a suitable motto for a new edition of his book, on the doubtful practice of opium eating.

The volume marked No. 5 on our list need not long detain us. It is a second edition of No. 4, with an altered title, an advertisement, and a note at the end, the nature of which is explained by the following heading:—“ Mr. Hutton having been in some sort dissatisfied with the execution of these translations, and presuming that the director of the Psalmody abroad would be so too, wrote him the following letter, on occasion of this third part; which was immediately answered by him; and both are here annexed, which we thought would be the more acceptable to the reader, as the most material objections to this work are raised, and partly removed therein.” We gather from this, that Mr. Hutton was not insensible to the criticisms which had been advanced, and that he wished for a more worthy production. The advertisement at the beginning goes further, and intimates that it was merely a provisional affair: “ The general hymn book, which the brethren’s church will for the future use in all lands, and will then be able to recommend to all her fellow-Christians, as a solid, edifying, and useful book, is actually preparing. It is possible that it will obtain an authentic approbation; but our former hymn books and catechisms have had such, as well from foreign bodies of divines, as from their ordinary censors. It will not however remain unattacked on that account; but such approbations effect at least thus much, they spare one the vindication *ad hominem*.” More than this, it is added “ that as the aforesaid German pieces were not properly a hymn book, so neither is the English collection in general, though it may accidentally be called so; nor will there probably be a fixed English hymn book for brethren in union with the Moravian Church, till the said Church herself has published one in German.” Thus we

see, criticism had already begun to tell, and the various publications which had appeared under the title of hymn books, and had been received as such, were now denied to be such at all, although "accidentally" called so. The "cross-air-birds," as they style themselves, must have been very simple, if they thought a book entitled "a collection of hymns," was only *accidentally* called a hymn book. Be that as it may, we are very glad to find their eyes were at length opened, if only a little way. Further evidence that it was so, is seen in the softening down of some of the more repulsive features of the hymn book, part iii. Let us however not deceive the reader; there is left enough, in all consciousness, to startle and appal us. For instance, this frightful verse following one already quoted from p. 115, stares us in the face in both books:—

" This shall impregnate more and more
Thy soul and body so,
Till quite into that bloody gore
Thy own existence go:
Yes, yes, this transmutation
Shall hence incessantly go on,
Until the last magnetic kiss
Shall consummate thy bliss."

Internally, the two books look the same, and are often page for page and line for line the same, and moreover they are so managed, that they both end on p. 168. But there have been numerous changes, including both alterations and omissions, especially the latter. The second edition, too, is without the index after p. 113; an index which is unnecessary, as its contents are repeated in that at the end of the book. No doubt the book was to have ended there, but some afterthought led to the insertion of another series.

We have spoken of the cross-air-birds, and as the species is not described in ordinary works on ornithology, we extract the title and first stanza of a hymn devoted to an account of them: the original account is written in German:—"110. Representing Christian souls in the shape of happy little birds in the cross's air, or in the atmosphere of the corpse of Jesus."

" What does a bird in cross's air,
When it flies up to the Lamb near,
When round the Lamb it moves and sings,
And claps the *ave* with its wings?
Dear hearts! look, look, and see :|
The little bird finds presently
Its nest in the dear cavity,
From whence the Church was dug.

Within the hole, where blood casts rays,
 The bird itself entangled has ;
 And round the castle of the side,
 Are wound-swans in the canal wide ;
 There learns the little piper,
 In th' hole to be a dipper.

Chorus.

My heart with joy, with joy abounds,
 I've found the ocean of the wounds ;
 There I'm a little dove, or fish,
 There is my bed, table and dish
 And all things " :| :

Our readers will have had enough ; yet we must mention the other books on our list. No. 6 bears the name of William Collins at the end of the preface. It is a small volume of one hundred and ninety-two pages, and contains one hundred and sixty-six hymns, under the modest general title of "The Song of the Redeem'd." Mr. Collins has printed his book like prose ; and his measures, like his doctrine, and his dialect, accord with those of the Moravian collection.[†] There is however, a marked difference, he is indelicate only in the smallest degree, and his style and composition are much better than those of the aforesaid collection, Part iii. If the book is of no other value, it teaches that in the regions where "blood and wounds," eating, drinking, and matrimony, supplied nearly all the elements of the sectarian *shibboleth*, there were men who shrunk from the coarseness and vulgarity of Mr. Hutton's rhymers. Yet even Mr. Collins has written an extravagant book, and there are some choice morsels in it, which were, no doubt, very pleasant to the spiritual epicures of the party. Such were doubtless the following, upon which we make no further comment :—

" O Jesu's little dove,
 Redeem'd his grace to prove,
 Upon thy perch still sit,
 The feet of thy dear mate,
 There hear (h)is cooing tone,
 He says My dove's but one."—p. 98.

" My conscience it is troubled sore,
 To think what I have done ;

[†] A hymn with a similar commencement, and in a similar strain, is given in No. 7, part ii., p. 271.

* It is but fair to say that we class Mr. Collins' book with those of the Moravians only on internal grounds. If we are wrong, no great harm is done. The writer is of the same school and dialect, but his book is less offensive than any of the others on our list prior to that of 1789.

But where for mercy can I fly,
But to my Lord alone;
As Bernard said I say the same,
I will not be cast down,
But will remember thee my Lamb,
My Lord's most holy wounds."—p. 151.

"The virgin Eve brought in the curse,
Thus wretched man became;
The virgin Mary did conceive,
But she brought forth a Lamb."—p. 153.

The book of Mr. Collins was perhaps only employed by the intelligent audience, whom he appears to have collected in the now elegant purlieus of Petticoat Lane, Whitechapel. We may therefore dismiss it from further notice, with the single remark, that it is a real literary curiosity.

No. 7 is in many respects a very important book. It is that which was promised in the second edition of part iii.; and it unquestionably lays claim to the honour of being an authorized publication. It is in two parts, 8vo., of which "part i. contains Hymns of the Church of God in preceding times," including scripture anthems; and "part ii. contains Hymns of the present congregation of the Brethren." The preface explains the plan of the work, and partly apologizes for the defects of previous efforts. Part i. contains six hundred and ninety-five pieces, and three hundred and eighty pages. Part ii. contains four hundred and sixty hymns, and twenty-six pages of single verses, etc., followed by litanies; in all three hundred and ninety pages. There are copious tables at the end. Although very little has been taken from No. 4, abundant use has been made of those which Mr. Hutton previously published,—often altered, but substantially the same. There are also many new hymns of a most objectionable character; but after the references we have already made to this work, it will not be necessary to burden our pages, with further illustrations from it.

No. 8 is chiefly extracted from No. 7, which, on account of its size, it was probably found inconvenient to reproduce. In its distinctive features it resembles its predecessors, but with diminished intensity of expression and colouring concession had clearly been made to popular opinion; and probably, as the followers of even John Wesley modified their views in course of time, and, as the same thing happened with the Friends or Quakers, so was it with the Moravians. This was well; for by sobering down they took a place among serious, intelligent, and reputable Christians, which they could not have done if they

had gone on singing what looked less like Christian hymns than paraphrases of Jayadeva. The 1769 book, is a respectable duodecimo of three hundred and eight pages, an index and some supplementary matter. The hymns reach to p. 280, and the rest of the volume is occupied with the great Church-Litany and other forms. Calm, however, as this book is when compared with part iii., it is not to be imagined that it would be tolerated now. At the first opening, our eye lights upon the following:—

“Before thy feet, Master!
I cast me, and kiss them
And closer and faster
I clasp them and bless them;
Nor know I where to be but here.”—p. 279.

Manifestly the old spirit stills lingers on, and further examination shews that it finds expression in many ways and places. We can never reconcile ourselves to the rampant, “Patripassianism” or rather “Theopaschitism” of all these books: for example, see p. 31 of the volume in our hands:—

“God in a garden on the earth is fallen,
An angel comforts him who comforts all men;
The creature strengthens the Creator yonder;
Mark this and wonder!”

The following is in the old strain,—

“Blood worthy of praises!
Come streaming from Jesus,
O’er us and all classes
Of sinners and bless us;
We humbly flee and call on thee.”—p. 48.

For our parts we see no more harm in praying to the “sacred heart” of Jesus, as the Catholics do, than in praying to blood, and wounds. The Moravian, in fact, invokes the heart as well:—

“Matchless heart! thus dearest
Thou to me appearest;
O had I but spent
All my hours in raising
Hymns thy goodness praising,
Full of thy wounds’ scent!”—p. 65.

Another thus concludes:—

“Thy life, Lamb’s wife,
Is all owing to the flowing
Of his red blood;
Thou wert lost, but therefore bled God.”—p. 71.

Surely there was still need for acknowledgments and apologies, and hence perhaps, elegant effusions like the next:—

“We’re not rich perhaps in speech,
And have but two words to tell;
(Which include all what is good,
What alone can make us well):
We most gladly ne’ertheless
In that Kernel acquiesce,
And thro’ all eternities
Wish no teaching else than this.”—p. 89.

Excellent German perhaps; but very mediocre English! The same remark applies to the one that follows:—

“Wherefore was the Jewish
Holy Theocracy
(Altho’ blest with many a mercy)
But a pompous lesson,
Of less fruit than cumber,
Well adorned torture-chamber?
'Cause nought there one could hear,
But “Thou must!” so racking,
Strength and skill still lacking.”—p. 234.

But why should we add any more? This is an authorized book published more than twenty years after the famous Part iii. of the collection; and yet those twenty years had only taught an imperfect lesson. If the whole system had been rightly viewed it would have been seen to be better fitted to make religion earthly than to make earth religious. But after the experience of twenty years, and all the ridicule and satire of those years, including such home-thrusts as those of Bishop Lavington, we find in the “Great Church-Litany” itself the ensuing passage, which is arranged to be sung by the brothers and sisters as indicated in the margin. And be it observed that this rapturous explosion comes at the close of the litany as a sort of grand climax:—

“ <i>Cong.</i>	Soul, spirit, limb,
<i>Sisters.</i>	Soul, spirit, limb,
<i>Brothers.</i>	In thee so swim,
<i>S.</i>	That no thought spring,
<i>B.</i>	No small,
<i>S.</i>	No smallest hankering,
<i>All.</i>	Which while below I stay My other Self! from thee Might stray;
<i>B.</i>	No; let each pulse Which the veins fills, With echo sweet,

<i>S.</i>	With echo sweet
	Lamb, blood, and Church repeat,
<i>All.</i>	Lamb, blood, and Church repeat.

This incoherent rhapsody, this witchlike incantation, was meant for solemn worship. We are not surprised that after another twenty years the brethren found it convenient to bring out another revised hymn book. This is our No. 9, of which we will only say that it indicates great progress. It contains eight hundred and eighty-seven hymns from various sources, among which, however, we find some that we can by no means commend. No 10 is a still further advance in the right direction, but also contains a number of objectionable pieces. It consists of thirty-two pages of Litanies and one thousand hymns. The liturgical hymns in No. 11 are often taken from previous books, and frequently exhibit great want of taste, and correct feeling and expression. Similar remarks might be made of No 12.

Of more recent books we say nothing, but that we believe them to be greatly improved. The fathers certainly ate sour grapes, and we are glad that the children's teeth are not set on edge. It is a gratifying fact, that one of the best of modern hymn writers, James Montgomery was one of the sons of those sires who wrote and joined in singing the specimens of eccentric hymnology of which we have spoken in the foregoing pages. The old hymns were probably mostly translated or written by Germans who had an imperfect knowledge of our language, and who were on other accounts ill-fitted to produce hymns in English. This is the only apology we can offer for the vagaries which we have illustrated. Even this, however, cannot justify the perpetual use of figures, and the endless recurrence of ideas which would be as offensive in German as they were in English. Count Zinzendorf and his friends were undoubtedly men of piety and zeal, but we have no excuse for much that they wrote, and which brought upon them the ridicule of the generation in which they lived. It took many years to purify the Moravian taste, but we truly rejoice that this was done, and that that obscure but respectable body can now praise God in language as appropriate, as sober, and as decent, as that employed by other Christian communities.

EXEGESIS OF DIFFICULT TEXTS.

1 COR. ix. 19; 2 COR. ix. 2; PHILIP. i. 14.

THERE is a use of the article with the plural of the word *πλείων* in the two first, and perhaps in the third of these passages, which we do not remember to have seen noticed, and which we should gladly see illustrated, but which we are at present unable to illustrate ourselves. It is well known that in English the article is applied to comparatives in the sense of "so much," so that "the more," "the greater," "the less," signify respectively "so much," or "so many more," "so much greater," "so much less." The Germans employ, in a similar manner, the word "*je*," which appears to be nothing more than a corruption of the old indeclinable form of the article "*die*" = "the."

No doubt the usual sense of *οἱ πλείονες* is "the majority," as in 2 Cor. ii. 6, Acts ix. 32, and several other passages; but in 1 Cor. xi. 19 it is impossible to translate the words thus with any regard to the meaning intended to be conveyed: "For though a free man from all men, I enslaved myself to all, that I might gain *the majority*?" Surely the Authorized Version is right in translating *τοὺς πλείονας* "*the more*," "that I might gain *the more*," i.e., a much greater number of converts.

In 2 Cor. ix. 2 the translators of the Authorized Version appear to have been at fault, for they translate *τοὺς πλείονας* "very many." "For I know the forwardness of your mind, of which I boast of you to them of Macedonia, that Achaia was ready a year ago, and your zeal hath provoked *very many*." We think all scholars will concede that *τοὺς πλείονας* cannot mean simply "very many;" how then will the passage run with the more usual translation of the words?—"And your zeal hath provoked *the majority*." This again is scarcely equal to the requirements of the context, which clearly implied that the knowledge of the zeal of the Corinthians had "provoked" or drawn forward a proportionately greater number of contributors than would otherwise have been the case.

Finally in Phil. i. 14 the Authorized Version neglects the article altogether, and translates *τοὺς πλείονας* simply "many," which Bishop Ellicott replaces by the "greater part." The Authorized Version runs: "So that my bonds in Christ are manifest in all the palace and in all other places, and *many* of the brethren, waxing confident by my bonds, are much more bold to speak the word without fear." Bishop Ellicott's translation makes several necessary corrections, and runs: "So that my bonds in Christ have become manifest in the whole Præ-

torium and to all the rest; and that *the greater part* of the brethren, having in the Lord confidence in my bonds, are more abundantly bold to speak the word without fear." Now, if we replace "the greater part" in Bishop Ellicott's translation by "so many more," we obtain a sense far more suitable to, we had almost said, imperatively required by, the context.

We think, that by comparing these passages and generalizing on the result, we have made out a strong case in favour of the existence of a grammatical phenomenon in the use of the article, hitherto unnoticed, but closely corresponding to a recognized use in our own language. We regret that we can as yet do little more than point out the phenomenon, but we hope that we shall have the assistance of some of the readers and correspondents of this Journal in further illustrating and explaining it. At present the best solution of the problem that offers itself to us, is to suggest, that perhaps *οἱ πλείους* may be used in the sense of *οἱ τοσούτοι πλείους* = the *proportionately more*.

2 COR. i. 17.

Translating this passage literally and naturally, and without reference to the context, we shall find it run somewhat in this manner: "This then being my wish, did I after all employ levity? Or the things that I purpose, do I purpose like a mere fleshly man, in order that with me Yes may be yes, and No [may be] no?"

To translate *τὸ ναὶ ναὶ, καὶ τὸ οὐ οὐ*, "Yes, yes, and no, no," comparing Matth. v. 37, is to ignore the presence of the article; and in that passage the force of the repetition is very plain, whereas there is no force whatever in it here. There our Lord is urging upon his hearers the desirableness of abstaining from conversational oaths and other unnecessary expletives. "But let *your* language be Yes, yes, No, no [and nothing more]. But that which exceeds these words is from the evil one." It is clear that the meaning of the repetition of *ναὶ* and *οὐ* is, If you have to reiterate an assertion or negation, do it by a simple assertion or negation, and not by an oath. Repeat yes or no as often as you please, but do not enforce them by oaths.

It is manifest enough that *ἐλαφρία*, or levity in promising and not performing, was a charge against St. Paul, but the meaning of the latter part of the verse is not so clear. We cannot see with Wordsworth, that St. Paul is defending himself against another charge, the words to our mind indicating a reference to his habitual practice. "Or do I *habitually* form my resolutions or purposes like a mere worldly man, anxious for his own consistency, in order that I may do exactly what I say I shall."

The implication is that such was not his habitual practice, but that he subordinated his statements of his intentions to the good of others or the will of God. In this case it was to the good of others, as we find from verse 23, "Through sparing you I no longer carried out my intention of coming to Corinth."

In the intermediate verses, playing upon the words *ναὶ* and *οὐ*, St. Paul reminds his converts that the promises of God made to them through him had been of an affirmative and not a negative nature, corresponding to the words *ναὶ*, yes, and its confirmation *ἀμήν*. These verses (18—22) are of the nature of a digression.

Dean Alford objects to the above natural rendering of *τὸ ναὶ ναὶ* and *τὸ οὐ οὐ*, that it puts the passage into an attitude of opposition to verse 23. But we hope that the above observations will shew that this objection is groundless, and that the natural way of construing this passage is also the correct way.

2 COR. ii. 5, 6, 7.

Translating this passage literally, in accordance with Chrysostom's explanation of *ἐπιβαρῶ*, we have: "But if any one had caused pain, it is not me that he has pained, but, to a certain extent,—that I may not be too hard—all of you. Sufficient for such a one, is this punishment which was inflicted by the majority; so that, on the contrary, ye should rather condole and encourage, lest, anyhow, such a one should be swallowed up through the over excessive pain."

There are several things to remark upon here. In the first place *ἡ ἐπιτιμία* is generally supposed to be used for *τὸ ἐπιτίμιον*. This may be illustrated by the converse use of *τὸ σωτήριον* for *ἡ σωτηρία* in Eph. vi. 17, *τὴν περικεφάλαιαν τοῦ σωτηρίου*.

In the next place we cannot see that the words *ὑπὸ τῶν πλειόνων* indicate, that a party still associated with the incestuous person. *πάντας ὑμᾶς* in verse 5 is against this idea, as well as the strong statements as to the conduct of the Corinthians generally after the receipt of the 1st Epistle in chap. vii. 11. To us they rather indicate a democratic or Presbyterian system of church government, which appears still to have existed at the date of Clement's 1st Epistle to the Corinthians. Indeed, the quarrels and jealousies incident to such a system appear to have occasioned that epistle.

In the third place, whose pain or grief is intended to be implied by the words *τῇ περισσοτέρᾳ λύπῃ* in verse 7? It is manifest at once that the guilty person cannot be considered as swallowed up by his own grief, which is De Wette's translation

of the words ; for then the metaphor represents a man swallowed up by a part of himself, and even by something within himself. If swallowed up by any person or thing, it must surely be by Satan, who is mentioned almost immediately afterwards in verse 11, and is represented by St. Peter as walking about "as a lion, roaring, seeking whom he may devour;" lit., "swallow up" *καταπίη*. Is the person then to be considered as in danger of being swallowed up by Satan, owing to his own more excessive pain." In that case the *λύπη* of verse 7 must be different from that indicated by *λελύπηκεν* in verse 5. It must be different, too, from that implied in *ἐλύπησα* and *ἐλύπησεν* in vii. 8, *ἐλυπήθητε* in vii. 9, *λυπηθῆναι* in vii. 11, as well as *λυπῶ* in ii. 2, and *λυπηθήτε* in ii. 4. *Ἐν λύπῃ* in ii. 1, *λυπούμενος* in ii. 2, and *λύπην σχῶ* in ii. 3, clearly refer to St. Paul's own painful feelings, which are not in question here. It seems to me, therefore, most probable that *τῇ περισσοτέρᾳ λύπῃ* refers to the continuance of the feeling of offence and pain, which had caused the Corinthians to excommunicate their guilty member. This continuance is deprecated by St. Paul, lest, through the more excessive pain on the part of the community, the guilty person should be swallowed up or devoured by Satan. For excess of punishment misses the grand mark of the reformation of the offender, and simply drives him into recklessness and despair.

2 COR. ix. 8.

It is very harsh to take *περισσεύσαι* transitively in this passage, when it is so closely followed by *περισσεύητε* intransitively used. It appears to us that resource ought rather to be had to the principle of the cognate or equivalent accusative. God is able *περισσεύσαι περισσευμα*, which *περίσσευμα*, being a general term, is represented by its particular equivalent *πᾶσαν χάριν*. From the difficulty of representing the idiom exactly in our own language, we are forced to introduce a preposition which destroys the construction, although it maintains the sense. "God is able to abound with all grace towards you, in order that, having always in everything all self-sufficiency, ye may abound for every good work." N.B.—*αὐτάρκεια*, "self-sufficiency," must not be taken in a bad sense, but as equivalent to "the power of self-help."

A. H. W.

STANDARD EDITION OF THE ENGLISH NEW TESTAMENT OF THE GENEVAN VERSION.

BY FRANCIS FRY.

THE Genevan version of the Bible is so called from the fact that it was translated and printed in Geneva by certain learned Englishmen who fled thither, about the year 1556, from the persecutions in Queen Mary's reign. Before this time England had been blessed with several versions of the Scriptures, namely, by Coverdale's in 1535, by Mathew's, that is Roger's, 1537, containing all that Tyndale had translated except his Jonas, "The great Bible" of 1539, that by Taverner also 1539, and that by Cranmer, the first edition of which was in April, 1540. It is, perhaps, impossible to say who were the principal translators of the Genevan version. The Exiles in Geneva, to whom the work is attributed, were William Whittingham, Anthony Gilby, Miles Coverdale, Thomas Sampson, Christopher Goodman, Thomas Cole, John Knox, John Bodleigh, and John Pullain. Anderson says that "only Whittingham, Gilby, and Sampson, should have been associated with the translation," because most of the other persons named had returned to England before the Bible of 1560 was issued from the press. But is it not very probable that Coverdale and others of the Exiles may have assisted in preparing the translation? The following passage is from the address:—"To our Beloved in the Lord," which is dated "From Geneva, 10th April, 1560." It is prefixed to the first edition, which was issued in 1560.

"The Bible, at Geneva, printed by Rowland Hall, 1560.

"To our Beloved in the Lord the Brethren of England, Scotland, Ireland, etc. Grace, mercy, and peace, through Jesus Christ."

"Besides the manifolde and continual benefites which almightie God bestoweth vpon vs, bothe corporall spiritual, we are especially bounde (deare brethren) to giue him thanks without ceasing for his great grace and vnspeakable mercies, in that it hath pleased him to call vs vnto this meruelous light of his Gospel, & mercifully to regarde vs after so horrible backsliding and falling away from Christ to Antichrist, from light to darcknes, from the liuing God to dumme and dead idoles; & that after so cruel murder of God's saintes as, alas, hath bene among vs, we are not altogether cast of, as were the Israelites, and many others for the like, or not so manifest wickednes, but receyued agayne to grace with moste euident signes and tokens of God's especial loue and fauour."

"Now forasmuche as this thing chefully is atteyned by the knollage and practising of the worde of God (which is the light to our paths, the keye of the kingdome of heauen, our comfort in affliction, our shielde and sworde against Satan, the schoole of all wisdom, the glasse wherein we beholde God's face, the testimonie of his fauour, and the only foode and

nourishment of our soules) we thought that we colde bestowe our labour & studie in nothing which colde be more acceptable to God and comfortable to his Church then in the translating of the Holy Scriptures into our native tongue: the which thing, albeit that diuers heretofore had endeavored to achieve yet considering the infancie, of those tymes and imperfect knollage of the tongues, in respect of this ripe age and cleare light which God hath now reueiled, the translations required greatly to be perused and reformed. Not that we vindecate anything to our selues above the least of our brethren (for God knoweth with what feare and trembling we haue bene now, for the space of two yeres and more day and night occupied herein), but being earnestly desired, and by diuers, whose learning and godlynes we reuerence, exhorted, and also encouraged by the ready willes of suche, whose heartes God likewise touched, not to spare any charges for the furtherance of suche a benefite and fauour of God toward his Church (thogh the tyme then was moste dangerous and the persecution sharpe and furious) we submitted ourselues at length to their godly iudgements, and seing the great oportunitie and occasio: which God presented vnto vs in this Church, by reason of so many goodly and learned men: and suche diuersities of translations in diuers tongues, we vndertoke this great and wonderful worke (with all reuerence, as in the presence of God, as intreating the worde of God, whereunto we thinke our selues vnsufficient) which now God according to his diuine providence and mercie hath directed to a moste prosperous end. And this we may with good conscience protest, that we haue in euery point and worde, according to the measure of that knollage which it pleased al mightie God to giue vs, faithfully rendered the text, and in all hard places moste syncerely expounded the same. For God is our witnes that we haue by all meanes endeavored to set forth the puritie of the worde and right sense of the holy Gost for the edifying of the brethren in faith and charitie."

Does not the scope of this interesting quotation, especially the words "so many Godly and learned men," favour the opinion that the work was not executed by three only, but with the assistance of many of the learned men above-named.

This version became very popular, and probably one hundred and thirty editions were printed. It was the first English Bible divided into verses. The example was set in the New Testament printed at Geneva in 1557. The value of this version arises from the fact that it was the result of the combined talents of "many Godly and learned men," as the editor of the *Hexapla* justly remarks:—

"This translation differed from all that had preceded it, not only in its plan, but also in its execution. The other versions had been generally the work or revision of an individual, or, at most, a revision in which certain individuals executed certain particular parts; in this translation we find, on the contrary, many acting unitedly in the formation of a version, and thus in the plan of operation, there was a principle of completeness which had not been acted on previously."—Page 132.

The Old Testament and the Apocrypha of 1560 was the first English translation printed in Geneva, and no doubt, therefore, has been suggested as to this portion of the Bible being the standard text of the Genevan version. The object of this paper is to shew that there can be no more doubt with respect to the New Testament of the same date, which accompanies the Old Testament, being the first and standard text of the Genevan version. Very soon after the arrival of the exiles at Geneva, the New Testament was printed in English with the following title:—

“The Newe Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ, conferred diligently with the Greke, and best approved translation with the arguments, as wel before the chapters as for every Boke & Epistle, also diversiteis of readings, and moste profitable annotations of all hard places; whereunto is added a copious Table. At Geneva. Printed by Conrad Badius, MDLVII.”

Some writers have taken this Testament to be the first edition of the Genevan version, and that the Testament of 1560 is only a reprint of that of 1557. I may quote as follows. Lewis says:—

“Bishop Coverdale, Goodman, Gilby, Whittingham, Sampson, and Cole, undertook to make a new Translation of the Holy Bible into English, to whom some add John Knox, John Bodleigh, and John Pullain.” “This they seem to have set about soon after their being settled in Geneva, 1555, since two years, 1557, was there printed a small 12mo New Testament, by Badius, 1557.”^a

D'Oyly and Mant,^b in the introduction to the Bible, say:—

“The terrors of persecution, in the reign of Queen Mary, drove many of our principal reformers out of the kingdom; several went to Geneva and there employed themselves in making a new translation of the Bible. The New Testament in 1557, and the remainder of the work in 1560. This is called the Geneva Bible.”

In the historical account prefixed to the English *Hexapla*, 1841, we find this statement:—

“Certain of the exiles from England, during this reign, made a new translation of the New Testament, and also advanced considerably in a version of the Old. It was at Geneva that this work was accomplished, and on that account the version is commonly called the Genevan translation. The New Testament was published in 1557, the printing being finished (according to a statement at the end of the volume) on the tenth of June. It is not known how long before this time the work was commenced: several of the parties concerned in it had taken up their abode at Geneva, in the spring of 1555; and they seem to have used the rest which was thus afforded them in preparing this version.”—Page 130.

^a *History of the Translation of the Bible.* John Lewis, A.M., etc. 1731. Page 50.

^b *The Bible with Notes.* D'Oyly and Mant. 4to. 1818.

And at page 184:—

"The New Testament had now been printed nearly a year and a half, and thus it is probable that the version of the Old was by this time pretty far advanced : its actual publication did not take place until the year 1560, after many of the exiles had returned home. In this completed Bible it is to be observed, that the translation of the New Testament *differs* in several respects from that which had been separately printed in 1557."

The Testament of 1557 is given as the Genevan version in the English *Hexapla*.

R. C. Trench, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin, in his work *On the Authorized Version of the New Testament*, used the Testament of 1557 as the Genevan version, perhaps induced to do so by some previous author, not having compared the two editions for himself. It is obvious that the texts quoted as Genevan are from the Testament of 1557, for many of them differ from the Bible of 1560; and it is probable that the Archbishop's remarks would have been somewhat different had he quoted the 1560. He gives (page 122) improved renderings introduced for the first time in our present version; but they exist in the Bible of 1560.

The Testament, 1557.	The Bible, 1560.	The present Version.
Having indignation.	Acts, chap. ix. 7,— Moved with envie.	Same as 1560.
Cat of the Mountains.	Rev., chap. xiii. 2,— Leopard.	"
Uttered.	2 Thes., chap. ii. 3,— Reveiled.	"

Also that the word "hardened" is found only in Wickliffe and the Rhenish version, before that of 1611; it occurs however in the version 1560; there we read "the rest have been hardened," Romans xi. 7. I give these quotations not with the least desire to point out errors in the interesting work of the Archbishop, but for the purpose of shewing that it is of some importance which of the two is used as the Genevan version.

The most recent passage I have seen, which sets forth the same views, is in *The Book of Days*:—

"The persecutions of Queen Mary's reign drove the English Reformers into exile, when a number of the more zealous of them assembled at Geneva, and while there, employed themselves upon a new translation of the Scriptures, with annotations, to which was given a strong Calvinistic colouring, and which contained political notions of a democratic character. The New Testament was first published, and was completed in 1557; the Old Testament followed in 1560. This is generally known as the Geneva Bible, and was in favour among the Puritan party and in Scotland."

I have given a part of the address of the translators of the Bible of 1560. I will now quote from that of the translator, or perhaps rather the editor of the Testament of 1557:—

“To the Reader.—The thirde sort are the simple lambes which partely are already in the folde of Christ, and so heare willingly the Shepeherd’s voyce, and partly wandering astray by ignorance, tary the tyme tyll the Shepeherd fynd them and bring them unto his flock. To this kynd of people in this translation I chiefly had respect, as moved with zeal, counselled by the godly, and drawn by occasion, both of the place where God bath appointed us to dwell, and also of the store of heavenly learning and judgment which so aboundeth in this Citie of Geneva; that justely it may be called the patron and mirrour of true religeon and godlyness. To these therefore which are of the flocke of Christ which knowe their Father’s wil, and are affectionated to the truth, I rendre a reason of my doing in few lines. . . . Forthermore that the Reader might be by all means profitted. I have divided the text into verses and sections according to the best editions in other languages, and also, as in this day the ancient Greek copies mencion, it was wont to be used. And because the Hebrew and Greek phrases which are strange to rendre in other tongues, and also short should not be to harde, I have sometime interpreted them without any whit diminishing the grace of the sense, as our langage doth use them, and some tyme have put to that worde, which lacking made the sentence obscure, but have set it in such letters as may easily be discerned from the commun text.”

It will be observed that the singular person is used.

The case is truly stated by various writers, as Archdeacon Cotton, Christopher Anderson, Lea Wilson, and the author of *Our English Bible* (Religious Tract Society). Lea Wilson says:—

“The New Testament. 12mo. Geneva. 1557.—This is generally, though erroneously, called the first edition of the Genevan translation. It is, probably, the *first* English Testament *printed at* Geneva; but the translator was William Whittingham, and the version differs entirely from the ‘*Genevan*,’ which first appeared in 1560.”^d

Christopher Anderson speaks in the most decided terms:—

“Few mistakes have been more common and even up to the present day, than that of ascribing the translation of the Scriptures into English to a number of individuals. Thus the name of Tyndale has frequently been associated with various other men.” “The same confusion has prevailed, when referring to this Testament of Geneva. This translation, it has been said, was made by *many* of the principal English reformers. The translation, correctly speaking, is an improvement of Tyndale’s, on comparing it with the Greek original once more; but so far from *many* being engaged, the address to the reader at the beginning incontestibly proves it to have been the work of only one man.”^e

^d Bibles, etc., in the Collection of Lea Wilson. 8vo, 1845, p. 184.

^e *Annals of the English Bible*, vol. 2. p. 308, Christopher Anderson.

He then goes on to shew it was William Whittingham. Archdeacon Cotton writes quite as decidedly :—

“ This is usually called the first edition of the Genevan version of the New Testament ; but it was not the work of the united Genevan translators, but of a single individual, William Whittingham, who afterwards became Dean of Durham. The translation differs in many passages from that which was printed, together with the Old Testament, at the same place in 1560. 4to.”^f

From our English Bible I give the following :—

“ Whittingham probably was the man who prepared the translation commonly known as the Genevan Testament. It is plain from the address to the reader that the work issued from the pen of one man, though it has been strangely confounded by most historians, with the Bible which followed, and which was the united production of several individuals.”—Page 128.

Let it be remembered that the imprint at the end of the Testament is “ MDLVII. this x. of June,” and that on the 10th April, 1560, the translators of the Bible inform us “ that for the space of two years and more, day and night,” they had been occupied in the work ; it is therefore clear that even allowing two years and ten months for the translation, the Testament was finished before they began the work described in such Christian and pathetic language.

The next New Testament after that of 1557 was printed in Geneva, 1560. Lewis says :—“ A *second* edition of this Testament” (that of 1557) “ printed at Geneva, with short marginal Notes in the same Volume, was published *three* Years after, 1560,” then he gives a description of the title, etc. A copy of this Testament being in the library of Lambeth Palace, I went there lately to ascertain whether it is a second edition of “ this Testament.” Such, however, is not the fact. It was no doubt the second printed in Geneva, but not therefore a reprint of that of 1557. Lewis could not have examined it. I compared all the texts given below : and this Lambeth Testament of 1560 in every instance agrees with that in the Bible of the same date. What stronger proof is needed that the text of 1557 was discarded by the translators of the Genevan version.

The Testament of 1560 differs from that of 1557 in other respects, besides that of the version. The wording of the title and the texts quoted on it are different, but they are the same as the Bible 1560. The woodcut on the title is also different. The list of books, “ The Epistle declaring that Christ is

^f Cotton's edition of the English Bible, etc. Second edition, 1852, p. 30.
^g *History of the Bible*, folio, 1731, p. 51.

the end of the Lawe," by John Calvin; and "To the Reader," before the text; and at the end "the table of subjects" are all omitted. On the reverse of the title begins "The Argument," two pages, on the reverse of the second page the text begins, and at the end there is a table of the "Interpretation of proper names," "The Order of the years from Paul's conversion," etc., and the text, Joshua, chap. i. 3. In all these respects following the Testament in the Bible, 1560. The signatures are in eights.

John Bodley, one of the translators who, as we have seen, must have known all the circumstances of the case, and which of the two Testaments was of most authority with them as a translation, was the editor of the second edition of this version, which is a reprint of the Bible of 1560, and was printed in Geneva, folio, in 1562, N.T., 1561, under the licence which was granted to him by Queen Elizabeth, "to imprint or cause to be imprinted, the English Bible of 1560, for the term of seven years." We may fairly take this fact as proof that this version was regarded as the standard text; remembering also that the text of 1557 was not reprinted by the Genevan exiles. Even if Whittingham had been assisted by any of the other Englishmen, the Testament of 1560 was undoubtedly their revised and finished work, and therefore the only edition to which we can refer as the result of the united labours of the Reformers in Geneva. We refer to it, as in quoting from Tyndale's translation, we take his last and revised edition of 1534,^a rather than the first edition of 1525.

Having examined the Testament at Lambeth and the second edition of the Bible, it seemed desirable to continue the examination through subsequent editions. I compared all the texts in the list below, and these twenty editions, from 1560 to 1616, all follow the text of 1560, with the exception of the edition of 1608, which reads, Luke xvi. 2, "account," and ver. 15 "abominable," and the New Testament, 1616, reads "account."

The Bible, at. Geneva, no printer, 1562, New Testament, 1561, folio.

"	"	printed by John Crispin, 1570.	8vo.
"	London, C. Barker,	1579.	4to.
"	"	1580.	4to.
"	"	1581.	4to.
"	"	1576.	folio.
"	"	1583.	4to.
"	"	1583.	large folio.
"	"	1616.	folio.
"	"	R. Barker,	1608. 8vo.
"	"	1603.	8vo.
"	Edinburgh, Arbuthnot,	1579, N.T., Bassandyne,	1576, folio.

^a For example, the editor of the *Hexapla* has given Tyndale's Testament of 1534.

The New Testament, no printer, 1560, Geneva.

"	"	London, R. Barker, 1610. 8vo. L. Tomson.
"	"	Dep., C. Barker, 1596. 4to. L. Tomson.
"	"	C. Barker, 1583. 4to. L. Tomson.
"	"	R. Barker. 1616. 8vo. L. Tomson.
"	"	C. Barker. 1576. 8vo, first edition. L. Tomson.
"	"	" 1577. 8vo, second edition. L. Tomson.
"	"	Wantroulier for C. Barker, 1575. 8vo.

GENEVA BIBLE, 1560.	GENEVA TESTAMENT, 1537.	TYNDALE'S TEST., 1534.
Mark i. 15, repent and beleive	Amende your lives and beleive	same
Matt. xxiv. 22, But for the electes sake	But for the chosen sake	same
2 Thess. ii. 8, shal abolish	shal destroye	same
Acts v. 39, lest ye be founde even fighters against God	lest haply ye be founde to stryve agaynst God	same
Acts xvii. 27, That they shulde seke the Lord, if so be they might haue groped after him, and founde him	That they shulde seke God if they might fele and find hym	that they shuld seke God if they might fele and finde him
2 Cor. ix. 4, Lest if they of Macedonia come	lest peradventure if they of Macedonia come	same
Mark x. 32, what things shulde come into him	What things should happen unto him	same
Luke xxiv. 14, they talked together of all these things that were done	they talked together of all these thynges that had happened	same
Acts iii. 10, and sore astonied at that which was come unto him	and were sore astonied at that which had happened unto hym	same
1 Cor. x. 11, Now all these things came unto them for ensamples	And all these thinges happened unto them for ensamples	All these thinges happened unto them for ensamples
Phil. i. 12, that the things which have come unto	that the things which have happened unto	that my busynes is happened unto
1 Pet. iv. 12, Strange thing were come unto you	Strange thing had happened unto you	same
2 Pet. ii. 22, But it is come unto them	But it happened unto them	It is happened unto them
Matt. xvi. 18, upon this rock I will buylde my church	upon this rocke I will builde my congrega-tion	same
Acts viii. 3, But Saul made havooke of the Church	But Saul made havock of the Congregation	same
Acts xx. 33, nor apparel	or vesture	same
Acts xi. 22, came unto the eares of the Church	came unto the eares of the Congregation	same
Luke xvi. 2, give an accounts	give accounts	same

GENEVA BIBLE, 1560.	GENEVA TESTAMENT, 1537.	TYNDALE'S TEST., 1534.
3, Then the Stewarde	the steward	same
4, I know what	I wot what	same
5, Then called he every one of his	Then called he all his	same
6, Take thy writing	Take thy obligation	Take thy bill
7, Take thy writing	Take thyne obligation	Take thy bill
8, in their generation	in their kind	same
9, when ye shal want	when ye shal depart	same
10, he is also faithful	the same is faithful	same
„ he that is unjust	he that is unfaithful	same
„ is unjust also	is unfaithful also	same
11, If then ye	So then if	same
12, another man's goods	another man's business	same
„ you that which is yours	you that which is your own	you your own
15, abomination	abominable	same
16, endured until John	raigned until John	same
„ presseth into it	stryveth to go in	same
17, Now it is more easy that heaven and earth shulde passe away, than that one tittle of the law shulde fall	Easier it is for heaven and earth to pass away than one tittle of the law to fall	soner shall heven and erth perisshe then one tittle of the law shal perish
18, is put away	is devorced	devorced from her hus- band
19, delicately every day	deliciously	same
20, which was laied	which lay	same
21, man's table	man's borde	same
24, Then he cryed	and he cried	same
25, pleasures	pleasure	same
„ likewise Lazraus	contrarywise Lazarus	same
paines	payne	
26, neither can they come	neither may come	same
27, father that thou wouldst send	father send	same
28, he may testifie unto them	he may warne them	for to warne them
30, they wil amend their lives	they will convert to God	they woulde repent
31, they be persuaded	they beleive	same
Acts xii.		
1, Now about that time	In that tyme	same
„ to vexe certeyne of the Church	to vexe certeyne of the Congregation	same
3, And when he sawe	And because he saw	same
„ daies of unleavened bread	dayes of swete bread	same
4, intending after the Passeover	entending after Easter	same
5, So Peter was kept	Then was Peter kept	same
„ but earnest prayer was made	but prayer was made	same
7, and raised him up	and sterid hym up	same
„ Arise quickly	Arise up quickly	same

GENEVA BIBLE, 1560.	GENEVA TESTAMENT, 1537.	TYNDALE'S TEST, 1534.
8, Then he said unto him	and he sayd unto hym	same
9, So <i>Peter</i> came out	Then <i>Peter</i> came out	Then he came out
„ and knewe not	and wist not	same
10, Now when they	when they	same
11, I know for a trueth	I know of a surety	same
12, the mother of John	the mother of one John	same
13, And when Peter	as Peter	same
14, But when she	So when she	And when she
15, Yet she affirmed it constantly	And she bare them downe	same
„ that it was so	that it was even so	same
16, had opened it	had opened the dore	same
17, how the Lord	by what means the Lord	same
18, there was no small trouble	there was no lytle ado	same
19, And when Herode	When Herode	same
„ And he went down from	and he descended from	same
20, one accord unto him	one accord and	and they came all at once
„ and perswaded Blas- ties	made intercession unto Blasties	same
21, arayed himself in	arayed hym in	same
„ and sate ⁴ on the judg- ment-seat	and set him on his seat	and set him in his seate.
22, The voyce of God	The voyce of a God	same
„ not of man	not of a man	same
23, not glorie unto God	not God the honour	same
25, So Barnabas	And Barnabas	same

In order further to ascertain whether the text of 1557 had been revived, I examined five passages in fifty-two other editions, Matthew xxiv. 22; Mark x. 32; Luke xvi. 6; Acts xii. 1; 2 Thess. ii. 8. Editions examined—in folio, 1577, 1578, 1582, 1592, 1595, 1602, 1607, 1610 (by Andro Hart, Edinburgh), 1610 (Barker), 1640, 1644. In quarto, 1579 (different edition from that on the first list), 1584, 1585, 1586, 1587, 1588, two editions of 1589, 1594—1594 N. T. 1595, 1596, 1598 N. T. 1597, 1598, 1599 (the edition supposed to have been printed at Dort). Seven different editions—1599, 1600, 1602, 1603, 1605, 1606, 1607; two editions, 1610, 1611; two editions, 1611 N. T. 1610; three editions, 1615; in octavo two different editions, and one Testament very small edition, only 2½ by 1½ inches, these last three imperfect; also of Testaments, octavo, 1582, 1586, 1602. These and nineteen in the first list are in my collection, and more could be added, but these are amply sufficient. These

⁴ Sate is omitted in the folio edition, 1561.

fifty-two agree with the text of 1560 in the five passages above-named. Thus it appears that the Testament of 1557 was never reprinted.

In the lists of texts a comparison with Tyndale's Testament of 1534 is given, because it shews how closely the first follows Tyndale's translation. All the variations between the Testaments of 1557 and the Bible of 1560 are given in Luke xvi. and in the Acts xii. In these two chapters, containing together only fifty-six verses, the two versions differ in sixty-four passages, and that of 1557 is the same in fifty-two of these as Tyndale's version. Does not the comparison of these two chapters shew that the text of 1557 is only a Tyndale's Testament with some alterations?

Is not the evidence sufficient to enable us to decide that the Testament issued as part of the Bible, 1560, is the standard of the Genevan version, and that the Testament of 1557 is not entitled to this important position.

Cotham, Bristol, 1864.

FRANCIS FRY.

Neo-Syriac in the Anti-Lebanon.—The Rev. Jules Ferrette, missionary at Damascus, reports that a form of Syriac is still spoken at Ma'lula, a village between Baalbek and Damascus. A communication from him upon the subject appears in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (vol. xx., p. 431). The specimens comprise short vocabularies, examples of verbal inflections, and the Lord's Prayer. Among the peculiarities, that of pronunciation is prominent, and this applies both to vowels and consonants. The grammatical inflections are some of them singularly curious, but can mostly be accounted for. The vocabulary is less noticeable for its forms than for the uses of words. A comparison of this dialect with that of the Nestorians of Oroomiah, and of both with the ancient Shemitic languages, shews a strong infusion of what may be called the Chaldee element in the Ma'lulan Syriac. Mr. Ferrette says, "It is very remarkable that the only three villages of Syria in which the Syriac is still vernacular, though in a corrupt form, do not belong to the Syrian church. Some are Mohammedans, and some Christians of either the Greek orthodox or Greek Catholic denominations, both of which have their liturgies in Arabic." With reference to the Arabic, we have observed traces of an Arabic influence upon Mr. Ferrette's specimens; and one word we can only explain through the Samaritan. All the other words are explicable by means of Hebrew, Chaldee, and especially the Peshito Syriac. The coalescing of the *pe* (=f) with the previous vowel, so that instead of *oph* we get *ou*, looks singular, but it is worthy of remark that a like custom prevails among the Nestorians of Persia, who pronounce *naphsho* as if it were written *nausho* (where *au* = *aw* in *faun*). Nay, the well-known name of Tabriz or Tabreez is called *Tauris* (where *au* = *ou* in *house*), as, in fact, we sometimes see it written. We only further remark that the Ma'lulan Syriac, although very deteriorated, exhibits far fewer signs of internal development than that of the Christians in Aderbeijan and the neighbouring parts of Kurdistan.

THE PARABLE OF THE RICH MAN AND LAZARUS.

I.

WHEN spinning-machinery was first introduced into this country, the handloom weavers spared no effort to destroy it; and when the open rioters were put down by the strong arm of the law, another plan was adopted. Constantly some small and important part of a machine was slyly stolen away; thus not only was it rendered useless, but its character for stability was gone. Well may our Bible be likened in many points to some beautiful and intricate piece of mechanism, the several parts fitting perfectly together (whatever rationalists may say), and the whole driven by the great motive power of God's Holy Spirit as it accomplishes its glorious work. In one case, happily, the simile fails. Even were it necessary to remove some small portion from the Scripture Canon, its general efficacy would remain unimpaired. But this is no reason why we should sit still, and suffer opponents covertly to steal piece after piece until nothing remains to us. We guard ourselves around with a thousand sterling manuscripts and a hundred versions, but they are of no avail. We raise above us the ancient flag of Christian testimony, established and hallowed as it is by eighteen centuries of time; but in these days its protection seems worthless,—it is spit upon and despised. The administrators of the law can no longer protect us. We have another course left. We can confront the enemy when he has got within, just when he is carrying off that important piece of the machinery; we can meet him hand to hand, objection to objection; and perchance, under God, we may make him lay it down.

Some such duty is now before us. An article in the last number of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, bearing the signature, W. C. Flower, casts something worse than doubt upon the genuineness of the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus (Luke xvi. 19—31). The writer says that, without venturing to deny that the parable was spoken by Christ, he thinks "there are good grounds for the contrary belief;" he then proceeds to state these grounds, and his language becomes less reserved. We will endeavour to meet his objections *seriatim*, although they, perhaps, do not occur in their most logical sequence.

We are first told that "the Evangelist does *not* state, nor in any way imply, that *this* parable was uttered by our Lord;" and that all the other Gospel parables, through some introductory phrase or through "unavoidable inference arising from the context," are shewn to have been spoken by Him. Now, allowing

the latter assertion, we must implicitly deny the former. The parable of the Unjust Steward, with which the chapter commences, and which, we shall shew, is intimately connected with the parable before us, is thus introduced—"And He said also (δὲ) unto His disciples, There was a certain rich man"—*Ἀνθρώπος τις ἦν πλούσιος*; for we must not confine ourselves to the Authorized Version and Archbishop Trench, as Mr. Flower, it seems, would have us do. But what is the opening clause of our own parable? *Ἀνθρώπος δὲ τις ἦν πλούσιος*—the same sentence as before, with the addition of the connecting particle δέ. Surely we are not to be robbed of this important word—a word having far more force here in the course of a conversation than in such an introductory phrase as that given above.* By whomsoever the discourse in this chapter was uttered, we could scarcely require a stronger link of *verbal* connection than that which is here afforded us. May we not then enquire whether the "most remarkable omission," which Mr. Flower ascribes to the *Evangelist*, be not his own?

We must here proceed to point out the *logical* connection between this parable and the context, and to shew that it has an immediate and obvious application to the topic upon which our Lord was engaged—a feat which is declared by our opponent to be impossible. To render our position clearer, we have recourse to a few details of time and place.

Our Saviour was now in Peræa, beyond the Jordan, in the territory of the crafty and dissolute tetrarch, Herod Antipas, who had put away the daughter of Aretas, and was living in a doubly adulterous intercourse with Herodias, his brother's wife. Also, in every probability, the message had already come from the sorrowing sisters in the little hamlet of Bethany, telling Jesus that their brother, whom He loved, was sick. Two days, we are told, He abode where he was. And to that period we refer the incidents before us.^b They were days when the mind of "the Resurrection and the Life" must have been filled with thoughts of the mighty deed He was about to achieve, and when the name of Lazarus, "God is my help,"^c would rise almost spontaneously to His lips. Publicans and sinners in great numbers had come together to hear the words of Jesus, and had

* Stier, *Die Reden des Herrn Jesu*, in loc. dwells on this important point.

^b On the order of events at this period of our Lord's ministry, there are some good remarks in Wieseler, *Chronologische Synopse der vier Evangelien*, p. 321, and in the sixth of Bishop Ellicott's *Hulsean Lectures*.

^c This would, certainly, seem to be the more correct meaning of "Lazarus" than that of "helpless," given by Theophylactus and others. There is an appropriateness both about the signification and the circumstances which fully accounts for the presence of the name in this parable.

excited the murmurings of the proud and malicious Pharisees (xv. 1, 2). Our Lord addressed to them the three parables of the Lost Sheep, the Lost Piece of Silver, and the Prodigal Son. The design of these parables is self-evident. Then, turning to the disciples, He spake to *them* the parable of the Unjust Steward, while the Pharisees stood by and listened (verse 14). The primary object of that remarkable discourse was to impress upon His followers the all-importance of the exercise of charity. By a strong example of *worldly* wisdom, they were urged to make a fit and *faithful* use of the good things entrusted to them by God. The mammon of this unrighteous world might be so employed as to secure a joyous reception into the everlasting habitations of the world to come. But the Pharisees, who, we are here expressly told, "were covetous," derided Him. And their character it is most important to bear in mind. They hid their love of mammon under an outward shew of zeal for the law. They would devote property to the service of the Temple; but only because it was due to another, and they could redeem it afterwards by a smaller payment. Before harvest they would cry, "It is Corban;" but only that they might deprive the poor of his corner.⁴ Most bitterly does our Lord reprove them. We may thus slightly paraphrase His next words:—"Ye are they which justify yourselves before men, but God knoweth your hearts; for that which is highly esteemed among men—that external religion which you use as a 'cloak of covetousness,' and for the neglect of which you term these men sinners—that is abomination in the sight of God. Truly, the law and the prophets were until John; since that time the kingdom of God, the new dispensation, is preached, and every man presseth into it, even these law-slighting publicans and sinners. But do not think that I am come to destroy the law; as I told you before, I am not come to destroy but to fulfil, to make it more strict, more spiritual. Do you want an example? Then listen: Whosoever putteth away his wife and marrieth another, committeth adultery."

Scarcely could our Lord have selected a stronger example than this one, perhaps suggested, as Tertullian⁵ remarked, by His presence within the tetrarchy of Herod. Divorce was the fertile subject of dispute between the rival Rabbinical schools of Hillel and Schammai, both of whom were Pharisees; and was

⁴ This covetous evasion of their vows by the Pharisees is constantly shewn in the *Mishna*. See examples in Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebraicæ, passim*, and Jahn, *Archæolog. Bib.*, § 392 sq.

⁵ *Adver. Marcion.*, iv. 34. There may also have been in the mention of John some connection with his fate by the hand of Herod and in that very neighbourhood.

craftily brought for decision before our Saviour on a separate occasion, in order to embroil Him with one party or the other. The vast majority of these Pharisees, like the historian Josephus, upheld the laxer view of Hillel, who would permit divorce for "every cause" in which the wife was displeasing to her husband.^f These Jesus condemns in terms which must have ranked Him among the very strictest interpreters of the law.

And, surely, now the connection with our parable is sufficiently plain. The reproof is over; the discourse proceeds; for further lessons have to be taught. There are His own disciples; there are the *despised* publicans and sinners—Lazarus, God is their help;—there are the Pharisees, trusting for salvation to their being children of "Father Abraham," like Dives, highly esteemed among men; not outwardly sinners, but covetous; not caring for the poor, not hearing "Moses and the Prophets." With a force which we cannot now conceive must the words of the Lord Jesus have come home to those actors in the scene, as He opened His parable—"There was also (δέ) a certain rich man." He had exhorted His disciples to use this world's goods to the promotion of their heavenly interests. He now passes on to the world of spirits, and shews to *all* the terrible consequences of misusing them.

The several portions of this chapter, then, are no "*disjecta membra*," as German rationalism long ago tried to make us believe; no pieces thrown together at hap-hazard by the Evangelist. We must be endowed with a strange obliquity of vision, if we cannot discern the relation between them; or we must look through the same distorting medium of which a Strauss, a Sepp, and a De Wette have made use, when they examined this or any other portion of the Word of God. There is one key-note which sounds throughout all our Saviour's harmonies, one golden thread which, like a line of light, runs throughout His every teaching. Had we missed it here, we might have paused. But never did it shine forth more clearly. It is charity—charity in its largest, noblest, most Christ-like sense—that which

"Shall stand before the host of heaven confest,
For ever blessing and for ever blest."

We have dwelt somewhat at length on this point, because it is the groundwork of the answer to most other objections. Indeed, it affords an immediate reply to Mr. Flower's next question—"What heavenly and spiritual truth is to be learned from this parable?" He declares there is none which is consistent

^f Compare *Mishna in Gattin*, cap. 9, 10: "If the wife, by any stroke from the hand of God, become dumb or sottish; if she cook her husband's food illy, by oversalting or overroasting it, she is to be put away."

with our Lord's usual teaching. We have pointed out the *main* lesson of the parable, that which, above all others, *was* consistent with His usual teaching—the inculcation of that love from man to man of which the Pharisees had so strongly shewn their want, and the warning that as the right use of riches will help men on their road to heaven, so their abuse will secure them a place in hell.

If Mr. Flower does not join the Tübingen School and Strauss^{*} in asserting that our Lord taught the Ebionitish doctrine of compensation, he does much the same thing; for he accuses the author of this parable of teaching it. The parable is as far as possible from pointing out that poverty will be rewarded and riches punished in the next world, apart from all moral desert. It is *not* "entirely silent on the subject of the moral condition" of the rich man. He could *not* have been "one of the most excellent of mankind;" he did *not* live as "rich men usually do live," nor, thank God, "as every prince, or prelate, or nobleman was, and is accustomed to live." For what more powerful description could be given of his selfish state and want of love? What stronger indictment could be brought against him than this? A poor man, diseased, starving, imploring to be fed with the scraps from his table, one for whom even the dogs cared,[†] lay at his very gate. But love was quenched by sensual indulgence. He passed him by, despised and neglected him. The beggar received none of *his* "good things." Again, Lazarus is evidently only a secondary character in the scene, only "a foil to the rich man." But the name introduced in such a marked and unique manner by our Lord into this parable, the great probability that the Redeemer's thoughts rested on that Lazarus who even now was in "Abraham's bosom," the humble silence of the sufferer himself—all point to one who, having endured with meekness in this world, shall receive the better things of the hereafter.

These are no deductions but simple statements of the language of the parable. We are unable to discover here any nicely balanced law of compensation.[‡] Retribution to those who have not used aright the talents committed to them, is indeed solemnly pointed out, as it is again and again by our blessed Lord.

* Strauss was well answered on this point by Neander in his *Das Leben Jesu Christi*.

† This is one of those little graphic touches so frequent in our Lord's parables. The brute nature of the dog rose above the brutalized nature of the rich man.

‡ We might with equal justice object to our Lord's words in Luke vi. 24: "Woe unto you that are rich; for ye have received your consolation," and those passages which speak of the impossibility of the rich man entering into heaven. Are we to cut all these out of our Bibles?

We must also take exception to Mr. Flower's gratuitous assumption, that when Abraham calls to the remembrance of the rich man his former state, he is merely alleging "a reason for refusing his request," and a reason for the difference in the conditions of the two. It was not "*because*" the rich man had received good things that he was in the place of torments, but because he had misused them, had made them *his* alone. Before his mind's eye was brought that pleasant field of the world where he had sown the seed of which he was now reaping the bitter fruit.

It was but natural for heretics and impugners of the Word in all ages to seize upon the fact that our Lord in this parable took His hearers, as it were, into the realms of the dead. Rarely does He raise the veil which, in His mercy, yet hides the scenes of our after state of being. It was not for Him, like the founder of the Muslim creed, to excite or terrify His followers with sensual pictures of the future world. But it was for Him to draw them into the blessed steps of His most holy life, that hereafter they might be one with Him. And thus where a more profound lesson is to be taught, He does not hesitate to speak of those mysteries in words as full of comfort as they are of warning. Are we to reject all such passages? Are we, with a Renan and a Strauss, to banish from the Scripture pages every trace of the supernatural world, and to see in the revealed Gospel nothing but the material conceptions of a man? Shall we not rather examine carefully what led to the utterance of these the deeper things of God, and take home the lesson to our hearts? As we have shewn before, when contrasting the two parables, the scene of the *exhortation* was laid in this world; for the *warning*, the border line must be crossed and the spectator carried to those realms where, if the exhortation and the warning be neglected, the fearful transformation will take place. And let us not forget that there rose before the mind of our Saviour that Lazarus who was even now in the unknown shadow land; that there stood before Him those covetous Pharisees who heard not Moses and the Prophets, and who failed to be persuaded even when "one rose from the dead."^k

A consideration of the peculiar terms used by our Lord in this parable—terms so strictly in accordance with the prevailing language of Jewish eschatology—and a comparison with other

^k As Mr. Flower spends a good deal of time in combating Archbishop Trench on the point, we may observe that to teach the necessity of a belief in Moses and the Prophets was certainly not the *primary* object of the parable. Indirectly and secondarily unbelief was rebuked; because a want of faith is the cause of all evil, whether under the old dispensation or the new.

passages of Scripture, might have led Mr. Flower to pause before he asserted that the after-state here delineated was a *final* one. The parable describes the separation immediately following death, a state irrevocable but not final. It no more represents the righteous and the wicked as having passed already to their final state, than did the promise of Jesus to the thief on the cross assure him that he should soon be in that heaven whither no man, save the Son of Man, hath ascended (John iii. 13). Surely Mr Flower will not *also* assert that the words, "This day thou shalt be with me in Paradise," are at variance with those passages in which our Lord fixes the *final* separation at the *future* day of judgment.

We must dwell on one other point. If this parable were not spoken by our Lord, how do we come to possess it? How does it happen to be so strongly, and, we must believe, indissolubly connected with the rest of His discourse? It is found in all the manuscripts of this gospel; their readings agree with a singular unanimity. It is contained in almost every version. It is quoted by a host of early Christian writers. And yet Mr. Flower calmly suggests that it was inserted in some early manuscript by the mistake of some transcriber. This is a dangerous statement to make in the face of the strongest evidence, and without a vestige of authority. On such grounds, we may cut every word out of the Book of God. We totally deny that "there are well-known instances of similar additions." Such doubtful passages as those often debated in the writings of St. John are not supported by a tittle of the evidence which can be summoned in behalf of this parable.

But the climax is yet to come. We are informed, also, whence the cunning transcriber obtained this magnificent parable; from a certain apologue, "very closely resembling it, and known to the Jews long before our Lord's time." We confess ourselves hopelessly ignorant. By what authority this is stated, we are utterly at a loss to imagine,—until we hear that it "is to be found in the *Gemara Babylonicum*." Thus, in a work, not compiled like the Mishna at the end of the second century, not even like the Gemara of Jerusalem in the third or fourth, but written or fabricated, at the earliest, in the fifth or sixth century; in a work teeming with the most absurd fables, with the most false and blasphemous insinuations against our blessed Lord himself, are we to look for the origin of a parable handed down to us, as it were from the very lips of Jesus. We must have better testimony than that of malicious and fraudulent Jewish Rabbis, if we are to believe that this cited apologue was extant in the time of our Saviour. May we not ask, in the name

of all reason and all justice, whether these Talmudic writers did not, just as they have done again and again,¹ look back and appropriate the most striking parable of the Christian gospels? Not through the blundering ingenuity of the ancient scribe, not through the garbled pages of the bitter enemies of our faith, but from the hand of the inspired Penman, the beloved Physician, have we received these divine words, which may yet prove to be a true medicine for our souls.

Here our observations must end. We have been obliged to confine ourselves to answering the objections put forward. It would be impossible to enter fully upon the mass of *direct* evidence which, we believe, might be brought forward in support of the genuineness of this parable. But, this, for the present, must suffice. We have often been twitted by our Gallic neighbours for our ill-success in the culinary art. The shafts of their wit must soon fall harmless. From the ranks of our theological writers is springing forth a very army of cooks. The British public has seen more of the world, and is no longer satisfied with the somewhat coarse but juicy and substantial joints of past days. Hence, on every table we now find served up a *réchauffé* of French scoffing or German rationalism. We do not, for a moment, ascribe such an act to Mr. Flower; although almost every one of his arguments are to be found in the pages of the worst class of German writers. He truly says, that "the cause of religious truth can never suffer from a careful and critical investigation of the holy Scriptures, when conducted in a becoming spirit." But, do we not all know how easy it is to pass the line where fair criticism ends, and sweeping conclusions take its place? We mount our hobby, and ride boldly on, perhaps regardless that we are spurring in the very teeth of the wind of truth, and ruthlessly trampling our weaker brethren under our feet.

J. E. PRESCOTT.

II.

In the last number of the *J. S. L.*, there is an article bearing in a peculiar manner (after the manner of De Wette) on the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus. In the following pages we assign reasons for giving the parable that place and explanation which thoughtful Christians have generally assigned it.

¹ Mr. Flower may be right in saying that our Lord never made use of the apologues with which the Jews of His time were familiar; but the compilers of the Talmud have made perfectly free with our Saviour's parables. We may instance those of the Labourers and of the Ten Virgins.

1. It is introduced as a part of our Lord's discourse in answer to the derision with which the Pharisees had met not only the parable of the Unjust Steward, but other parables connected with it in time and, to a certain extent, in meaning. The severe criticism and the contemptuous feelings of the Pharisees were called forth *by the welcome Jesus gave to publicans and sinners, and by his eating with them.* To mark his sense of their envious and scornful behaviour and to awaken better thoughts in their minds, our Lord uttered three parables; the Lost Sheep, the Lost Piece of Money, and the Prodigal Son. The meaning of those three, in reference to the publicans and sinners on the one hand, and the Pharisees on the other, can scarcely be misunderstood. In each of them as mild a view as possible is taken of those who thought themselves superior to the publicans and sinners.

In the parable of the Unjust Steward, which immediately follows, our Lord urges the right use of riches, with special reference to the great and eternal future, and marks the impossibility of serving equally or faithfully both God and Mammon. "The Pharisees," who were covetous, *heard all these things*, that is, what our Lord had said both in this and in the preceding parables, "and they derided him." The appropriate lesson for the Pharisees to learn from this parable, would have been a resolution to be henceforth less Pharisaically exacting, and to use the remaining period of *their* stewardship, if still unjustly, yet, at least, *more mercifully.*

Its proper stress must be given to the fact, that the Pharisees derided our Lord after he uttered the parables, and especially when they heard the closing part of the last, in which the best use of riches is declared to be—*their employment in making friends in heaven.* Their derision was answered in a discourse, of which the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus forms the concluding part. The words, "And he said unto them," in the 13th verse, are the introduction at once to the discourse and to the parable. It is of use to notice that the particle *δέ* connects the parable with the discourse, a fact not made known in the English Version, and entirely overlooked in *Paragraph Bibles.* Thus, persons ignorant of the original may imagine the parable unconnected with the discourse, or less immediately connected than it is.

The Pharisees derided our Lord in self-justification. They derided him in presence of those who had been listening to his words. They were always ready to interpret the law in their own favour and to introduce traditions besides, to which they gave a higher place than they sometimes gave to the law. Josephus, himself a Pharisee, admits that they were chargeable

with adding numerous traditions to the written law. Our Lord plainly told them that they made void the word of God through their tradition; for they would allow a man, who was able to make provision for his father and mother, to neglect making that provision if he once promised to leave his wealth to be applied to ecclesiastical purposes by Pharisaic hands. Thus, they sanctioned the breach of the tenth commandment and of the fifth commandment also. And yet they were ready to justify themselves before men as to all these things. It was believed that they tacitly sanctioned the adultery of Herod Antipas, whom John the Baptist condemned. And it is clear, in both the cases now mentioned, that the sanction given was a gross and abominable service of Mammon. They made one law for the rich and another law for the poor. Our Lord has again and again described them in words which the most careless reader of the gospels must remember. And when on this occasion, of which we speak, he desired to teach them a better way of looking on riches, a more merciful way of regarding those whom they despised, and a more solemn regard to the far future in which they should have to give an account of the use they had made of riches, and of the treatment they had given to the poor and outcast; they meet him *with derision*.

He points to the law and the prophets, to John the Baptist's preaching, and to the gospel dispensation, as all contrary to their self-justifying views; and he charges them with violations of the law of God or wilful misrepresentations of its meaning. They are especially charged with breaking the law in the matter of divorce, and are solemnly reminded that, though they may succeed in justifying themselves before men, "that which is highly esteemed among men is abomination in the sight of God;" and that "it is easier for heaven and earth to pass than one tittle of the law to fail."

2. A parable follows in precise accordance with this; a parable in which the highly reputed rich man and the beggar full of sores are contrasted. Nothing is said of their moral character in the first picture, because that was not the main thing in the eyes of the Pharisees. *They* would regard the rich man and his dwelling in a very different way from that in which they would look at the beggar, who was laid at his gate full of sores. And to note a difference of character, at this stage, was to do what the Pharisee was not inclined to do, and was to hinder also the sudden effect of the second picture in which the fact of the contrast between the moral and spiritual character of the two men is solemnly sealed by the justice of God.

In his state of torment, the once rich man affirms that the

law and the prophets are not likely to influence his impenitent and unbelieving brethren more than they had influenced himself. But he is answered in words which shew that the way of salvation was capable of being found by those who really obeyed the law and the prophets. That Lazarus had found this way is evident, because he is saved. The contrast holds good between the two, even where it is not expressed, save by the slightest touch of the master's hand in the two suggestive pictures. He whose help Lazarus once begged now begs the help of Lazarus. He chose *his* good things, and enjoyed them in his lifetime. Had he chosen better things he would have enjoyed them now. Lazarus humbly accepted *his* position, too. Had Lazarus envied the rich man, or acted an impenitent and unbelieving part on earth, he would have shared the rich man's fate. The contrast still holds good. Selfishness remaining strong, in Dives, he asks Lazarus to be sent into the devouring flame on a mission of mercy. The words, "they that would pass from hence to you cannot," allow the continued reign of merciful and self-sacrificing dispositions in the case of Lazarus and such as he. He who was once lapped in luxury is now swathed in flame. He who lay neglected at the gate of the rich man's mansion, is happy as the child who is taken out of trouble and pressed to his parent's heart. There is a great gulf fixed now, and there was a great gulf fixed before, between Dives and Lazarus. Dives would not cross the gulf between him and Lazarus when he could. Lazarus, if he would, cannot cross the gulf between them now. On earth, Lazarus humbly begged only the crumbs that fell from the rich man's table. In his tormented state, Dives asks were it but the smallest alleviation of his pain,—if Lazarus could only dip the tip of his finger in water and cool the parched tongue. In his life-time, Dives had five brethren to share in his happiness; Lazarus was befriended only by the dogs who came and licked his sores.

The difference in moral character and in spiritual aspirations, between the two men, is not enlarged upon; but it is sufficiently evident, if we believe that God is just in deciding their state after death. Nay, more, we have a key to the grand contrast between them, in the request of the rich man as to his brethren. He owns *them* to be impenitent and unbelieving. He knows they are likely to share his fate. Who can resist the inference that he and they resembled one another in their spiritual character? Does he deny the justice of his doom? Does not the very slight alleviation of pain that he ventures to ask for, indicate his conviction that his doom is just.

3. Parables teach by hints, as pictures do. A person deficient

in judgment, in taste, and in fairness, may manage to derive improper lessons from parables in a greater degree than from ordinary teaching. No parable offers a full and clear statement of doctrine, except by hints and pictorial touches that are most suggestive to the apt learner in the school of Christ. No parable explains itself even, unless it is lovingly studied, as Christ's words deserve to be studied.

4. From this parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, we may justly conclude, as we may from other words of the Saviour, that riches are frequently a great snare and danger; St. Paul has presented this truth at length in these words (1 Timothy vi. 6): "Godliness with contentment is great gain. For we brought nothing into this world, and it is certain that we can carry nothing out. And having food and raiment let us be therewith content. But they that *will* be rich fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition. For *the love of money* is the root of all evil: which, while some have coveted after, they have erred from the faith and pierced themselves through with many sorrows." These words are in harmony with the evident meaning suggested by the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus. So are the following words of our Lord (Luke vi. 20—26): "Blessed be ye poor, for yours is the kingdom of God. Blessed are ye that hunger now, for ye shall be filled. Blessed are ye that weep now, for ye shall laugh. Blessed are ye when men shall hate you and when they shall separate you from their company, and shall reproach you and cast out your name as evil, for the Son of Man's sake. Rejoice ye in that day and leap for joy: for behold your reward is great in heaven; for in like manner did their fathers unto the prophets. But woe unto you that are rich! for ye have received your consolation. Woe unto you that are full! for ye shall hunger. Woe unto you that laugh now! for ye shall mourn and weep. Woe unto you when all men shall speak well of you! for so did their fathers to the false prophets." Equally in harmony with the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus is the parable of the Rich Man, whose soul was required of him the very night in which he was saying, "Soul, take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry." Again, in Luke xviii. 24, our Lord is represented as saying of one whom he asked to part with riches and follow Him: "How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God." This, too, was said of one whose conduct, in many respects, our Lord approved. "Jesus beholding him, loved him," when he heard him saying of the commandments: "All these things have I kept from my youth up." It was his mental distress at having to part with his riches that led

our Lord to add: "How hardly shall they that trust in riches enter into the kingdom of God."

5. Neither in sentiment nor in imagery does the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus differ from the other discourses and parables of our Lord. He often spoke of the future torments of wicked souls—of the outer darkness of the place where there shall be weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth—of the furnace of fire—of everlasting fire prepared for the wicked and for the devil and his angels. He also promised happy mansions to his followers—where they should shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father—where they should enter into the joy of their Lord—where they should inherit the kingdom prepared for them from the foundation of the world. He also contrasted the future fate of the saved and the lost in such terms as these, quite parallel with the picture of Dives and Lazarus: "There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, when ye shall see Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, and all the prophets in the kingdom of God, and you yourselves thrust out."

6. It cannot be held that the doctrine of a general judgment, when the affairs of this world shall be finally wound up, and the justice of God openly vindicated before men and angels, interferes with the doctrine that the souls of penitent believers pass at death into a state of happiness; and that the souls of the impenitent and unbelieving pass at once into a state of misery. Quite parallel with the statements of the parable in this respect, also, is our Lord's declaration to the thief on the cross, whose eager wish was at once answered in the comforting words, "To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise." Parallel, also, are St. Paul's words: "Having a desire to depart and to be with Christ, which is far better." Death is often and appropriately compared to sleep, because in relation to this world and its inhabitants, those who have closed their eyes on all that is earthly are asleep. But the absolute insensibility of the immortal soul after death is nowhere to be gathered from Scripture. Nowhere is it said that the final judgment and its arrangements prevent the wicked from passing into a miserable state at death, or the adopted and sanctified family of God from entering at their deaths on a state of happiness. It is said even "of the angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation," that God hath reserved them "in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day;" and of Sodom and Gomorrah, though they, too, abide the judgment, it is said that they are suffering "the vengeance of eternal fire." The saints of God of every age are to appear in the day of judgment; but not the less do they experience beforehand the happiness of those

of whom it has been declared, "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord from henceforth. Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them." And for whom the Saviour prayed, saying, "Father, I will that they also whom thou hast given me, be with me where I am, that they may behold my glory which thou hast given me."

It is the imperfection of earthly justice that the innocent man, when accused, continues to be treated as if he might yet deserve punishment, until the day comes when he is tried and acquitted; and that the criminal escapes punishment, however deserved, until some time passes, and all things are ready for his trial and condemnation. Now we are not to insist on human imperfection being fastened upon Divine justice before that supreme justice shall meet our approval. Nor, although glorious spiritual bodies are foretold as the clothing of the souls of the redeemed, can we limit the power of God to time or place, in thus clothing them with incorruptible and beautiful forms.

A large amount of modern scepticism arises from the effort, vainly renewed *ad nauseam*, to confer human imperfection of thought, heart, and purpose, upon the ways and works of Divine wisdom, love, and power.

7. In what has been said, we have not endeavoured to do more than trace the general connection and harmony of the parable with the context and with Scripture. Much more might have been said in the way of deriving lessons from it, calculated to warn and alarm all who lap themselves in luxurious ease, and continue to despise the destitute and outcast, whom they might greatly aid. There is a much more dangerous fallacy than that which is erroneously attributed to the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus—a much more dangerous fallacy than to say the rich will be condemned because they are rich, and the poor will be saved because they are—not poor in spirit but—poor in purse. Indeed, it may be doubted if any one ever was a believer in that fallacy. But a quiet and almost irresistible belief may be cherished by the wealthy and prosperous, that they shall continue so—that the life to come will give them a similar degree of rank and prosperity to that which they now enjoy. So also, the poor and care-burdened, the outcast and destitute may be tempted to think that they shall never be otherwise. The parable is admirably destructive of this fallacy. It warns the rich and encourages the poor to walk according to the light that heaven sheds down on earth, and to hope the best from Divine mercy and Divine justice.

It is impossible to deny that the parable teaches *distrust in riches, pity for the destitute, reverence for the word, the will, and*

the judgments of God. These were the very lessons needed by the Pharisees, who *favoured the rich, despised outcasts* in their worldliness, by their traditions *made void the Holy Word of God, and derided his Eternal Son.*

At the lifting of the veil that hid the future, and with the momentary glance into its awful secrets, Pharisaic derision died away.

J. L. BLAKE.

Slobo, 7th April.

III.

The remarks of Mr. W. C. Flower, though very much opposed to the common opinion of the genuineness of the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, are brought forward in such a fair and equitable spirit that, though I may totally differ from him as to the conclusions which he draws, I cannot but, as in duty bound, give him all due credit for the temperate and impartial tone in which he has brought them forward. I may also add, that many of the objections which he adduces had been for some time floating in my own mind, and I was glad to have an opportunity of bringing them to the test of Scripture and fair critical deduction.

Your correspondent states, and with truth, that no less than twenty-nine parables are recorded in the gospels, every one of which is described as having been spoken by Christ himself. Of the whole number, no less than seventeen are introduced by some such phrase as, "He spake a parable unto them," and of the other twelve, each of them is distinctly stated, as shewn by unavoidable inference arising from the context, to have been spoken by Him. As regards this parable, however, the Evangelist does not state, nor in any way imply, that it was uttered by our Lord;" and this, as he observes, "may suggest doubts as to how far we are justified in attributing it to Him."

To this, I would answer, that though the usual formula, "He spake a parable unto them," is wanting in this instance, the whole structure of this sixteenth chapter of St. Luke *implies* that it was uttered by Him. The most cursory inspection of it will shew that the words with which it commences, "And He said also unto His disciples," must refer to "every" portion of it, for I can discern no break which can warrant us in any opposite conclusion. I am fully prepared to admit that our parable is not placed in the situation in which we might expect to find it. More naturally it would follow, perhaps, as a "practical illustration" of the conclusion of the thirteenth verse, "Ye cannot serve God and Mammon." But be this as it may, it is probable that the whole difficulty has been created by "trans-

position," as in the case of the thirty-eighth chapter of Isaiah. A very casual reference to this will easily shew the extreme probability that the twenty-second verse ought really to stand before the seventh. He must be a bold man who would venture to impugn the genuineness of any portion of that chapter from such a circumstance.

But your correspondent is "unable to recognize any resemblance in matter or in form, in letter or in spirit, between this parable and those (which in contradistinction) he believes to have been undoubtedly spoken by Christ." I hope to shew that though the resemblance may fail in the two former (as it would necessarily from the nature of the subject), it perfectly corresponds both in the letter and the spirit to our Lord's *teaching*.

The parable, he says, "seems to be a lesson of retribution, or rather of *compensation*, because the Rich Man had been prosperous and Lazarus had been wretched." "This doctrine of compensation," as he justly says, "was not taught by our Lord, consequently he would infer the want of truth in the parable, because the author of it has" simply reversed the conditions of happiness and misery by way of "compensation," and of "compensation only."

I hope to shew that this view of our parable is erroneous, and that it teaches not compensation but *righteous retribution*.

We have not far to go for proof that our Lord considered the mere possession of riches as implying a state highly dangerous to the soul's welfare. "How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God (St. Mark x. 23). It is evident, then, that Dives, during his lifetime, was placed in this state of perilous temptation, for he was clothed in purple and fine linen, and fared sumptuously (*λαμπρῶς*, *splendidly*) every day. Your correspondent wishes to imply that he lived merely as rich men usually do—in that manner which, according to the usages of society, became his station and life." This might have been supposed, had not another character made his appearance on the scene, a circumstance which removes altogether any such favourable supposition. "And there was a certain beggar named Lazarus, which was laid at his gate full of sores, desiring to be fed with the crumbs which fell from the rich man's table." The original word, *ἐβελητο*, implies that he was *frequently* laid there, desiring to be so fed. Whether he succeeded in his application may be doubtful, considering that it is added, "Moreover (*ἀλλὰ καὶ*, *nay even*), the dogs came and licked his sores," a circumstance (as Bloomfield observes) intended to contrast the compassion and sympathy of brutes with the insensibility of the rich man." It will be impossible, therefore, to agree with your

correspondent that, "for aught that appears to the contrary, Dives might have been one of the most excellent of mankind."

We are now introduced to another scene, in which the veil of futurity is drawn aside, and the two characters in our parable are represented with their conditions utterly reversed." We see the place of torment and the abode of bliss, the spirits of the departed clothed once more in flesh, and discoursing and reasoning with each other touching their own condition and that of those whom they left upon earth. We find "he continues" an apparatus, so to speak, altogether supernatural—an imagery derived from a state of things of which we have no trace in nature, or any parallel in our Lord's teachings, or elsewhere in Scripture."

To this reasoning I would reply that, though we must admit that our Lord's parables are taken from "agricultural or pastoral subjects, or from domestic events, and that they come home at once to the experience of every man, woman, and child," yet we are not bound to infer that He *never* made use of any imagery but what was derived from the above sources. Supposing St. John xxi., verse 5, to be a strong hyperbole, yet the many other things which Jesus *did* were most probably accompanied by as much which He had *said*, and granting this, where is the impossibility that He should have made use of *supernatural* imagery, or rather is it not highly probable that He *would* do so. Is not this a perfectly fair supposition?

Again, your correspondent declares, that "such a reference to the unseen world has not only no parallel in our Lord's teaching, but that it is 'not found elsewhere in Scripture.'"

To this last assertion, the largest portion of the concluding chapter of Isaiah gives a "decided contradiction." There we have a setting forth of the last judgment, when the Lord will come with fire, and with his chariots like a whirlwind, to render His anger with fury and His rebuke with flames of fire. "And it shall come to pass, that I will gather all nations and tongues, and they shall come and see my glory. For as the new heavens and the new earth which I will make shall remain before me, saith the Lord, so shall your seed and your name remain. And they shall go forth and look upon the carcasses of the men that have transgressed against me; for their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched, and they shall be an abhorring unto all flesh."

Now, it is most evident that our Lord quotes these identical words of the prophet, expressive of the eternal fire, in the ninth chapter of St. Mark, verse 44 and 48, and that these expressions had been applied by Isaiah to those unhappy spirits *on whom* the

inhabitants of the new heaven and the new earth *should look*, they themselves being in a *state of felicity*. Is there any opposition here to our parable, which also opens a glimpse of the future invisible world, representing the righteous and the wicked as visible to each other? Our Lord has employed the *language* of condemnation used by the prophet; why should He not have made use equally of the *imagery* which accompanies it?

We read that "the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom." Can any language more emphatically declare the blessedness of the departed spirit, conveying especially to the Jewish mind an increase of that blessedness, in being conducted by God's ministers into the presence of the Father of the Faithful. We, therefore, draw the undeniable conclusion that Lazarus had been "essentially" a man of a holy life, and are constrained to marvel at your correspondent's assertion, "That for aught that appears, Lazarus might have been one of the most worthless of mankind."

"But the rich man also died, and was buried; and in hell he lifted up his eyes, being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom. And he cried and said, Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus that he may dip the tip of his finger in water and cool my tongue, for I am tormented in this flame. But Abraham said, Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things, but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented."

In these last words lies the apparent, or, as some would say, the real difficulty of the parable. Now, even supposing that this portion of it does "omit to ascribe the opposite conditions of the persons brought forward to their moral excellence or depravity *while upon earth*," though such an omission may appear strange and unaccountable, we must not abandon the search after a correct interpretation, and satisfy ourselves with one, which really increases the difficulty. Even the most diligent student of Holy Writ is hardly conscious of the depth of meaning which lies hid under expressions, which are often far from implying all that they appear to say. Who would have inferred the cardinal doctrine of the resurrection from the words, "I am the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob," unless our Lord himself had so interpreted it? So in the present instance, the language appears to infer the doctrine of "compensation," which, of course, is not only utterly unlike our Lord's teaching, but utterly opposed to it. Moreover, to affirm that in a future state one man is to be miserable *because* on earth he had been prosperous, and another to be happy, *because* in the same state

of probation he had been in abject poverty, is a doctrine which I can hardly imagine to be sanctioned even by any "false religion." What, then, are we to infer from the language attributed to Abraham on this occasion? I conceive that an "under current of thought" pervades the whole of it, which can only be exhibited and brought to the surface, by applying to it the *real* principles of our Lord's *teaching*, "Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime *receivedst* (*ἀπέλαβες*, hast received *out, full and completely*) thy good things." But this very *reception* implies in itself a corresponding *obligation*, to return with usury, that which has been *received*, as we learn from the nineteenth chapter of this very Gospel of St. Luke, in the parable of the pounds. Abraham may, therefore, very justly be supposed to say, "You enjoyed all the most valuable gifts of fortune, and these in a heartless and selfish manner you squandered on the gratification of your appetites and passions, negligent of the claims of your poor brethren, whom you now see before you in the person of their representative, Lazarus. You are, therefore, justly condemned as an unprofitable servant, as a withered branch fit for the burning, while he, on the contrary, amid much suffering and the extreme of temporal want, has been found worthy, by his patient trust and confidence in God, to be brought into this place of happiness." I would ask whether there is anything strained in this mode of interpreting this portion of the parable, or whether, on the contrary, it does not form an harmonious picture, consonant with itself in every part?

Again, in a parable so eminently figurative, there seems nothing incongruous in the refusal of Abraham to send Lazarus to the rich man to relieve him. There was a *moral* impossibility that the righteous should again mingle with the wicked, as on earth. There was a *physical* impossibility, on account of the "great gulf fixed" between them.

The concluding portion of our parable is supposed by some to be intended to inculcate more strongly the necessity of a belief in Moses and the prophets. Archbishop Trench, indeed, thinks that this was its primary object. But, as your correspondent observes, "The Pharisees, of all men, were not likely to be accused of any want of such a faith, and as they did not stand in need of such a lesson, it is hardly likely that it was given."

This view appears to me correct, since such a mode of interpretation would destroy the symmetry and harmony which reigns throughout our parable. "From motives of charity and feelings of fraternal affection, or from an apprehension that the arrival of his brethren would add poignancy to his pain and increase his

anguish, the rich man wished that Lazarus should be sent to his father's house to warn them of the dreadful fate which awaits the impenitent. The reference to Moses and the prophets was intended, then, to shew that by the supreme efficacy of the the Word of God whether, under the old or the new dispensation, or both, was a thorough conversion of heart alone to be brought about, and not by an impression upon the senses." The request was for the return of a spirit, ἀπὸ νεκρῶν πόρευθῇ. The reply indicates that their repentance would result "not even" (οὐ δὲ) from a more surprising event, the rising of one in bodily shape. It is important to bear in mind that faith is a moral act dependent on the exercise of the will or affections, as well as the understanding. Where there is a settled alienation of the will and affections from the truth, no impression made by miracles would be permanent. Accordingly, our Lord, after his resurrection, shewed Himself only to His disciples.* A rule of such universal applicability, one suited to either dispensation at all times, would have had no special favour with the Pharisees.

If, then, according to the definition of Archbishop Trench, "the parable is constructed to set forth some truth spiritual and heavenly," we have here one which vindicates the ways of God to man in a most striking manner—*righteous retribution* for the sin of Dives in his hard-hearted contempt of the poor and his luxurious squandering on self. What a striking echo do we find in the language of St. James, "Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you; your riches are corrupted and your garments are moth-eaten, and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, *and shall eat your flesh as it were fire.*"

Against that selfishness which would lead to the neglect of the poorer members of the great family of man, by which we are surrounded, our parable speaks in unmistakeable language. Any attempt, however well meant, and even conducted with a reverential spirit, to eliminate it from the rest of Scripture, if successful, would deprive us of a "warning beacon" especially needed in an age and country where the streams of luxury and civilization, at least among certain classes, run "*pari passu.*"

May I be permitted to hope that, as the result of my enquiries has been satisfactory to myself, it will prove equally so to those readers of *The Journal of Sacred Literature* who may chance to peruse it.

H. P.

* Note on this passage in the Greek Testament, by W. Webster, M.A., and W. F. Wilkinson, M.A.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO MODERN ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.**No. IV.—CHRONICLES OF THE CONGREGATION OF LYSÁ.**

(Continued from Vol. III., p. 366.)

It is well known that the Protestants, in Austria, were very restricted in their religious rights after the Patent of Toleration issued by the Emperor Joseph II., so that their houses of God were not allowed to possess towers, bells, lofty windows, entrances from the street, or, speaking generally, to have the appearance of churches. It is, therefore, very natural that, in later times, now that these restrictions have ceased, they should be everywhere striving to build or acquire proper churches instead of their old and usually sorry prayer-houses or chapels. This desire is especially reasonable in places where such churches formerly existed, but were forcibly wrested from the Protestants at the time of their subjugation; and to attain to the possession of such buildings must be very desirable to them, not only on moral but also on material grounds. Permission was given to Protestant congregations by a Court-decree, so long ago as the year 1786, to purchase secularized Catholic churches and convert them into Protestant ones; but such purchases have become much more frequent since the appearance of the Imperial Patent of April 8th, 1861, whereby complete religious freedom and equality with all recognized confessions was secured to the Protestants.

These things moved the congregation of Lysá to apply for an ancient church, which stands in the middle of the town, and is provided with a tower; and it felt itself so much the more prompted thereto as this church had not been a Catholic one, but had been formerly a Protestant church belonging to the Bohemian Brethren. Already in the year 1786, soon after the appearance of the Patent of Toleration, an attempt was made by the congregation to acquire it, but in vain. Upon this subject the following entry stands written in the chronicles of the congregation. "Anno Domini 1786, the members of the congregation transmitted a petition to His Majesty the Emperor at Vienna, that the old church, which stands in the middle of the town, might be sold to them: they thinking it would be easier for them to pay for the church by annual instalments than to build a new one. By supreme command a Circle-commission came soon afterwards to examine into the matter; but as both the local authorities and the chief magistrate opposed the sale of the church to the Protestant congregation, their petition was entirely rejected." Although the attempt at that

time miscarried, yet, at the present time, the congregation might not unreasonably have entertained hopes of obtaining this end. It therefore, as the church is the property of the War Department, and is at present made use of as a corn-magazine, betook itself again directly to His Majesty the Emperor with a most humble petition, wherein, after explaining the defective nature of their present chapel and referring to the gracious favour shewn by the grant of complete religious freedom, it prayed that the old church, formerly belonging to its ancestors in the faith, the Bohemian Brethren, might either be graciously granted to it, or its purchase for a moderate price permitted.

This petition was so far vouchsafed gracious consideration that, after the lapse of three weeks, a military commission was charged by supreme command with the investigation of the matter. The result was favourable, the commission reporting as its opinion that, as our present chapel could be furnished and used as a magazine, the old church was not indispensable, and its greater value might be equalized by a corresponding sum of money. On the whole the military authorities were favourable, and other influential persons in high positions made zealous applications in our favour. But, unfortunately, the exertions of the Roman Catholic clergy and their party were also very great and did essential damage to the cause. The Dean of Lysá called forth great excitement in the community by adjuring the town authorities at a public session, to which the only Protestant member thereof was purposely left unsummoned, by their salvation, not to allow the old church to come into the hands of the Protestants, threatening them that he would never again hold any solemn procession, as he should be obliged to go round the Protestant church in doing so. At his urgent entreaty, the town authorities allowed themselves to be induced to send a deputation to the patroness of the church, Princess Rohan, with the request, that she would go to Vienna and there oppose the project of the Evangelical Church on the spot. This she did, and it may be easily supposed that such a measure was not advantageous to the cause of the Protestant congregation. The upper Catholic clergy also, as well as the Dean, exhibited considerable zeal against the project. That clergy is still too habituated to the monopoly of the *dominant* Catholic Church in Austria to get easily accustomed to the equality of another Church, which had previously been so long oppressed; and it continues to oppose an obstinate resistance to the progress of the Protestants, especially in many places into which true enlightenment and education have not yet made their way. On the part of the citizens of Lysá this opposition was grounded on the ordinary

feeling of jealousy, lest the Protestant congregation, which had hitherto been stowed away, as it were, in a corner, with its inconspicuous chapel lying between houses and gardens, should henceforth come more into publicity and possess a fitting temple. Such an equality of position with their own church appeared intolerable to them, and this weakness exhibited itself in an extraordinary manner even in the case of the so-called educated classes, nay even in that of persons who had received a superior education. Many of them declared quite naively that they should not have a word to say against it, if the Protestants had as many as ten churches in the town, if they were but in other places and not just in the middle of the town where the Catholic church stands. After further official inquiries, which were set on foot in consequence of the opposition, the Protestant congregation received the following decisive rejection of their petition through the Imperial Engineering Department at Prague:—

“The extensive inquiries made in consequence of the petition presented by the Worshipful Evangelical Congregation at Lysá, under date January 6th, 1863, respecting the giving over to them of the Barbara ex-church at Lysá, in concert with the Imperial Ministry for the Home Department, have shewn that, on the one hand, an irrefutable necessity for extension of the Evangelical chapel is not proved, and, on the other hand, that, if such an extension should nevertheless be desired, it might be easily carried into execution at the present chapel; and that the means thereto also stand at the command of the congregation, as it declared itself ready to purchase the Barbara church or to bear the expenses, which should arise through the adaptation of the existing chapel for a military magazine.

“In this state of affairs, the Ministry at War does not find itself in a condition to grant this petition, which has not been deemed suitable to receive the supreme signature.

“The worshipful authorities of the congregation are informed hereof in pursuance of the decree of the Ministry at War of Sept. 26th, 1863.

“Prague, Oct. 2nd, 1863.”

This is the result of the exertions of the congregation to obtain a more suitable church worthy of the progress of the times, and thereby actually to pass from the times of Toleration into the new age of religious freedom. What happened seventy-seven years previously has again occurred, viz., that the striving of this congregation after progress has been wrecked mainly on the opposition of the Catholic patron and the local authorities of

the town. A faithful picture, in truth, of the progress of the higher circles in this empire in point of Christian forbearance and enlightenment.

How depressing an effect this ill-success must have on the minds of the congregation, every experienced and honest Protestant can easily imagine. Many weaker spirits feel themselves, as it were, thrust back again out of their newly excited hopes into the old times of bare toleration, and it requires all the power and persuasive energy of their clergyman to prevent the courage of his congregation from sinking still lower. It has not, however, entirely as yet got courage, but in firm trust in God and in generous Christian help will continue to strive after improvement. For the present, it will content itself with its existing chapel, and direct all its energies to the foundation of a school, since, unfortunately, it does not as yet possess one. But, in this respect, it stands greatly in need of the help and support of its brethren in the faith. It contains only about 850 souls, half of whom are widely dispersed, and therefore can contribute but little towards the erection of school buildings or the support of a schoolmaster. The portion living within reach of a school, on the other hand, is for the most part poor, and in Lysá itself the members are mostly only poor mechanics. The congregation unites therefore, with this truthful representation of facts, the most earnest and urgent entreaty to all brethren in the faith, to have compassion on the head of its younger members, who have hitherto been obliged to attend none but Catholic schools, and there often listen to scorn and insult to their confession on the part of fanatical priests and schoolmasters, and by offering gifts of Christian love, to afford it assistance towards the foundation of an Evangelical school. In this way it believes it will not entreat in vain, but hopes firmly and confidently that the Lord, whose counsel is wonderful, and whose ways are unsearchable, will open hearts and hands to it, which will again verify the saying of His Son our Saviour: "Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened to you."

A. H. WRATISLAW.

(From a pamphlet by the Rev. Josef Procházka, Protestant clergyman of Lysá.)

THOUGHTS ON GENESIS IX. 6: IN RELATION TO CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

THE tendencies of modern society are apparently working, for the present, towards the total disuse of capital punishments. It is and has long been universally admitted that, save in the case of murder, the heaviest penalties of civil law should stop short of the criminal's life; but now it is held by many, that even this last solitary exception ought to be swept away, as only a remnant of the opinion and practice of barbarous times. The object of punishment, it is said, is the good of the community, and not the mere gratification of revenge on the criminal; and that, therefore, it should, like domestic corrections, assume in all cases a reformatory character, as aiming to restore the offender to his place in society, and, when that proves wholly impracticable, at least to make him in some way useful to it, instead of cutting him off from the body like a gangrened limb. Or again, it is argued, that as the infliction of death has evidently no effect in diminishing crime, there is demanded a more exact adaptation of means to this end; in which it is pleasantly assumed, that the alleged failure is due to a want of adaptation which it is in our power to supply.

But another question is entitled to a careful consideration before we finally change a system which bears the sanction of the venerable past, and this is,—What is the will of God, the supreme ruler of the nations? Much, indeed, may be urged against the proposed change on the ground even of expediency. It may even be doubted whether we are competent to decide so vast a question on general *à priori* principles at all, much less alone; and, if not, whether the consequences involved are not too momentous to be submitted to the decision of experiment. To determine how the abolition of capital punishments would work, over a vast political area, under endless modifications of circumstances and for all future times, is, it may be well said, a problem only for Him to whose view all things, present and future, are “naked and open.” But at all events the will of God must always concur with the truest and largest expediency; and to ascertain that will, whenever it has been clearly revealed, is for us in all cases the shortest and surest road to it. If there is any real deliverance of the divine mind on the subject before us, raised above all limitations of circumstances and times, it cannot fairly be regarded as less than decisive of the whole question.

Now assuming that the Holy Scriptures not only contain, but *are* the Word of God, there is *one* passage to which we wish to call especial attention, as being entitled to more consideration in this

question than perhaps it has ever received. Of course it has always been cited on one side of the controversy; but on the other side objections have been, and still are, very commonly made to it, which evince a total misconception of its nature and evident design. The passage is:—"Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of God made he man" (Genesis ix. 6).

Here we have a majestic expression of the supreme will, conveyed in terms so sublimely simple and comprehensive, as at once to invest it with the character of a universal law of nations. This feature of generalness and simplicity, which has sometimes been strangely made a ground of objection, really constitutes one of its best claims to occupy the lofty pre-eminence on which we feel ourselves bound to place it. The language has been complained of as vague and indefinite. But, on the contrary, no terms can well be more precise as the expression of a world-embracing principle of legislation, all details of administration being precluded by its very nature, which, had they been attempted, would, by their necessary incompleteness, have constituted a far graver objection. It was no part of the divine intention to interfere with the free development of national institutions, or to descend into the endless variety of possible modes in which his will herein might be carried into effect. We might as well object to the divine command in verse 7,—to "multiply and bring forth abundantly in the earth,—as too vague, because nothing is said about marriage-rites and settlements. Free from all such minutiae as could safely be left to the arrangements of civil government, and would but have marred its simplicity and contracted its range, the sentence before us shines out as a sublime declaration by the sovereign ruler of nations, that henceforth, and everywhere on the earth, the crime of murder shall be visited with the penalty of death.

It may, however, be urged with some show of reason, that the expression, "whoso sheddeth man's blood," is sufficiently general to cover every case of homicide, whether wilful or merely accidental, and that thus the passage proves too much. But a moment's attention to the context will convince any unprejudiced reader, that the words are intended to express a wilful act of slaying. It would be scarcely less reasonable to affirm that the clause following, "by man shall his blood be shed," may relate to accidental deaths. The truth is, the phrase in question, viewed in connection with the common usage of Hebrew writers, has all the precision which the case demands. Whenever this or similar expressions occur in the Old Testament, without any modifying clause, they always denote wilful killing. Indeed, as

in actions generally considered, intention is the rule and accident the exception, so it may safely be asserted that whatever any one is represented in the Scriptures as doing, he must be understood as doing *purposely*, unless the contrary is stated or clearly implied in the nature of the case.

The attempt has often been made to resolve the whole sentence into a mere declaration, issuing from the divine prescience, of what, in point of fact, will generally be the fate of the murderer; but in our judgment this attempt has never been successful. No Hebraist will deny that verbs are constantly used in the future tense in an imperative sense; of this, indeed, sufficient evidence may be found in the Ten Commandments.

It is, therefore, entirely in accordance with the usage of the language to take the sentence before us as a command. Then, looking at the whole context, it cannot, we submit, be construed otherwise. As closely associated with, what are known among the Jews as, the precepts of Noah, it is at least a fair inference that it is itself a precept and not a prediction. But the verse preceding ought alone to have precluded the question, and may now, that it has been raised, suffice to set it at rest. "And surely your blood of your lives will I require; at the hand of every beast will I require it, and at the hand of the man; at the hand of man his brother," the brother of the murdered, "I will require the life of the man." What is the evident meaning of these words? It is that the supreme ruler of the world, to whom all life belongs, will judicially and rigorously exact a penalty whenever human life is wantonly or maliciously taken away, whether by man or beast. But if this be the right interpretation, the verse following can be fairly understood only as setting forth in what this penalty shall consist; blood is to be exacted for blood, life for life; not by an immediate stroke, as it were, from the hand of the Almighty, but "by *man* shall his blood be shed."

It is, however, somewhat remarkable that those who contend so strenuously that the words before us are merely a divine foreshewing of future events, should be doing their utmost by seeking the abolition of death-penalties to falsify the prediction; and still more remarkable that, supposing their efforts at length crowned with success, it should have escaped Omniscience that a time would come when, nations having grown too enlightened and humane to visit murder with death, the shedder of his brother's blood would no longer pay the penalty of his own!

But, perhaps, the strangest shift is, while conceding to our passage the force of a divine law, to represent it as only a part of the Mosaic dispensation which has now vanished away.

Nothing can be more glaringly at variance with the facts of the case. Many ages before the Hebrews had a national existence, before Moses or even Abraham was born, immediately after the deluge, these words were addressed by God to Noah, as the second great father and representative of mankind. If then it is a law at all it is a law for the whole race. Manifest, however, and incontestible as this must be to every reader of the Bible, it will be worth our while to consider the circumstances of the case somewhat more particularly.

The general course of the divine government of the world during the ages which preceded the flood may, perhaps, be regarded as constituting a grand experiment, so to speak, on the part of God, with the view of shewing how far the security and progress of mankind might need or be able to dispense with the existence of *civil* government. This matter is now to us too evident to need any proof; but was it necessarily so at first? Man had, indeed, fallen from a state of perfect purity and innocence; but how far his conduct would be practically affected by it remained yet to be seen. He was still the subject of intelligence and moral principle. Why should such a being be subjected to governmental restrictions? Under the dictates of reason and conscience he might be expected generally to do the right and wise thing. Differences of opinion might certainly arise in cases of difficulty to require the arbitration of a third party; but surely government, as involving the application of irresistible force in order to compel the practical observance of rules essential to the wellbeing, and even to the existence of society, might be dispensed with.

However, the course of things, as it appears in the antediluvian period, gave a practical solution to this problem. In the scanty records of those remote ages, which have come down to us, no traces appear either of kings or parliaments, of legal enactments or of penalties enforced. Mankind stood immediately under the providential rule of God alone; that is to say, men were left to the common dictates of reason and the natural workings of things. Flagrant violations of right might, as in the fratricide of Cain, occasionally draw down the divine interposition; though even in this particular instance the very terror of the murderer, for the relief of which a special provision was made, discloses incidentally the absence of all civil restraints. The same thing is implied in the mysterious confession of Lamech (Gen. iv. 23, 24). We know how the problem was at length solved. The whole earth, as far as the human race had diffused itself, became the scene of violence and anarchy; oppression, murder, rapine, were rampant; all the selfish and malig-

nant passions of the depraved heart burst forth and filled the world with crime and misery, until God at length arose in his might and, with the exception of eight persons with whom righteousness found its last earthly asylum, swept the whole race away by one huge wholesale capital punishment through the intervention of the flood. Then when the mighty waters, having fulfilled their judicial purpose, had been rolled back by the same hand as at first poured them upon the earth, and the family of Noah alone surviving, descended from the ark upon an expurgated world, to enter upon a new career of human progress, the supreme ruler again came forth with a simple but majestic code of fundamental laws for the authoritative guidance of all future generations. Included in this code we find the command, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." Can it be any longer pretended, in the face of these facts, that this is a mere Jewish enactment which has long survived its own authority and force?

But in addition to these considerations the reason assigned in the text itself, as the ground of the command to slay the murderer, yields a striking support to our general position, "For in the image of God made he man." Murder is a daring outrage upon the majesty of God, as imaged in every human being; an outrage by which its perpetrator in effect tears off the image of God from himself and descends to the level of a ravenous beast. Human life, as being imprinted with the divine image, bears the sign manual of heaven, the signature of its author, to denote its sacredness. It is placed thereby under the sovereign control of God, and is not to be touched without his sanction. The man-slayer recklessly breaks the divine seal, lifts his presumptuous hand and blasphemously seizes the prerogative of the Most High; and in return, God, through the medium of the civil magistrate, smites him to the dust.

We are taught by Genesis (i. 26) that man was to *exhibit* the image of God in the actual exercise of his delegated dominion over the lower creation. The likeness itself directly consisted in the analogy of his intelligent and moral constitution of nature with the mind and perfections of God, so far, of course, as such an analogy is possible between the finite and the infinite. But in the actual exercise of the regal dominion assigned to him, this likeness was to be brought out into view; the wisdom, equity, and benevolence of his rule, were to be the types of corresponding perfections in his creator. He was made, in a certain sense, a god in the earth, a miniature portrait, so to speak, of the God in heaven. His life, therefore, as such was kingly. His living was a ruling, and his ruling was by the law of his

creation a manifested likeness to the great ruler above. He held his place under immediate tenure from the court of heaven; and in presenting the divine image his life really had the "divinity which doth hedge a king."

The lapse of our first parents into sin did not affect their formal relations to God. The divine image was tarnished and disfigured, but not destroyed. Man did not lose his position of dominion, though he forfeited his right to it; he was still a king though with contracted sway and diminished power; and he still ruled, though imperfectly, as exhibiting only an obscured and broken reflection of the supreme. Though mutilated and defaced, at least, what theologians have termed, the natural image of God remained in man still; else for what purpose is this clause added as the reason and ground of the preceding command? See also James iii. 9.

It follows, therefore, that whosoever, without the divine sanction, sheds man's blood, in the very act dethrones one of God's subject and tributary kings, and at the same time violates the very tenure by which he holds his own crown. The violence of his deed proclaims his contempt for the exclusive supremacy of God over the life of man, that is to say, for the only real ground and security of his own life. He has trampled under foot the glory of God as dimly reflected from the divine likeness in his victim; and the foulness of the crime blots out that image from himself and marks him for the axe of the executioner. His atrocious deed measures his estimate of the value of human life; and that estimate is accepted in reference to his own. He has ruthlessly stamped upon and trodden down the law of his being, and that law takes a sublime revenge, by removing from the earth the wretch who proclaims himself unworthy of it, and branding a monstrous crime by a monstrous doom.

The reason assigned in the text, as thus interpreted, applies, it will be seen, to man as man; in other words, to that essential feature which, by the ordinance of our Creator, naturally belongs to all men alike, and cannot be affected by any accidents of comparative wealth or station in society. It is thus a fitting and adequate legitimation of, what was intended by God to be, a universal law for all ages.

It would not be difficult to shew that our interpretation of this passage is fully borne out by the general tenor of the Old and New Testaments. The position, that capital punishment is incompatible with the spirit of Christianity, cannot be sustained except by a mode of reasoning, which would equally prove that penalties of every kind should be discontinued among Christians. Nor are we responsible for the manner in which civil rulers have

too often violated this divine command, by making death the punishment of other and minor offences, and, on a far larger scale, by wanton and aggressive wars. We are not called to undertake their defence; and still less to vindicate the expediency of *public* executions. But, if all Scripture has really been given by inspiration of God and reveals his sovereign will, then it is impossible, we submit, without directly opposing that will, to exempt the murderer from the penalty of death.

Plymouth.

J. M. C.

St. Paul at Athens.—There are at this present moment more than six hundred millions of the human race in the appalling situation of the men whom the apostle describes as “without Christ in the world:” and the question is, with what feelings and what purposes a Christian would survey this vast and wretched portion of the family of man. Behold St. Paul at Athens. Think of the matchless splendour which blazed upon his view, as he rolled his eye round the enchanting panorama that encircled the hill of Mars. On the one hand, as he stood upon the summit of the rock beneath the canopy of heaven, was spread a glorious prospect of mountains, islands, seas, and skies; on the other, quite within his view, was the plain of Marathon, where the wrecks of former generations, and the tombs of departed heroes, mingled together in silent desolation. Behind him towered the lofty Acropolis, crowned with the pride of Grecian architecture. There, in the zenith of their splendour and the perfection of their beauty, stood those peerless temples, the very fragments of which are viewed by modern travellers with an idolatry almost equal to that which reared them. Stretched along the plain below him, and reclining her head on the slope of the neighbouring hills, was Athens, mother of the arts and sciences, with her noble offspring sporting by her side. The Porch, the Lyceum, and the Grove, with the stations of departed sages, and the forms of their living disciples, were all presented to the apostle’s eye.

What mind, possessing the slightest pretensions to classic taste, can think of his situation amid such sublime and captivating scenery, without a momentary rapture. Yet *there*, even *there*, did this accomplished scholar stand as insensible to all this grandeur, as if nothing was before him but the treeless, turfless desert. Absorbed in the holy attractions of his own mind, *he* saw no charms, felt no fascinations; but, on the contrary, was pierced with the most poignant distress; and what was the cause? “He saw the city *wholly* given to idolatry.” To *him* it presented nothing but a magnificent mausoleum, decorated, it is true, with the richest productions of the sculptor and the architect, but still where the souls of men lay dead in trespasses and sins; while the dim light of philosophy that still glimmered in the schools, appeared but as the lamp of the sepulchre, shedding its pale and sickly ray around these gorgeous chambers of death.

What must have been his indignant grief at the dishonour done by idolatry to God; what his amazement at the weakness and folly of the human mind; what his abhorrence of human impiety; and what his compassion for human wretchedness, when such stately monuments of Pagan pomp and superstition had not the smallest possible effect in turning away his view from the guilt that raised them, or the misery which succeeded them.

Ah! how many Christian travellers and divines, whilst occupying the same spots, though they saw not a thousandth part of what the apostle saw, have had their whole minds so engrossed by scenes of earthly magnificence, as not to feel one sentiment of pity for the Pagans who formerly dwelt there.—*Rev. J. A. James.*

THE JEWS AND THE TALMUD AFTER THE TIME OF CHRIST.

BY DR. MICHELSEN.

It may easily be imagined that the few civil laws of Moses, as found scattered in a few chapters of the Pentateuch, and which were deemed sufficient for the social requirements of a tribe wandering in the desert, could form but a very inadequate provision for the growing, civil, political, and even religious requirements of a *nation* firmly established in a country of their own, ruled by monarchs, priests, or prophets of their own, and carrying on trade or social intercourse with other nations around them. There can be no doubt that various legislative decrees and *judicial decisions* were from time to time *duly enacted*, according to the requirements or the spirit of the age, and as these were in most cases but slightly and remotely founded on the original constitution (the Pentateuch), they received the name of "traditional law" in *contradistinction* to the "written law," as given by Moses. The former were called **תורה שבעל פה** (verbal or oral law), and the latter **תורה שבכתב** (written law). Such legislative enactments were usually (according to ancient custom) deposited in the archives of the temple in the custody of the high priest, but they were subsequently destroyed by the burning of the temple and the Babylonian captivity. On returning from exile, after a lapse of seventy years, the new generation brought with them notions which were at variance with the old Mosaicism: indeed it may be said that they scarcely knew anything of the Pentateuch which Ezra was obliged to explain to them; although its existence was well known to them (Ezra viii. 1).

The shortcomings of the written law and the loss of the traditional, added to the heathen notions imported from Chaldaea, soon gave rise to various sects and parties, *which* lived in continual hostility with each other, each aiming at popular influence uncontrolled by the absolute power of independent kings who no longer existed in Judaea, inasmuch as that country thenceforth formed a mere dependency of foreign potentates.

The different views on the subject of religion were made use of (as in later times during the Reformation in Germany) by the heads of the respective sects, for political purposes and popular ascendancy.

There were the *Sadducees* (the materialists of modern times) who rejected the traditional law and the doctrine of the immor-

talities of the soul, a sect which, though very unpopular, still counted in its ranks many of the statesmen and nobles.

The Pharisees (the Jesuits of our days) taught intolerance, were opposed to all progress and education, kept the people in dark ignorance, and invented or indulged in all sorts of traditional absurdities (the Talmud glossaries of later ages), and even wickedness. These found much favour amongst the admiring multitude, and by the hypocritical semblance of extreme piety and a strict observance of "*opus operatum*," they were enabled to assume an infallible authority and were supposed to possess Divine power. They created a species of mystic doctrines composed of Eastern gnosia intermixed with pythagorean ideas, by which the tenets of holy Scripture were interpreted, or rather transformed into cabalistic and mystical dogmas, intelligible only to the initiated and wondered at by the ignorant laity. It was not long before numbers of these cabalistic schools were established throughout the country, in which all the purer tenets of religion and the fundamental laws of Moses were superseded by wicked and absurd notions of Deity and the Divine laws. The Pharisees thus became the ruling and dominant party in the state, teaching in all the schools the leading principle of supreme rabbinical authority, which consisted in the formula, "the fear of the rabbis is equal to that of God." They also taught that the "*dicta*" of the rabbis were superior to the written laws of Moses, theirs being the traditional laws which, from their multiplicity, Moses found it *impossible* to set down in writing, and merely entrusted by mouth to his brother Aaron and the elders, by which means they were handed down uninterruptedly from generation to generation.

Some of the rabbis went even farther in their bold assertions and ascribed the oral law to a much earlier period than Moses, viz., to the patriarch Abraham, who, they averred, actually observed and acted up to it. No one dared to question such impudent assertions on pain of excommunication, since "doubting the word of a rabbi is doubting that of God." "A pious rabbi," it was further taught, "is able to redeem the whole generation from sin, either by his prayers or his death." In this manner was the power of absolution transferred from the high priests to the rabbis, who thus exercised unlimited power over the minds of the people. After the destruction of the Jewish state by Titus, the emigrated rabbis established a sort of Sanhedrim at Tiberias, and this thenceforth formed the Supreme Court or Synod in all matters connected with religion for the whole body of the Jews settled in the Roman empire.

In the second century A.D., Rabbi Jehudah, called the Saint, (הקדוש) undertook to make a collection of the whole of the traditional law, i.e., of the dicta, doctrines and opinions of the various rabbis, to serve as a permanent code of law for all the Jews dispersed throughout the world. This collection, called "Mishnah," (משנה) i.e., second law, was universally adopted by the Jews and was everywhere sanctioned as the Divine oral law. The numerous supplementary interpretations and controversial commentaries on that text-book, which were continually suggested by the various rabbis, were finally, at the close of the third century, collected by Rabbi Jochannan, the head master of the school or college of Palestine, and the collection received the name of Gemarah, (גמרה) i.e., complement. The Jews, scattered in the Persian empire, evinced a similar zeal for the study of the law, which gave rise to the establishment, in the middle of the fourth century, of the colleges of Sora and Nahardea on the Euphrates.

The different and even conflicting opinions in the interpretation of the oral law, as manifested in the above-mentioned collections, induced, at the commencement of the fifth century, the Rabbi Ahsia, head master of the Sora College, in conjunction with the Rabbi Abina (his pupil), to undertake a new collection of the oral law, as adopted by these Persian schools or colleges, thus forming a new "Gemarah," which was finally completed in the sixth century by Rabbi Jose, head of the College at Pumbeditha.

The Mishnah and Gemarah form together the Talmud (i. e., the doctrine or teaching), which received its name from the countries where it was composed and collected, one being called the Babylonian (תלמוד בבלי), whilst that collected by Rabbi Jehuda passes by the name of the Jerusalem Talmud (תלמוד ירושלמי). The text of either Talmud, the Mishnah, forms a collection of statutes and regulations on all sorts of religious ceremonies, domestic and social duties, as well as laws upon economical, agricultural, and commercial relations, whilst the Gemarah is replete with various interpretations, explanations, and controversies on a variety of subjects, of which not the least trace is to be found in the written law of Moses, but which encompasses the life of the orthodox Jew with an iron barrier that separates him from nearly all social transactions and intercourse with his Christian neighbours. The chasm thus formed was widened by the persecutions which the Jews received at the hands of the Christians, who regarded the latest descendants of

the contemporaries of Christ as his murderers, looking at them accordingly with contempt and hatred, and treating them as Pariahs, or even outlaws. It is self-evident that such persecutions could only tend to generate mutual hatred and contempt, their effect being to produce a more strict adherence, on the part of the Jews, to their religious tenets, in opposition to those professed by their enemies, who barely granted them a scanty existence in social and political life. In recent times, however, the position of the Jew has become less irksome, and a desire seems now universally evinced to treat the Jew on equal terms with all the other citizens of the State, and experience has shewn that in all those countries where such ameliorations have actually been introduced, the Jews have, to a great extent, freed themselves from those rabbinical trammels and prejudices, by adherence to which they may be said to form a state within a state.

The Talmud is divided into six sections (סדרים), each of which contains several Tractates (מסכתות),^a subdivided into chapters (פרקים).

The subjects treated of in these six sections are as follows:—

Section I. Of sowing, tilling, and cultivating the fields; of their produce and fruits; of the form of benediction, and offerings of the produce. This section contains eleven Tractates, the first of which treats (in 9 chapters) of the benedictions; how, when, and where they are to be performed as thanksgivings to God for the fruit of the earth, and other benefits received at his hands.

The second Tractate (in 8 chapters) relates to the size and measure of the angles or corners of fields, the fruit or corn of which was to be assigned gratis to the poor.

The third Tractate (in 7 chapters) treats of dubious subjects, *i. e.*, of raw materials, on which various opinions were held as to whether or not they were liable to the dues of tithe.

The fourth Tractate is in 9 chapters, and is devoted to a description of the various kinds of seeds which are not to be intermixed in sowing, as also of the various kinds of yarns or threads which are not to be intermingled in the making of dresses and garments.

The fifth Tractate (in 10 chapters) treats of the laws and regulations respecting the Sabbath year (the seventh year).

The sixth Tractate (in 11 chapters), of the holy offerings for the benefit of the priests.

The seventh Tractate (in 5 chapters), of the first tithing for the benefit of the Levites.

^a Not always reckoned in the same order.

The eighth Tractate (in 5 chapters) of the second tithing, which the Levites are to deliver to the priests, to be consumed at Jerusalem.

The ninth Tractate (in 4 chapters) of the offering-dough, a portion of which the housewives are to put aside for the officiating priest.

The tenth Tractate (in 3 chapters) of the mode of proceeding to be adopted with fruits of trees during the first three years of their growth:

The eleventh Tractate (in 4 chapters) of firstlings, with an enumeration of those things of which the firstlings are to be brought as an offering to the temple.

Section II. Of the holy days and their observances. This section contains twelve Tractates, viz. :—

1. Of the Sabbath-day (in 24 chapters).

2. Of the beginning of the Sabbath-day, and the religious performances of it; also of the distance that may be walked, and the things that may be carried on that day (divided into 10 chapters).

3. Of the Paschal feast, the unleavened bread, and the offering lamb (divided into 10 chapters).

4. Of the shekels: the annual tribute in lieu of the animal sacrifices. This is divided into 8 chapters, and is the only Tractate of this section without a Gemarah.

5. Of the fast-day of atonement, and the observances on that day (in 8 chapters).

6. Of the feast of tabernacles (in 5 chapters).

7. Of an egg laid on the Sabbath-day, and in general of all that may be eaten on that day (in 5 chapters).

8. Of the feast of New Year (in 4 chapters).

9. Of other festivals (in 4 chapters).

10. Of Esther or Purim feast (in 4 chapters).

11. Of the minor feasts falling between the first and last days of the Easter and Tabernacle feasts (in 3 chapters).

12. Of the duty of each Israelite to appear three times in the year at Jerusalem.

Section III. Of matrimony, marriage state, and divorce. This section is divided into the following seven Tractates :—

1. Of the degrees of affinity (in 16 chapters).

2. Of marriage contracts, marriage rights, and duties (in 13 chapters).

3. Of betrothals, and their validity (in 4 chapters).

4. Of divorce, and its ceremonies (in 9 chapters).

5. Of vows, and their validity (in 11 chapters).

6. Of the Nazarites (persons devoted to the Lord), and their vows (in 9 chapters).

7. Of adultery : its suspicions and proofs (in 9 chapters).

Section IV. Of damages and litigation. This section comprises the whole of the civil law of the Jews, and is divided into ten Tractates :—

1. Of the damages and injuries suffered by men or beasts (in 10 chapters).

2. Of things found and deposited, of interests, hire, and farming (in 10 chapters).

3. Of neighbourhood, inheritance, legacy, successions, buying and selling, also the forms of legal contracts (in 10 chapters).

4. Of the Sanhedrim (Senate), common law, evidence of witnesses, capital punishment, and of false prophets, etc. (in 11 chapters).

5. Of corporeal punishment (forty strokes), places of refuge for persons who had committed murder by accident, of false witnesses, etc. (in 8 chapters).

6. Of examination of witnesses, etc. (in 8 chapters).

7. Of wrong sentences delivered by the judges (in 8 chapters). This is without Gemarah.

8. Of idolatry and intercourse with Gentiles ; of the sorts of food that may be enjoyed with non-Jews ; of the prohibition of images, of wine, etc. (in 5 chapters).

9. Of the fathers (אבות) and their sayings (in 6 chapters). Without Gemarah.

10. Of statutes regulating civil cases, judgments, punishments, etc. (in 8 chapters).

Section V. Of things devoted to God, sacrifices, first-born, and their ransom. This section contains eleven Tractates :—

1. Of sacrifices, and the animals suited for the purpose (in 14 chapters).

2. Of the evening and morning sacrifices of food (in 13 chapters).

3. Of the first-born belonging to their priests, and of their ransoms, etc. (in 9 chapters).

4. Of clean and unclean animals (in 12 chapters).

5. Of the valuation of things devoted to God (in 9 chapters).

6. Of the changing of the sacrifices ; how far it may be effected (in 7 chapters).

7. Of sacrilege, and violation of the laws concerning sacrifices, etc. (in 6 chapters).

8. Of the expiation of sins (in 6 chapters).

9. Of the daily sacrifices (in 6 chapters).

10. Of the size of the second temple (in 5 chapters). Without Gemarah.

11. Of birds'-nests, and birds which the poor may bring as sacrifices (in 3 chapters). Without Gemarah.

Section VI. Of cleanliness, and the various kinds of uncleanness in man, beast, and food ; how cleanliness is to be effected and proceeded with ; of leprosy and bathing. This section contains twelve Tractates :—

1. Of vessels, garments, dwellings, and house utensils ; in what manner they become unclean, and how they are rendered clean again (in 30 chapters).

2. Of tents and houses ; their cleansing, etc. (in 18 chapters).

3. Of leprosy (in 14 chapters).

4. Of the red cow and her ashes, *i. e.*, of being rendered unclean by a human corpse, and by ashes of the red cow (in 12 chapters).

5. Of cleanliness and uncleanness generally (in 10 chapters).

6. Of the erection of baths for both sexes (in 10 chapters).

7. Of female purity (in 10 chapters).

8. Of rendering vegetables clean to be used as food, and of the dishes newly manufactured ; how to render them clean (in 6 chapters).

9. Of pollutions, etc. (in 5 chapters).

10. Of daily ablutions (in 4 chapters).

11. Of hand-washing (in 4 chapters).

12. Of the stalks of fruit (in 3 chapters).

The Talmud contains, besides, seven Apocryphal books, viz. :—

1. A commentary, in 41 chapters, on the sayings of the fathers.

2. A Tractate on writers or copyists, which teaches the mode of writing the law scrolls (in 21 chapters).

3. Of mourning (in 14 chapters).

4. Of brides : how to choose, to adorn, and to treat them (in 1 chapter).

5. Of worldly and social intercourse (in two Tractates of 11 and 6 chapters respectively).

6. Of times of peace (in 1 chapter).

7. Of light. (This writing is supposed to have been composed long before the Talmud, by Simon Ben Jochai. It is in the Aramean dialect, and treats of the Cabalah (mysticism).



THE VOCATION OF THE PREACHER.*

PREACHERS seem very slow to avail themselves of the advice which has lately been lavished upon them by the "secular" press. Religion and daily life are perpetually coming into contact, in spite of solemn warnings, and endeavours more or less honourable to keep them completely separate. Such journals as *The Times* and the *Saturday Review*, though they very frequently pass their judgments upon the Church, and sometimes even upon theological dogmas, do so always under protest, and as if graciously condescending to the weaknesses of common mortals. There are many people in a Christian country who, for some reason or other, spend a good deal of their time in reading the Bible and in the worship of God. Moreover, it has somehow come to pass that the Church, represented by certain lords spiritual, is an Estate of the Realm. It has its place in Parliament, vast possessions, and a *status* perhaps higher than any other, excepting that of the Sovereign. Indeed, not a few of the Queen's prerogatives belong to her as Head of the Church; while in fact the law refuses to separate the Church from the nation. And so the leading journals are compelled to humour those little weaknesses which are able to express themselves so strongly. The dis-establishment of religion would require a change, root and branch, of all English law and administration. Whether for good or for evil, it would unquestionably alter the royal prerogative, the constitution of Parliament, and the general feeling of Englishmen about religion. Englishmen might be better or worse for the change, but they would certainly be different. Religion, therefore, must needs be discussed in the leading journals; not indeed on the Divine side, as the mystic bond which unites the spirits of men with Him who made them in His own image, but on the commercial side, as a thing the nation pays for with hard cash. The priest and the policeman are equally needed, bought, paid for, tolerated, dismissed, at the nation's will; and for that reason

* *Sermons on Our Lord Jesus Christ, and on His Blessed Mother.* By his Eminence Cardinal Wiseman. Dublin: James Duffy. 1864.

Sermons on the Manifestation of the Son of God; with a Preface, addressed to Laymen, on the present position of the Clergy of the Church of England, and an Appendix, on the testimony of Scripture and the Church as to the possibility of pardon in the future State. By the Rev. J. Llewellyn Davies, M.A. London and Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. 1864.

The Divine Treatment of Sin. By James Baldwin Brown, B.A. London: Jackson, Walford, and Hodder. 1864.

Sermons preached in Manchester. By Alexander Maclaren. London and Cambridge: Macmillan. 1863.

they both alike are subjected to the criticism of that noble institution the British press.

But in the superabundance of its benevolence the British press has sometimes condescended to give such advice to the ministers of religion as might prevent their being ignominiously dismissed by the people who pay them their wages. "You are a poor stupid set," says the echo, if not the voice, of public opinion; "but really if you would not mind acknowledging it, and remaining true to what you must know is your character, we don't mind trying to put up with your silliness. The fact is, we don't care a straw about anything you say to us; but Sunday is an extremely slow day, and we shouldn't in the least know what to do with it unless we went to Church. But we never dream of going to Church to be made to think, to be teased and worried and argued with: much less do we go to Church to be told how to manage our daily business, and upon what principles to buy and sell and get gain. A silly sermon is of course entirely uninteresting, but it doesn't irritate us; we can sit quietly for twenty minutes till it's over, and be thankful that once a week at least we are relieved from the anxiety of consulting price lists and telegrams, and required only with moderate decorum to listen dreamily to subjects which may be either true or false without our losing a single penny."

"On the whole, therefore," say some of our leading journals, "it is decidedly *better* that sermons should be silly and stupid; people go to Church to rest, to be comforted, to be, as it were, gently patted on the back and sent home again in peace. If a man has spent thousands of pounds in advertising lies in every newspaper in the British empire, he must no doubt have suffered considerable anxiety; and how extremely cruel it would be in any minister of religion, when what the poor victim mainly requires is consolation and repose, to torture him by the ungenerous insinuation that advertising lies is only one of the many ways in which men break the Commandment, 'Thou shalt not steal.' And the fiery bigot who all through the week has been persuading himself that the perfection of religion consists in hating all those persons who differ from himself in their opinions about innumerable difficult and abstract propositions, does not go to God's house to be reminded that 'God is love, and whosoever loveth is born of God;' on the contrary, he expects to be reminded that 'the zeal of God's house is eating him up,' and that to hate the Prodigal Son is the quickest road to the affections of his Father. And the timid believer who is so entirely uncertain about the foundations of his own

faith that he dares not on any consideration ask what they are, expects to be told that all is safe and calm, and that every rash enquiry and unholy denial has been long since hushed to silence. Why don't the ministers of religion humour these little weaknesses, and let pious people have their own way? They are not paid for troubling Israel, why not let people be at peace?" That is the question which the secular journals have asked so often.

The four books whose titles are at the head of this article, are a clear proof that, whatever the secular press may think, the ministers of religion believe that they have something more to do in this world than to receive wages; that in fact their work would remain exactly what it is, though it would be harder for themselves to do it, if they received no wages at all. One is by a Cardinal; another by an Anglican Rector; another by a Congregationalist; another by a Baptist; and all these preachers are men of note, among the leaders of the several sections of the Church to which they belong. It would indeed be ridiculous to assert that these volumes contain fair samples of the preaching which may be heard every Sunday in church or chapel. They are very far indeed above the average. Nothing can exceed the imbecillity of the sentimental twaddle which is unfortunately to be heard in nearly every Roman Catholic pulpit in this country. Even in the English Church there are many country parishes in which the wearied listener can scarcely fail to be lulled to sleep by the dull monotony and empty verbiage of his appointed instructor. And there are conventicles where sermons are preached, of which it is the very highest merit that no human memory can retain them. And in all sections of the Church there are only too often extravagances of fanaticism, outrages upon taste and decorum and reverence, which are immeasurably more mischievous than the utmost barrenness of clerical imbecillity. But none of the sermons in the volumes before us are feeble or common-place. Widely as they differ from each other, and widely as their authors differ from each other, there is an unmistakeable earnestness and ability; a knowledge of much truth and anxiety to communicate it; a conviction that godliness is the foundation of human blessedness, and that there is a blessedness which we may build upon that foundation; a belief that God and man, separated as they seem to be by an infinite distance, are yet divinely united—there is this, and much more than this, in which they all agree. And it must not be forgotten that if sermons such as these are rare and exceptional, an average sermon is as near to the best as it is to the worst, and that there are as many sermons above the average as there are below it. Nothing is gained by pretending that

preachers are better and wiser than they really are, and less still, if possible, is gained by refusing to acknowledge the merits they really possess.

The sermons of Cardinal Wiseman are, unfortunately, not likely to be read by many Protestants: even the very title of them, *Sermons on our Lord Jesus Christ, and on His Blessed Mother*, would be sufficient to repel almost every Protestant reader. For this exaltation of the Virgin Mary is precisely the feature of Romanism for which an ordinary Protestant in our own day has least toleration. The political mischiefs of Popery, the foreign supremacy which it implies, and its everlasting meddling with the internal and private affairs of every nation in which it is dominant—these things which chiefly roused the indignation of our forefathers, and which they were determined at any cost to be rid of, have been for us so completely destroyed, that we have almost forgotten that they ever existed. Moreover, the cultus of St. Mary is one of those differences, one of those marked characteristics of Romanism, which not even the most superficial observer can fail to perceive. In the Oxford Declaration, and in the recent decision of the university in the case of Professor Jowett, there is precisely that assumption of infallibility, and that determination to put down opposition, not by force of reason, but by some form more or less refined of physical force, out of which every Romanist error could, and out of which, if left alone, the worst of Romanist errors unquestionably would, arise; and yet neither the Oxford Declaration nor the mean and shabby injustice of the University to the Regius professor of Greek, would have been possible without the energetic and enthusiastic co-operation of the evangelical party. But every evangelical clergyman, by virtue simply of having two eyes in his head, can see an image of the Virgin and Child if he goes into a Roman Catholic chapel; and as he looks upon what he cannot but regard as impiety and idolatry, it is not impossible that the same evil spirit may visit him which possessed the cruellest of the inquisitors, when they tortured and burned the bodies of men for the good of souls. Yet, surely, it is worth while to reflect that all power is of God; and that everything which lives, lives by virtue of what is good in it, not by virtue of what is evil. A naked unsophisticated lie is almost as rare as perfect truth; nay, it is probably more rare. Even superstition must have some foundation of reverence for that which ought to be above us. It is not the object of this paper, and it is wholly unnecessary, to repeat those arguments against the Romanist cultus of St. Mary, which have long ago satisfied every intelligent Protestant. But many arguments offered by Pro-

testants who are not intelligent, are very far indeed from being satisfactory, and are completely demolished in Cardinal Wiseman's sermons. Surely in this even the narrowest bigot should find cause for thankfulness and rejoicing. We ought to be devoutly thankful when we discover that even those of our fellow-Christians whom we believe to be in error, are not so much in error as we supposed they were. It may seem to us dangerous and profane, and even idolatrous, to reverence the Virgin as the Roman Catholic Church reverences her; but it should be some consolation for us to discover that the Roman Church does by no means reverence her as it reverences Almighty God. If we have sometimes thought that not only in pictures and images, but even in the thoughts and affections of Roman Catholic Christians, the Virgin is greater and more beautiful than the child, we ought to be thankful to be assured that her greatness, and beauty, and love, are regarded as the effect and continual revelation of the love and glory of Jesus Christ. If, out of reverence to the Bible, we often wonder how Christian people can believe what seems to us incredible, and fail to perceive what seems to us obvious, we ought to be glad to learn that their beliefs and disbeliefs are not the rejection of Holy Scripture, but only interpretations of it which differ from ours. If we sometimes think that they, too, confidently attribute infallibility to the traditions and councils of the Church, and to the successor of St. Peter, we should candidly acknowledge that they regard such infallibility as the illumination of that Spirit whom Jesus Christ promised should lead His Church into the whole truth. And if we reject as unauthoritative the explanations of Cardinal Wiseman, we should, at any rate, be candid enough to hold him no longer responsible for those errors which in plain language *he* repudiates.

The cultus of the saints, though it has unhappily degenerated into superstition, yet rests like so many other superstitions on genuine reverence and love. It is the Church's testimony to the fact that Christ has abolished death, and that in Him heaven and earth, the seen and the unseen, are united. It is the Church's testimony that the nearer God's children come to Him the more perfectly they love one another, and do God's commandments, hearkening unto the voice of His Word.

"Your mother, the Church, will tell you," says Cardinal Wiseman, "as you read the names in the *Catholic Calendar*, 'These are my children; this is the birthday to life, to true and eternal life, of a brother of yours, a child of mine, nursed in the same bosom that bore you, fed with the same milk which has given vigour to you, taught by the same mouth from which you

have learned; this was a child of mine, to whom his Lord and Father gave five talents, and sent away to a distant region from Himself, or rather He withdrew Himself from him, and those talents by his trading he has doubled in the sight of his Lord; he has been a merchant, and has laid up for himself treasures in heaven, where the moth consumes not, and the rust destroyeth not. It is a St. Francis, who gave up all for Christ, that he might the more completely win and embrace Christ; it is a St. Vincent of Paul, who, whatever were the riches which the great ones of the world poured into his open arms, lavished them again with no less open hands on the poor of Christ, and, for all that he cast away, laid up ten times the amount in heaven: this is the child far away from us, whose birthday we commemorate. And the other, this was Lawrence or Stephen, a child full of ardour, and zeal, and the love of God, who went forth to fight His battles; who fought, who conquered and triumphed, and he now reigns glorious in heaven, and his name is a very benediction in the mouths of all.' And you come and tell me that it is folly to think more of them, that they are dead, and for ever gone, whose bones are crumbled to dust, whose souls have forgotten men. And I ask, in return, Is it your opinion that heaven is a place in which, whatever is honourable to man, whatever is most precious to his soul, whatever is most beautiful in his nature, after the corruption of sin has defiled it, that love, in short, which is the very nature of God, is a thing not only unknown there, but banished thence, and never to be admitted? Tell me, then, that you consider heaven to be a place in which the soul is to employed for eternity, in looking or diving into the unfathomable abyss of love which God is, and seeing that that love is a love not merely sleeping and inactive, but exercising itself in ten thousand ways, with all the resources of infinite power, and yet believe that in that ocean you must not love what God loves.

"Tell me that you believe heaven to be a looking into the face of Christ, and there wondering for ever at the infinite love, and tenderness, and mercy, and compassion, and affection beaming from it, and those wounds received that men might be redeemed at such a price.—Tell me, that it consists in the happiness of loving your Saviour for what He has done for man, and endeavouring as much as possible to be like to Him, and that yet you must contrive not to love that which is the very spring of all which you admire in Him, and endeavour not to be like Him in that in which He is most amiable to us. For there He is interesting Himself for men, shewing His wounds, and pleading still by them with His heavenly Father, and we are to

understand that we must not join in such an office, and must not take delight therein?—Tell me how you understand heaven to be the association of holy souls, united by a bond of the strictest mutual love forming their very life, and yet when one who has been dear to you on earth comes into that same happy region in which you enjoy bliss, it is to be understood that you will receive him as a stranger, you will know nothing of him, and it will be a glory to you that your heart is unfettered by the ties of duty, gratitude, or love?—Tell me, have you accepted heaven from God on these conditions? Have you insisted that when your soul has been called forth from this earth, and you are to ascend to heaven, that instant—that moment, it is your intention—for if it is God's will it ought to be—to forget child and wife and parents, and to care no more for them? Oh, if the precept of renouncing father and mother and whatever we love on earth for Christ's sake, be not truly the price, of which we obtain a hundredfold enjoyment hereafter, hard, indeed, would be the condition, were it thus made the terms, not for obtaining more, but for losing even that for ever!"^b

There is a truth in this extract which neither Romanist nor Protestant can afford to lose, and which the narrower forms of Protestantism are in great danger of losing. If heaven be a state of inactivity and forgetfulness, it is unquestionably a misfortune for any earnest and loving man to go there. There is a great abundance of reasons why our reverence for those holy men and women who have passed out of this world, nay, why even our belief that they love and are eager to help those who are still struggling with the difficulties, and often losing their way in the mist and darkness of the world, should take a very different form of expression from that which we find in the Roman Church. But it would be far better even to ask the intercession of departed saints on our behalf, as we continually do ask the prayers of those holy men and women who are still living in our midst, than that we should believe that death has power to rob God's children of their love, and zeal, and work. In fact, we attach far too great importance to death, as the controversy now so earnest about the future state of the wicked only too clearly demonstrates; we are in danger of regarding it as a great gulf, which not only the love of man but the love of God Himself, is unable to cross. There are not a few divines who seem to believe that it changes not only the circumstances and accidents of human beings, but even the very essence of human nature; so that after death, suffering can bring no regret, punishment no

^b pp. 296-299.

improvement, the knowledge of what sin really is no repentance, the love of God no hope, the redemption of Christ no salvation.

There is a large part of Cardinal Wiseman's teaching which seems to us to rest upon a very slender foundation, either of Scripture or reason; indeed, it is to him no valid ground of objection to any doctrine whatever, that it is wholly irrational and unintelligible. But, even for the wildest doctrinal follies, he must have some foundation; and it may astonish many Protestants to learn, that a foundation which, in any case, is to him completely satisfactory, is the Bible. Not, indeed, the Bible interpreted according to the whims and fancies of ignorance or prejudice, for that would not be the Bible at all; but the Bible interpreted by the wise and learned, and by the tradition not of yesterday, not of new sects, come newly up, which our fathers knew not, not of some one nation or race, but by that which covers the whole earth, and reaches back to the beginnings of Christendom. And surely this is only a more emphatic and more consistent form of the same teaching which is common among ourselves, which is implied in the work of the ministry and the vocation of the preacher.*

* The extract that follows in the text must be taken, not as the authoritative teaching of the Roman Catholic Church, but only at the most as Cardinal Wiseman's opinion of what his Church does not forbid him to teach. But no Cardinal can overrule the decrees of the Council of Trent, which has long ago determined the use that the faithful may make of the Holy Scriptures: "Præterea ad coercenda petulantia ingenia decernit, ut nemo, suæ prudentiæ innixus, in rebus fidei et morum ad ædificationem doctrinæ Christianæ pertinentium, sacram Scripturam ad suos sensus contorquens, contra eum sensum, quem tenuit et tenet sancta mater ecclesia, cujus est judicare de vero sensu et interpretatione Scripturarum sanctarum, aut etiam contra unanimem consensum Patrum ipsam Scripturam sacram interpretari audeat, etiamsi hujusmodi interpretationes nullo unquam tempore in lucem edendæ forent. Qui contraverint per ordinarios declarantur, et pœnis a jure statutis puniantur"—(*Sessio iv. Decret. de editione et usu Sacrorum Librorum*). At the same time, it ought not to be denied that there is a certain flexibility about the *practice* of the Roman Catholic Church, especially in Protestant countries, which is a real benefit, however inconsistent it may seem with many of the Romanist pretensions. Infallibility and science, infallibility and intellectual liberty and culture are wholly incompatible; and the fate of the *Home and Foreign Review*, with Cardinal Wiseman's recent *Pastoral*, must surely have done something towards convincing English Catholics of that fact. But a Bible without note or comment, is, on the one hand, impossible, because every translation in itself implies a commentary; and, on the other hand, it is undesirable, because the most ignorant people require to be taught not to repeat, parrot-like, mere words of Scripture, but to get at the real meaning of those words. It is impossible for any Englishman to begin the study of the Holy Scriptures without a bias in one direction or another; and, besides that, the Bible, though above all other books "it is not for an age, but for all time," was actually produced at a remote period, and in places far distant from those we live in, and in the midst of social and political surroundings wholly unlike those with which we are familiar. The study of the Bible, therefore, must necessarily be far more fruitful under judicious guidance. If we teach men that it is one of their most solemn duties to read the Bible from one

"For all troubles of the mind and spirit," says Cardinal Wiseman, "there is refreshment in Jesus. Come unto Him, when now entered upon His heavenly mission, He teaches the multitudes, or opens to His apostles the mysteries of faith. And how are ye to come to Him? By deep and earnest study of His holy Word, wherein, as it were, His whole image is reflected, read in humility, docility, and disinterested readiness to obey His calls, rendered fruitful by fervent and persevering prayer; by listening to His Word, as expounded to you by His ministers, gladly receiving such lights as may serve to guide you towards the settling of your doubts, seriously weighing such evidence as may be laid before you in candour and charity, however opposed to your former opinions, thankfully accepting such explanations and representations as may correct the prepossessions instilled by ignorant or mistaken teachers. For thus we learn, that even in His lifetime they who wished to come unto Jesus with advantage were not content to stand aloof, following Him in the crowd, nor yet ventured to approach directly, and of themselves, before Him; but rather 'came unto Philip, who was of Bethsaida of Galilee, and desired him, saying: Sir, we would see Jesus' (John xii. 21). And thus, likewise, will the ministry of His servants, however unworthy, often procure a speedier and happier acquaintance with Him, and readier access to the peace and refreshment of His knowledge, than your own direct and unaided efforts."^d

Many of the sermons published in the volume before us were preached by Cardinal Wiseman in Rome, by command of the Pope Leo XII, on the Sundays from Advent to Easter. "The course of sermons annually prescribed went over a limited portion of the year, comprising always the same Sundays, the same feasts, and the same ecclesiastical seasons. As has been inti-

end to the other, we ought to provide them with such assistance as shall make the understanding of the Bible possible and easy.

The following is the English translation of one of the Rules of the Congregation of the Index, as published in 1564, in pursuance of the decision of the Council of Trent. It is still the fundamental law upon the subject, for anything we know to the contrary:

"Inasmuch as it is manifest from experience, that if the Holy Bible, translated into the vulgar tongue, be indiscriminately allowed to every one, the temerity of men will cause more evil than good to arise from it; it is, on this point, referred to the judgment of the bishops or inquisitors, who may, by the advice of the priest or confessor, permit the reading of the Bible translated into the vulgar tongue by Catholic authors, to those persons whose faith or piety they apprehend will be augmented, and not injured by it; and *this permission they must have in writing*. But, if any one shall have the presumption to read or possess it without such written permission, he shall not receive absolution until he have first delivered up such Bible to the ordinary. Booksellers, however, who shall sell, or otherwise dispose of Bibles in the vulgar tongue, to any person not having such permission, shall forfeit the value of the books, to be applied by the bishop to some pious use, and be subjected to such other penalties as the bishop shall judge proper, according to the quality of the offence. But regulars shall neither read nor purchase such Bibles without a special licence from their superiors."

^d pp. 128, 129.

mated above, it commenced with Advent and ended with Lent. Hence the same Gospels, those read during a few months only, had to suggest topics for the sermons. Hence the only great mysteries of our Lord, which the ecclesiastical calendar brought under the contemplation of the faithful, were those of the infancy and the passion.”*

And these are precisely the mysteries which require the firmest and most delicate handling: The denial of Christ’s humanity is, in fact, the denial of Christianity; while, on the other hand, it is possible so to present to men the earthly life of Jesus Christ, that they shall be constrained to know Him only in that way in which St. Paul affirms that we should no longer know Him—that is, “after the flesh.” It is possible to present the incarnation to the intellect and imagination of men in such a manner as virtually to deny that it was expedient for the disciples that Christ should go away. Not to mention, for the present, the exceedingly coarse form in which Cardinal Wiseman presents to us the doctrine of Christ’s propitiation, his whole account of the earthly life of Jesus is far too sensuous. It seems often to degrade, not God only, but even humanity. His account of Christ’s passion resembles more than anything else those ghastly images of the crucified Saviour which shock and disgust us in almost every Roman Catholic church. It is by no means certain that the physical sufferings of Christ were greater than those of many of His disciples, and the mental sufferings of our Lord seem to us, as we shall shew further on, entirely misunderstood and misrepresented by Cardinal Wiseman. Moreover, exactly in proportion as our attention is directed to the fact that Christ was a real man, precisely in the same proportion are we reminded that His body must have been subject to those laws to which all human bodies are subject. However severely wounded a human being may be, he cannot possibly lose more blood than his body contains; and the physical agonies, and especially the loss of blood, upon which Cardinal Wiseman dwells with repulsive minuteness in his description of the Saviour’s passion, would have been possible only if the body of Jesus Christ had been wholly different from the ordinary bodies of men. Not only is Cardinal Wiseman’s account repulsive and incredible, but it is widely different from the New Testament narrative. We read in a not undisputed passage in St. Luke,^f

* Preface, p. v.

^f Luke xxii. 44. Wanting in A, B; but the passage is found in the *Codex Sinaiticus*, and Lachmann retains it in the text (1843). “Nec sane ignorandum a nobis est et in Græcis et in Latinis codicibus complurimis vel de adveniente angelo vel de sudore sanguinis nil scriptum reperiri.” A bloody sweat is not physically impossible; though every red coloured fluid is not blood, even if it be

"His sweat was, *as it were*, great drops of blood falling to the ground." But, accepting this verse (which we have, at any rate, no doctrinal reason for hesitating to accept), how widely it differs from the following :—

"Look at the agony of your Saviour, and see how in it, His sweat is blood! Yea, and blood so profusely shed, without wound or stroke, as to flow upon the ground!

"There are plants in the luxurious East, my dearly beloved brethren, which men gash and cut, that from them may distil the precious balsams they contain; but that is ever the most sought and valued which, issuing forth of its own accord pure and unmixed, trickles down like tears upon the parent tree. And so it seems to me, we may, without disparagement, speak of the precious streams of our dear Redeemer's blood, when, forced from his side in abundant flow, it came mixed with another mysterious fluid; when shed by the cruel inflictions of His enemies, by their nails, their thorns and scourges, there is a painful association with the brutal instruments that drew it, as though, in some way, their defilement could attain it. But here we have the first yield of that saving and life-giving heart, gushing forth spontaneously, pure and untouched by the unclean hand of man, dropping as dew upon the ground. It is the first juice of the precious vine, before the wine-press hath bruised its grapes, richer and sweeter to the loving and sympathizing soul than what is afterwards pressed out. It is, every drop of it, ours; and, alas! how painfully so! For here no lash, no impious palm, no pricking thorn hath called it forth; but our sins, yes, our sins, the executioners, not of the flesh, but of the heart of Jesus, have driven it all out, thence to water that garden of sorrows! Oh, is it not dear to us; is it not gathered up by our affections with far more reverence and love than by virgins of old was the blood of martyrs, to be placed for ever in the very sanctuary, yea, within the very altar, of our hearts?"

This gorgeous rhetoric would, perhaps, not be altogether displeasing if it were employed upon a subject less wonderful and divine; but it presents to us the sufferings of Christ in such a way as to degrade Him, and, scarcely less, to degrade ourselves. The same objection may be urged against the Cardinal's *Pastorals on Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus Christ*, published in an Appendix to his volume of sermons; and against every one of those ceremonies in the Romish Church of which *Devotion to the Sacred Heart* is a type. But it is not simply profane, it is in every way ridiculous, to attribute the love of Jesus Christ to His heart rather than to any of the other vital organs of His body. It is all very well to speak of the love of Christ's heart in a metaphor, but everybody knows that the heart has no more

ὡσεὶ θρόμβοι αἱματος. Bengel says: "Vis particulæ, ὡσεὶ, cadit super θρόμβοι, non super αἱματος, ut patet ex epitheto ejusque plurali, καταβαλνυρες." But in the *Sinaitic Codex* the participle is in the genitive singular.

ε pp. 209—210.

to do with affection than the lungs have; that whenever our foot slips from metaphor, in matters of this sort, we fall down instantly into absurdity. A picture of Jesus Christ with the actual physical heart exposed to view, is simply disgusting; and, in our judgment, the word-pictures of Cardinal Wiseman are even more disgusting. Are we really to turn away from the loving Jesus himself to a clot of gore, and try to persuade ourselves that *that* does somehow partake of Christ's divineness, and would deserve, if we could discover it, to be treasured up by us, or worshipped as the holiest of relics? When we are asked in this coarse way to know Christ after the flesh, we must not be afraid of irreverence if we straightway reply that, as mere blood, the blood of Christ is no diviner than that we may find described in any book on human physiology; that which any chemist could analyse; that which ought, with utmost celerity, to be buried out of sight. Such teaching as Cardinal Wiseman's on matters of this sort, produces, in those who believe it, a very mischievous sentimentalism, and in some who disbelieve it, a very dangerous loathing and contempt for sacred things.

His description of Christ's scourging, and the actual crucifixion, is even more disgusting than that of the agony in the garden of Gethsemane :—

“ There seems to be no mercy, no pity, for Jesus, either on earth or in heaven. He is abandoned to the anger of God and the fury of man; the executioners surround Him with savage delight, and shower on Him their cruel blows till he is covered with blood, and gashed and swollen over all His sacred body !

“ See, now, how the brutal executioners proceed to the task of inflicting cruel torment upon your dear Redeemer. Having bound Him to the pillar, they deal their furious blows upon His sacred shoulders, back, chest, and arms. First, his tender flesh swells and inflames, then the skin is gradually torn, and the blood oozes through; gashes begin to be formed, and wider streams pour down in profusion. At length every part is covered by one continuous bruise; gash has run into gash; wide rents meet in every direction, and the flesh is torn in flakes from the bones. One wretch succeeds another in the cruel work till they are tired, and their patience, though not that of their victim, is exhausted. . . But another scene of extraordinary barbarity yet awaits us. The soldiers have exhausted the power which the law put into their hands; but their fierce desires are not exhausted. They know that Jesus is charged with declaring himself King of the Jews, and they proceed to make this just claim the ground of a strange mockery. They prepare for Him a new unheard-of diadem woven of hard sharp thorns, and place it upon His sacred head. Then they press it down on every side, till its points pierce the skin and penetrate His flesh. Now, behold your Saviour still further disfigured and dishonoured. Before, His

body had been torn, but even the scourge had respected His venerable head: but now this is assailed by this invention of ingenious cruelty, which, under the repeated strokes of the reed given Him for a sceptre, and taken from His hand, changes its position, and inflicts at every blow a new or a deeper wound; His hair is all entangled in the knotty wreath, and clotted with His sacred blood; His fair temples and noble forehead are strained and pressed down by it, while it shoots its points into them, and opens so many fountains of life, waters of salvation, springing warm from His affectionate heart. See how they trickle down, first slowly, then in faster and thicker streams, till His sacred face and neck are streaked with blood, which, running down over His body, mingles with that flowing from the gashes of the scourge. . .

"Consider, now, the cruel torments which our dear Jesus must have endured during His three hours' remaining on the cross. . . From head to foot He is one wound; His head, if it press against the cross, is gored by the points of the thorns, which are thus driven deep into it. Truly now are verified, in their truest and saddest sense, His plaintive words, 'The Son of Man hath not where to rest his head.' His shoulders and back, which are pressed necessarily against it, are flayed and torn with the inhuman stripes which have been inflicted upon Him. Against these open wounds does this cruel bed press, so that any change of posture, so far from relieving Him, only increases His sufferings, by grating upon and rending wider the blisters and gashes with which He is covered. But let us not lose sight of those four terrible, but most precious, wounds whereby He is fastened on the cross. Each of his hands, each of his feet, is transfixed by a long black nail driven into with violence, and every moment, by the natural gravitation of His body, tearing wider and wider the rent it has made. Oh! what a smarting, torturing pain—what an unceasing suffering during three hours of crucifixion! Who, dear Jesus, shall be able to recount all that Thou sufferedst for me in that short space!"^a

Such teaching as this is, however, the consistent and natural result of Cardinal Wiseman's doctrine of the atonement, so far, at least, as we are able to determine what that doctrine is from this volume of sermons:—

"Hitherto, my brethren," he says in his sermon on the 'Character and Sufferings of Christ in His Passion,' "we have viewed in the person of our suffering Saviour the 'High-Priest, holy, innocent, undefiled, separated from sinners, and made higher than the heavens' (Heb. vii. 26); we have now to consider Him in the very opposite character, as the victim charged with the iniquity of the whole people. We have heard His appeal that none could convict Him of sin; we have seen that appeal more than justified in His passion, by the conduct of His adversaries and the perfection of His own character; we have now to behold Him, in spite of this personal innocence, doomed to die by the decree of His own Eternal Father, as overcharged with a debt for sin. The sentence of men was, indeed, unjust, which condemned Him as a criminal; that of the Father

^a From the sermon, "Meditation on the Passion," pp. 205—232.

just, as all must be which He commands : and so strong is the contrast between these two simultaneous sentences upon earth and in heaven, that it appears as if even the small particles of equity which lingered here below after the first fall, were now withdrawn from earth in order that the whole powers of this attribute might be concentrated with greater force in the Almighty arm. It fell from heaven, undivided, upon the head of this devoted victim. . . . When, at length, the fulness of time had come, this voluntary victim, who was to expiate the sins of all, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, stands ready to receive the fatal doom. Two things were necessary to accomplish His great purpose : that He should take upon Him the offences which He has to atone, and that He should present an equivalent for the debt due to Divine justice for them.

“ In the Garden of Olives the first condition begins to be fulfilled. As the fatal moment prescribed for the commencement of His sufferings arrives, His character and feelings undergo the dreadful change. He is no longer regarded by His Father as that beloved Son in whom He expressed Himself well pleased, from the cloud of Mount Tabor ; or whom He had a few days before glorified by a voice from heaven. Instead of this, He sees before Him a culprit, upon whose head lie all the iniquities of men ; all the foul idolatries, and the horrible abominations of the pagan world ; all the rebellions and treasons of His favourite people ; and what is still more grievous, the black ingratitude of those who should taste the fruits of His redemption. Each of the ingredients, every particle of this mass of turpitude, excites His abhorrence in an inconceivable degree ; they are now, for the first time, accumulated upon one subject, and bury from His sight, the high dignity of Him whom they oppress. Hence all those feelings which they must excite in Him are no less concentrated against this representative of crime, the indignation which sent a flaming sword to chase our first parents from Paradise, the wrath which drowned in one deluge the entire race of man, the detestation which rained fire and sulphur upon seven cities, these have all at length found one common channel into which they can pour their burning stream, and so satisfy a craving justice, till now only partially allayed.

“ Oh ! what a corresponding change does this cause in the soul of our dear Redeemer. . . . He sees His pure soul, incapable in itself of the slightest defilement, now hideously disfigured by millions of abominable crimes, more odious to Him than death. Abashed and degraded, He sinks upon the earth. His mental sorrow is necessarily connected with another dreadful suffering, the simultaneous anticipation of every torment inflicted upon Him through His passion. For, as He has to bear the iniquities of the entire race, so must He bear those of His persecutors ; and in reviewing them all, He necessarily suffers the pangs, by inflicting which they are to be committed. He feels Himself charged with the treason of Judas, and with the apostasy of Peter. Every blasphemous word to be uttered against Himself is a stain which now defiles His soul. Thus does He rehearse in His mind every part of the bloody tragedy which has immediately to commence, bearing at once its sufferings and its guilt. Each blow upon His sacred head, not only drives deeper the wreath of thorns which encircles it, but inflicts a far more racking wound in the

guilt of sacrilegious profanation, which it lays upon Him. Every stroke of the guilty hammer, which forces the nail into His tender palm, not only rends its quivering fibres, and convulses His sensitive frame, but transfixes His soul with a keener anguish, by the impiety against God's anointed which it adds to His burthen of sin. He considers Himself a fallen and a rejected creature; and this deep sense of degradation generates an anxious timidity hitherto unknown in His conduct. Oh, how is He changed from what we have always hitherto beheld Him! He has left all His disciples, except three, whom He selects to be the companions of His agony. 'Stay you here and watch with me.' He dreads the eyes of even these three favourite disciples, whom He has selected to be His companions, and He retires from them in order to pray alone. Three times He returns to receive some consolation from them, and to derive some support from their uniting with Him in prayer. Alas! He used to be their consolation and support, He used to exclaim to them, 'Ye of little faith, why do ye fear?' Yet now He must recur to *them* for like encouragement, and even in this is doomed to disappointment. How different His prayer from that poured forth in the days of His joy! 'O my Father, if it is possible, let this chalice pass from me, nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wiltest.' What, then! Is Thy will no longer to do that of Him who sent Thee, that Thou shouldst distinguish between them? Where is now that confidence with which Thou wert wont to exclaim, 'Father, I know that thou hearest me always?' (John xi. 42). Why this conditional, this diffident, this so frequently repeated prayer?

"Because He feels Himself changed into another man; He calls out as an unworthy sinner, and as such He is unheard. Even an angel from heaven is necessary to support Him in His excess of agony. Oh, what a change again is here! The heavenly spirits did indeed announce His conception, and sing hymns of joy and glory at His birth; they came and ministered to Him after His rigorous fast. But that they should have to descend upon such an errand as this, to console their Master, and support Him in His sufferings, this surely is a service never anticipated by these faithful ministers of His will. O Lord, what wonder, that with this complicated agony, Thy limbs should fail, Thy pores should break open, and Thy agitated bursting heart should impel its streams with unnatural violence through Thy trembling limbs and body, till its precious drops gush through the skin, and bathe Thee prostrate on the ground, in a sweat of blood! 'Surely He hath borne our infirmities, and carried our sorrows, . . . and the Lord hath laid on Him the iniquity of us all.' (Isaiah liii. 4, 6)."

This is precisely the heathen doctrine of sacrifice. It represents God as requiring to be propitiated; exacting from man, or from his representative and surety, the uttermost farthing. It is indeed impossible for any Christian completely to forget that God is love; and therefore, with the additional aid of the doctrine of the Trinity, even the grossest and most heathen form of the doctrine of propitiation may be made to appear Christian. If the Father exacts the penalty, the Son

pays it, and the Father and the Son are one; and thus the righteousness of the Father is reflected upon the Son, and the love of the Son upon the Father. But this can only be accomplished at the cost of a triple heresy; the doctrine of sacrifice that requires this kind of explanation and support, is itself heathenish, however carefully its heathenism may be disguised. The separation of the Father from the Son, which is required by the one exacting, and the other paying, the penalty of man's sin, is really a "dividing of the substance" of God; while on the other hand, the attempt to demonstrate that both the exaction and the payment of the penalty are by one and the same Divine Being, does truly "confound the persons." The great creed of Christendom is the Nicene Creed, a creed included in the liturgies of all Christian churches that have liturgies. This is the creed recognized by the Council of Trent, as the one sure foundation against which the gates of hell should never prevail.¹ If, indeed, the creed is little more than an expansion of the Baptismal formula, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," it does most unmistakeably declare that the Son is "of" the Father, and not the Father "of" the Son. The glory of Christ's sacrifice consists in this, that it is the life of a perfect Son of God; always with perfect knowledge, and love, and trust, doing the Father's will. According to the Scriptures, at least according to the teaching of St. Paul and St. John, Jesus Christ is the Very Man, the Head of every man, of whom all men participate, in whom they were chosen before the foundation of the world, and created to all good works. He is moreover represented to us, not only as a living soul, but as a life-giving Spirit. Hence, as comprehending all humanity in Himself, He is represented as offering to God that perfect oblation which alone could satisfy Him, the oblation of the whole human race, perfectly good, and obedient, and loving. Even that oblation would be scarcely sufficient, would be scarcely better than fictitious, if He who offered it had no power to impart life, and to make men *actually become* what they ought to be. His life on earth is in fact represented as the first-fruits of the harvest of humanity; "Christ the first-fruits, and then those of Christ, at His appearing," the members of His body, the separate individuals of the race which is what it is by reason of its relation to Him. Hence the sacrifice of Christ is the very model and pattern of all human nobleness; it blesses us by being repeated in us; by our "knowing the *fellowship* of Christ's sufferings, and being made conformable to His death."

¹ *Sessio Tertia, Decretum de Symbolo fidei.*

This is beautifully expressed by Mr. Davies in his sermon entitled, "The Shadow of the Passion on the Life of Jesus."

"The glory of patience, and self-oblation, which Jesus claimed Divine, was not to be appropriated by Him exclusively. He would first, but His sheep who knew Him and heard His voice were to follow Him. It was, therefore, a matter of earnest and affectionate concern to the heart of Jesus that His disciples should see Him, without dismay, walking upon this road, and should prepare joyfully to follow Him. The passage I have read for our text reminds us that, immediately after the declaration of the sufferings which He was about to meet in fulfilment of His Divine mission, Jesus delivered the solemn warning, 'If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me.' There was a special truth in these words for the disciples to whom they were spoken, and to them they were primarily addressed. No one could become a faithful follower of Jesus without being prepared to renounce everything, without carrying his life itself in his hand. And the first desire of Jesus in speaking those words was, undoubtedly, to make Peter and the rest of his companions understand clearly the absolute degree of the self-sacrifice which they must make in spirit, if they would be thoroughly associated with the Leader in whom they believed. He was going before them bearing His cross, submitting beforehand to the ignominy and pain which were to be openly realized; He was thus submitting, not in spite of His Divine nature, but *because* He was the perfect Son of the righteous and loving Father. If His disciples would cherish the high ambition of being His friends and followers, if they would look forward to the joy and the crown by which true sacrifice was to be rewarded, they also must tread in the steps of the Master they must be content to serve and submit, they must gird themselves to the unreserved offering of *themselves* to God."—pp. 250, 251.

Very different indeed is the doctrine of the Sacrifice and Atonement of Christ preached by Cardinal Wiseman. It removes the sacrifice of the Son of God to an infinite remoteness from the duties and blessedness of those whom He came to *save*. It is a cup of which they *cannot* drink, a baptism with which they *cannot* be baptized. Nay, it was offered for this very purpose, that they might not be required themselves to offer it. It is the payment of a debt: the endurance of suffering equivalent to that which otherwise the wicked must have themselves endured. If the suffering had failed to be equivalent, some portion of our sins must have been unforgiven: some part of their penalty must, by ourselves, have been endured. With such a theory, every buffet, every lash, every thrill of agony, every nail, every thorn, every drop of blood becomes of vital importance. We cannot estimate the quality of Christ's sufferings; it seems far more possible to determine and to rejoice in their quantity.

It is extremely easy to excite the feelings of an audience by boured and minute descriptions of the physical pain which *caus* endured ; but precisely the same feelings are excited by a similar description of any acute pain. It is by no means necessary for this purpose that the pain should be endured by the innocent. The agonies of the impenitent thief must have been too horrible for minute verbal description to be tolerable. Even by the mere rules of the art of poetry or rhetoric such errors are excluded.

“ Ne pueros coram populo Medea trucidet,
Aut humana palam coquat exta nefarius Atreus,
Aut in avem Procune vertatur, Cadmus in anguem.
Quodcunque ostendis mihi sic incredulus odi.”^j

The picture language of Cardinal Wiseman is evidently intended to supply the place or deepen the effect of paintings and images and scenic representations. All these appeals to the mere bodily senses prevent, so far as they are successful, our perception of the moral and spiritual significance of the sufferings of our Lord. And what is there in this side of Christ's sacrifice, taken alone, either of life or light? It is to us neither example nor power. We are not required to submit to the scourge and be nailed to the cross. It is not the physical torment of Jesus which illumines and quickens us, but His filial spirit and the perfection of His brotherly love.

And what vestige of authority is there in Scripture or reason for asserting that in any sense whatever, and for a single moment of time, the Father was angry with the Son? In the unfathomable mystery of the incarnation, the Eternal Word condescended to be made in all things like unto His brethren : like them in all things which do not contradict and destroy the Divine family. “ Being found in fashion as a man,” He does not shrink from the lowest depths of human grief. He shares the experience and conquers the temptations of those “ who walk in darkness and have no light.” He knows that utter loneliness of soul which even the holiest saints have often felt, and which they regarded as the inexplicable hiding of God's face. “ Take Thy plague away from me, I am even consumed by means of Thy heavy hand.” “ My way is hid from the Lord, my judgment is passed over from my God.” “ My God, my God, look upon me ; why hast Thou forsaken me, and art so far from my health, and from the words of my complaint.” Therefore must Jesus Christ also be exceeding sorrowful, even unto death ; praying with strong crying and tears, “ Father, if it be possible,

^j Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 185—188.

let this cup pass from Me," exclaiming in his agony, "My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?" But we may surely affirm, that if there was a moment when the Father loved the Son better than at any other time, it was when He was dying on the cross. "Therefore," said Christ, "doth my Father love Me, because I lay down My life." And notwithstanding His desolation of soul, He cried, "Father, into Thy hands I commend My spirit; and when He had said this He gave up the ghost." To men, indeed, He might seem even as a root out of a dry ground, without form or comeliness; and they might esteem Him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted. But all that Christ was suffering was but the doing of God's will; and if the Father were angry at that, then vice and virtue, piety and blasphemy, may as well change places for ever. Never for one single moment was Jesus Christ regarded by God as a sinner, or punished as a sinner, or suffering as a sinner, or anything in any sense whatever as a sinner. Between Christ and sin there was an infinite distance, and the one Being in the universe who was farthest removed of all from the possibility of forgetting that, was God the Father. If these imputations of what is personal and untransferable were possible, then every pain that Jesus Christ suffered might easily have been spared; and to inflict any pain upon Him would have been the cruel caprice of reckless tyranny. If a thing can be made what it is not by simply choosing to regard it as what it is not, the whole human race might have been redeemed by a Divine hypothesis.

But in truth, neither in Scripture nor in reason, is there any room whatever for such unrealities as these. If a man be a bad man, no mere hypothesis, either human or Divine, can possibly make him a good one. If a man be a good man he will not cease to be a good one, in any sense whatever, simply because he is treated as a bad one. And such coarse theories of the propitiation and atonement of Christ, as Cardinal Wiseman's, divert our minds from the real significance of Christ's sufferings, and prevent our perceiving what that really is which pleases and satisfies the Almighty. He is not satisfied by the sufferings of His prodigal children, but by their return home and the renewal of their obedience and love. "As I live," saith the Lord, "I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked;" and if the death of Christ had been but the death in another form of the wicked, we are led to believe that God would have had no pleasure in that. What Christ offered to the Father was not the death of the wicked, but the life of the righteous; and the pain, in which alone that oblation could be offered, was the agony of love and goodness in the midst of sin and hatred, and assuredly not the torture inflicted by an inexorable Deity. "Without the assump-

tion of an imputation of our guilt, and in perfect harmony with the unbroken consciousness of personal separation from our sins, the Son of God, bearing us and our sins on His heart before the Father, must needs respond to the Father's judgment on our sins with that confession of their evil and of the righteousness of the wrath of God against them, and holy sorrow because of them, which were due—due in the truth of things, due on our behalf though we could not render it, due from Him as in our nature and our true brother—what He must needs feel in Himself because of the holiness and love which were in Him—what He must needs utter to the Father in expiation of our sins when He would make intercession for us.”^{*}

It must not be supposed, however, that either Cardinal Wiseman, or those who accept the same theories of atonement and propitiation as his, are in the least degree willing to accept all the logical consequences which follow from those theories. We have not the smallest doubt that the passage quoted a few paragraphs back from Cardinal Wiseman's sermon, “on the character and sufferings of Christ in His passion,” is both heretical and blasphemous; but we are very far indeed from thinking that Cardinal Wiseman is a blasphemer. He does not really mean what he says, though he thinks that he does; he does not think, though he says so, that Jesus Christ was in any sense guilty of the denial of Peter, or the treachery of Judas, or the cruelty of those who nailed Him to the cross. He does not really believe that moral qualities are transferable; for, indeed, the greatest part of his practical teaching is founded upon the fact of personal responsibility, and that God will judge every man according to his works. He is quite as much in earnest when he speaks of the boundless grace of God, and the perfect and unalterable sympathy between the Father and the Son, as he is when he says that God “sees before Him in Jesus Christ a culprit upon whose head lie all the iniquities of men;” and that “each of the ingredients, every particle of this mass of turpitude, excites God's abhorrence in an inconceivable degree.” We cannot believe, at the same time, in God's perfect satisfaction with the Son and His abhorrence of Him, in the spotless holiness and immeasurable turpitude of Jesus; and, when these two contradictions are put together in the same sentence, or in the same paragraph, we may indeed read the words, but they convey to us *no meaning whatever*. That, in fact, is precisely what is meant when we are told that these contradictions are a mystery which the human intellect is not per-

^{*} Campbell, “On the nature of the Atonement.”—pp. 137, 138.

mitted to meddle with. That truth which is present most constantly to the mind of Cardinal Wiseman, as it is to the mind of every Christian teacher, is the love of God, His readiness to forgive sinners, His perpetual operation in nature and in the human spirit for the regeneration of the evil, His union with the Son, His infinite satisfaction with Jesus Christ, and His revelation in Him of His own righteousness and love. Everything that is opposed to this truth Cardinal Wiseman holds in abeyance, utters in language inconsistent and unintelligible, or even self-contradictory, and only sometimes half believes.

But while the critic is bound to separate the man from his doctrines, it is his plain duty, and in fact one of the most important parts of his work, to expose and, if possible, correct all errors of doctrine, whoever may hold them. To represent the Father as, in any sense, angry with the Son ; to represent Christ as in any sense whatever a sinner ; to teach that virtue and vice, sin and righteousness, are transferable qualities ; this seems to us unwarranted by Scripture, wholly irrational, and extremely dangerous. No religion ever has been built upon such doctrine ; and the only religion which could be built upon it would fill both heaven and earth with confusion and anarchy.

There is very much, therefore, in Cardinal Wiseman's sermons that we neither believe nor admire ; but, on the other hand their style, though far too gorgeous, is often exceedingly beautiful. He has lived far too long in England, and occupied far too conspicuous a position among us, to be unaffected by that spirit of Protestantism which is dominant in our country. Again and again he solemnly warns his hearers that they should distrust their own reason, and remember that the mysteries of God are far too vast for human comprehension. But notwithstanding these warnings, he himself condescends to explain, to argue, to offer proof, to answer objections. He must do his best even to commend infallibility to our reason ; and he has learned that human spirits must be won and persuaded, and that the submission which is not of the will is worthless. Moreover, it cannot be denied that there is *this* manliness in his sermons. He is perfectly well aware that, in the judgment of Protestants, many Catholic dogmas are so extremely ridiculous as not even to be worthy of refutation. The majority of English people are no more likely to trouble themselves with transubstantiation and the immaculate conception, than with witchcraft or alchemy, or the old systems of astronomy. Insane people occasionally wander about the country, even in our own days, who imagine that they are able to demonstrate that the earth is a flat surface and the centre of the whole universe ; but nobody notices them ;

their arguments remain unanswered, not because they are unanswerable, but because they are contemptible. Cardinal Wiseman knows perfectly well that the most prominent dogmas of his own Church are treated in exactly the same way. But he, in effect, says to his hearers, It is at once dishonest and useless to hold the doctrines of your Church in a cowardly half-hearted way; the glories of St. Mary, the Divine mystery of the holy Eucharist, the infallibility of the Church, are to be affirmed all the more emphatically where men disbelieve and deride them. Be true to your professions and beliefs; if you are true to them, if you live and work as good Catholics should, your own consciences will be more clear, your persecutors will be abashed and confounded; the true wisdom will be justified of her children, and men will begin to perceive that God has built His Church upon a rock, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail. This is very good advice for anybody; for real life is that sure test by which every form of falsehood must in the end be detected.

It is very instructive to compare the sermons of Cardinal Wiseman with sermons on the same or kindred subjects in the other volumes whose titles are at the head of this article, especially those of the Rev. Llewelyn Davies. It is very instructive, for instance, to compare Cardinal Wiseman's sermon on "The Incarnation and Birth of Jesus Christ," with Mr. Davies's on "The Power of the Divine Infancy;" the sermon on "Our Saviour in the Temple," with that entitled "Jesus in the midst of the doctors;" "The two great mysteries of love," with "Christ the bread of life;" the Cardinal's sermons (viii. and xi.), On the Passion, with Mr. Davies's (xvi.); the sermon on the Kingdom of Christ, with those of Mr. Davies's (ii., iii., iv.) on the same subject. Good as Cardinal Wiseman's sermons are, Mr. Davies's are, both in matter and style, immeasurably better. In them, also, we find the distinction between faith and reason; but the two are never separated, never opposed, as if contrary the one to the other. Unfortunately, no space remains for the minute examination of either of the three volumes by Mr. Davies, Mr. Brown, and Mr. Maclaren. Each of them deserves a separate notice, and will repay a careful and devout perusal. They have their place, however, in this article, as furnishing, by actual illustration, such hints of the best modes of preaching, and the vocation of the preacher, as may surely be neither without interest nor without use. It is not the critic, but only good preachers who can teach other people to preach; it is too often the far more unpleasant and invidious office of the critic simply to indicate when the preacher's work has been ill done; and he represents, in some manner, *the law by which is the knowledge of*

sin, while he is wholly unable to impart that genius from whose operations all the laws and canons of criticism must be deduced. Even the critic himself can understand no author for whom he is utterly without reverence, and he is under immeasurably deeper obligation to any work of genius than it can possibly be to him. The remarks, then, that follow, must be regarded as an attempt to indicate what the best models have determined to be the noblest form and the true aim of preaching. Probably many tons' weight of sermons are published every week and thickly scattered over the country, and a minute examination of a few hundred numbers of the various Penny Pulpits would scarcely fail to be very instructive. We should then understand better than we do now whence arise those dense fogs of ignorance in which unquestionably so many good people are miserably groping about. We should be introduced into the secret of the inaccurate and intolerant dogmatism which is at one moment so defiant, and at the next so panic-stricken, so ambitious and so grovelling, so superstitious and so profane. We should understand how it is that religion is doing more to disturb the peace of English society than almost all other causes put together. We should learn how it comes to pass that so many hundreds, nay, thousands of people, are incapable of perceiving any kind of godliness apart from the continual use of conventional phrases; or any foundation of piety, excepting a written book, which, for thousands of years after man was created, had no existence. It is quite unnecessary to deny that these sermons have done, or are doing, in their preached or printed shape, some sort of good; but they are doing the good indirectly, and at the cost of enormous mischief. They are strengthening men's belief of one set of truths which, taken alone, are robbed of by far the largest portion of their significance and value; but they are strengthening that belief too often at the cost of rendering men utterly incapable of the noblest intellectual and spiritual achievements. They urge men to build their faith upon the foundation of the Scriptures as an infallible and authoritative declaration of God's will, but they seem to teach that it is unnecessary to ask for any authority for accepting the Scriptures themselves. In order that men's souls may be saved, they seem willing to sacrifice so much of man's nature, and faculty, and development, that men have scarcely anything left worth saving. And if a critic be complained of, or even abused, for passing so unfavourable, and what may seem so bitter, a judgment on that vast mass of teaching which is filling every week a larger and larger place in the periodical literature of England, he may fairly answer—"It is not I who condemn this preaching; it is not I who refuse to admit

that twaddle and ignorance, bad jokes and coarse invective, and bullying intolerance, and worn-out platitudes, are necessary to the salvation of souls. I should not know what good sermons are unless I had heard or read them. It is not I who complain of bad sermons, it is the good sermons that complain of them. I can only compare the one with the other: I can only say, these contain their own evidence of being what sermons should be; and they, and not the critic, condemn all sermons that radically and essentially differ from themselves."

Therefore it is, that in the remarks that follow we shall no way presume to treat the sermons of such preachers as Mr. Davies, Mr. Brown, and Mr. Maclaren, as if they were school-boys' exercises, and we the pædagogues competent to correct them. With the utmost respect and gratitude we are only too thankful to have such models before us for the guidance of our criticism. We may remark, to begin with, the entire absence from all these sermons of that affectation of being something or other, one scarcely knows what, which is indicated by the very constant use, by inferior preachers, of *we*, instead of *I*. No doubt this is generally an unmeaning habit or a silly conventionalism; but the first man who rebelled against it must have had some good reason for departing from a custom which is deemed by many essential to the modesty of the pulpit. If a Roman Catholic priest were to say *we* in his sermons instead of *I*, he might be supposed to mean something of this sort—"I am, to you who listen to me, not a weak, erring mortal like yourselves; I do not tell you what seems true to me, which you are at liberty to dispute and to deny; I stand before you as the representative of the Infallible Church, in which the Holy Ghost is dwelling evermore; it is not I speaking to you, but I tell you what seems good to the Holy Ghost and to the Holy Catholic Church." Such a use as this of *we*, instead of *I*, would be, at least, intelligible. So again, when a preacher announces his text, and directs the attention of his congregation to what he believes to be its meaning, there ought to be such communion of thought and reflection, preacher and hearers both at the same time earnestly seeking for truth, with the firm belief that truth is the common heritage of all mankind, that the plural, *we*, may often be required. But nobody can read those wondrous three-headed compositions called sermons, which the penny pulpit distributes by tons at a time over the whole country, without perceiving that the *we* is generally a silly affectation of clerical dignity.

During that long and deepening darkness which began to be dissipated at the Reformation, preaching became more and more neglected. The Sacraments of the Church were degraded into

magical incantations. A few drops of water, a few crumbs of bread, a few drops of oil, were the potent instruments by which human spirits were regenerated and nourished and introduced into heavenly blessedness. Men had almost forgotten, when they came together into God's house, whose house it was, and why they had come thither. The clergy who had been in better days the leaders of human progress and the depositaries of learning, began to find their learning useless; and that to guide reluctant and ignorant followers was a painful and profitless business. So by degrees priests and people acting and reacting on each other, both were alike enveloped in a deep gloom of ignorance and idleness, in which nothing good or beautiful could live; so that when the English nation began to grow weary of a tyranny which could not even justify itself by a superior ability to govern, when, in a wondrous awakening of intellectual life, they began to despise the teachers who had nothing to teach, and who tried to steal the key of knowledge from all who wished to learn, it was discovered that mummary and magic had so entirely usurped the place of truth and life, that priests could be found by scores who did not even know the meaning of the words they were accustomed to mutter in their solemn religious ceremonies. All was jargon and confusion together: the blind leading the blind. And, then, once for all, it was swiftly determined that this darkness and disgrace should come to an end. Men demanded to be taught, to know the meaning of what they did. How could the authorized leaders respond to such a call? How could they teach what they did not know? So there arose a new race of instructors; and statesmen and preachers accomplished the Reformation.

Again and again, since the Reformation, the Church has relapsed, not into Popery but formalism, preferring the letter that killeth to the spirit that giveth life. Sacred ceremonies have been emptied of their meaning, have become a dull profitless routine; and, again and again, preachers, like the old prophets, have risen up to call men back from the form to the substance, from Baptism to regeneration, from the Eucharist to the living bread that came down from heaven, in order that having regained the thing signified, the signs might be no longer a curse to them, but become a blessing. And now, in our own day, when the area of knowledge has increased, so that almost every Englishman may find a place within it; when the example of America—mighty for good, and assuredly not less mighty for evil—has almost changed liberty into anarchy, and elevated the foolish many above the few wise; when we seem almost entering upon that period of our history which is already written for us

in the brilliance, the commerce, the refinement, the corruption, the liberty, the anarchy, the despotism, the ruin of the Athenian democracy; when the power of speech is becoming next to money the greatest power amongst us—and even money itself can be obtained almost as easily by impudent self-assertion and mendacious puffery as by hard and steady work:—in these days the preacher may have a power that no other age could have given him, and must wrestle with temptations to forget his true vocation and his real message, that no other age could know. He will be tempted to be plausible rather than true, to seek for popularity instead of the burden of the Lord, to have ever present to him the consciousness that every well-liked sermon will gain votes in his favour, and that every ill-liked sermon will lose them. He will be sorely tempted to subject even truth and religion to the test of the ballot-box.

Therefore, every faithful preacher must avail himself of every means, how simple soever they may seem, of impressing upon his hearers the fact that there are certain actual realities and unalterable laws to which all mankind are subject, whatever they may choose or vote. He will, in effect, say to his hearers, "You come to God's house, not to listen to me, but to worship your Father who is in heaven. The prayers we offer are common prayers—prayers for all of us, as members of the divine family. The lessons I read to you are taken from the Holy Scriptures. The Sacraments are the signs of that divine life which there is for all of us in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ whom God has sent. During our worship, I shall try to explain to you some part of God's Word, that the lessons of Scripture may come to you, not in word only but in power. But I have no infallible teaching for you—which is at once to settle all your doubts, and relieve you from the responsibility of thought and judgment. I cannot even pretend that, for what I say, I have the authority of the whole Church of God. You may be sure that I would not teach you what I do not believe to be true, but what I say to you you must receive with caution and with freedom; and the best result that I can hope for from my teaching is this, that it may lead you to that 'true Light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world,' to that Holy Ghost who has promised to 'lead us all into the whole truth.'"

Again, the sermons of Mr. Davies, and Mr. Brown, and Mr. Maclaren are entirely free from all those oddities which not even the most brilliant wit can redeem from profanity. There are no sermons in these volumes from this text, "Who's dat knocking at de door?"—the text selected by a popular minister in Manchester, wherewith to edify as many thousands of human

beings as the Free Trade Hall in that city could hold. "French Plays," says the author of *The Sentimental Journey*, "are *absolutely* fine; and whenever I have a more brilliant affair upon my hands than common, as they suit a preacher just as well as a hero, I generally make my sermon out of 'em, and for the text, 'Cappadocia, Pontus and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia,' is as good as any one in the Bible." This, indeed, seems to be the principle upon which a very large number of preachers have selected their texts; and it is an old complaint against them, that they do not expound the Bible but play with it. There is a very amusing little book to be picked up occasionally at old book-stalls, "The Grounds and Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy and Religion Inquired into; in a Letter written to R. L. London: printed by W. Godbid, for N. Brooke, at the Angel, in Cornhill, 1670." The book is every way worth reading, and is attributed to a writer of considerable eminence. He gives many examples of the absurd, not to say profane use, that the preachers of his time did make of the Holy Scriptures; and, in fact, the book is as droll a little book as a book can be, with much more fun in it than *Punch*, and *Fun*, and *The Owl*, and *The Porcupine* all put together.

"For a short text," he says, "that certainly was the greatest *break* that ever was, which was occasioned from those words of St. Luke, *xxiii.* 28, 'Weep not for me, weep for yourselves.' It is a plain case, Sir, here's but eight words; and the business was so cunningly ordered, that there sprung out eight parts. 'Here are,' says the Doctor, 'eight words, and eight parts. 1. Weep not; 2. But weep; 3. Weep not, but weep; 4. Weep for me; 5. For yourselves; 6. For me for yourselves; 7. Weep not for me; 8. But weep for yourselves. That is to say; north, north and by east, north north-east, north-east and by north, north-east, north-east and by east, east north-east, east and by north, east. Now it seems not very easie to determine, which has obliged the world most, he that found out the *compass*, or he that divided the forementioned text; but I suppose the cracks will go generally upon the Doctor's side; by reason what he did was done by undoubted art, and absolute industry; but as for the other, the common report is, that it was found out by meer foolish fortune. Well, let it go how it will, questionless they will be both famous in their way, and honourably mentioned to posterity." "But it is high time, Sir," he says, after giving many ludicrous examples of posterous misuse of Scripture, "to make an end of this preaching, lest you be as much tired with the repetition of it, as the people were little benefited when they heard it. I shall only mind you, Sir, of one thing more, and that is the ridiculous, senseless, and unintended use, which many of them make of concordances. I shall give you but one instance of it, although I could furnish you with an hundred printed ones. The text, Sir, is this, Gal. vi. 15, 'For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision, nor uncircumcision, availeth anything, but a new creature.' Now all the

world know the meaning of this to be, that let a man be of what nation he will, Jew or Gentile, if he amends his life and walks according to the Gospel, he shall be accepted with God. But this is not the way that pleases them. They must bring into the sermon, to no purpose at all, a vast heap of places of Scripture (which the Concordance will furnish them with) where the word *new* is mentioned. And the new observation must be, that God is for new things; God is for a new creature, St. John, xix. 41, 'Now in the place where He was crucified, there was a garden, and in the new garden a new sepulchre, wherein was never man yet laid; there laid they Jesus.' And again, St. Mark, xvi. 17, Christ tells His disciples, they that are true believers shall cast out devils and speak with new tongues; and likewise the Prophet teaches us, Isaiah xlii. 10, 'Sing unto the Lord a new song, and His praise unto the end of the earth.' Whence it is plain that Christ is not for old things; He is not for an old sepulchre; He is not for old tongues; He is not for an old song; He is not for the old creature; Christ is for the new creature, circumcision and uncircumcision availeth nothing, but the new creature. And what do we read concerning Samson, Judges xv. 15; is it not that he slew a thousand of the Philistines with one new jaw-bone? An old one might have killed its tens, its twenties, its hundreds; but it must be a new jaw-bone that is able to kill a thousand. God is for the new creature.

"But may not some say, Is God altogether for new things? How comes it about, then, that the Prophet says, Isaiah i. 13, 14; 'Bring no more vain oblations, etc. Your new moons, and your appointed feasts, my soul hateth?' And again, what means that, Deut. xxxii. 17, 19; 'They sacrificed unto devils, and to new gods, whom they knew not; to new gods that came newly up; and when the Lord saw it, He abhorred them?' To which I answer, that God indeed is not for new moons, nor for new gods; but excepting moons and gods, He is for new things. God is for the new creature.

"It is possible, Sir, that somebody, besides yourself, may be so vain as to read this letter, and they may perhaps tell you, that there be no such silly and useless people as I have described; and if there be, not above two or three in a country; or should there be more, it is no such complaining matter, seeing that the same happens in other professions, in law and physick; in both which there be many a contemptible creature. Such, therefore, as these may be pleased to know, that if there had been need I could have told them either the book, and very page, almost of all that has been spoken about preaching, or else the *when* and *where*, and the person that preached it."

This last is a very judicious remark. If anybody chooses to offer an unfavourable criticism of either preaching or practices with which he is perfectly familiar; if he speaks out of the mere honesty of his soul, and his earnest desire that such evils as he may have noticed in word or deed may be corrected;—there is always somebody who knows nothing whatever about him, who is not one jot or tittle more honest or better informed than himself, who forthwith replies to all his suggestions and expostula-

tions that he is a malignant liar, a disappointed man, a man of soured and bitter temper. We will venture, nevertheless, to affirm that the penny pulpit, and much more, the pulpit that is not worth offering for sale at the price of one penny, would still furnish examples of grotesque absurdity as astonishing as those which are found in the little book from which the above extracts were taken. No one will deny the cleverness, for instance, of the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon; everybody who knows him asserts that he is a witty, jovial man, thoroughly generous and unconventional, with a very becoming scorn of humbug, even though it should be mistaken for religion. And yet nobody can deny that many of his earlier sermons were utterly indecent, and that his jokes and oddities could scarcely, by any well-regulated mind, be distinguished from profanity. The sermons, again, of the Rev. A. Mursell, of Manchester, may possibly have saved a few souls; but only at the enormous risk of turning the church into a theatre and the Gospel into a farce. It is really not desirable to admit Harlequin and Pantaloon, and Columbine and Clown, to holy orders; and is it, after all, the truth or the joke that fastens itself most securely on the thought and memory of the hearer? "‘It is damned hot:’ these are the words that I heard as I was entering the sanctuary this morning. Let me assure you, my profane hearer, that you will find hell a great deal hotter!" After this fashion, it is reported, a popular London minister began his sermon one Sunday morning. This anecdote, probably, like almost all anecdotes, is a lie: but it is a symbolical lie,—a coarse, vulgar, exaggerated description of what is very often said in the sermons of "Punch in the Pulpit." Is it really necessary to adopt this style of exhortation? If it attracts attention, it is still necessary to enquire to what the attention is attracted. We have no hesitation in saying that the attention is attracted to the joke, and not to the religious truth introduced by it; and this pious buffoonery is a very ignorant insult to the working-classes. A Sunday spent in the parks or on the London-fields would very soon convince anybody, who has ears to hear, that there are teachers busily at work among the working-classes who are in grim earnest, and who consider all these pulpit witticisms beneath contempt. There are many divines who seem very little aware that their arguments have been long ago anticipated and answered, not to say demolished, by reasoners in fustian jackets, and often with deplorably dirty faces and linen,—Jews, Catholics, Atheists, Secularists, people of all beliefs and of no belief at all, who really do want to know what religious teachers *mean*, and how they can *prove* the propositions which they so confidently affirm.

That public discussions should interrupt the worship of a Christian congregation is entirely insufferable, and would be an unmitigated evil; but no minister should ever permit himself to be entrenched within the safe enclosure of the "sacred desk," without having first, in his own mind, most carefully discussed and opposed his own theories and propositions. It is impossible, as it would be unwise, for a preacher to exhibit in every discourse all the reasons that have combined to lead him to the conclusions at which he has arrived; but he ought never to make a single assertion which he does not know that he is thoroughly prepared to verify. Jokes that waver between the Bible and the beer-shop are by no means the spiritual aliment which the intelligent poor are willing to live upon. They cannot speak their mind in church or chapel; but everybody who mixes with them where they *can* speak their mind understands that what they utterly loathe and despise is every sort of jargon, big words, mere pompous shibboleths, of which they do not know the meaning. The large congregations that crowd the tabernacles and halls of "Reverend" jesters are made up of a very large proportion of lazy people, who have a notion that the chief duty of a Christian man is to be tickled, or "fed," or "comforted," or anything, in short, except working for the good of his fellow-creatures and the glory of God. If what people say about the providence of God be not hypocritical nonsense from beginning to end, we may surely believe that the providence of God puts a man in some particular district in order that, for some time at least, he should stop there. To put this matter in the coarsest form, he gets his living there. Suppose he is a shop-keeper in Bethnal-green: the locality is, undoubtedly, far from aristocratic; the parish authorities have the reputation of being, in matters of common humanity, somewhat below the level of half-naked savages. But still the Bethnal-green people are the customers who patronize his shop, and without whose patronage he could not live at all. Surely, if he is wiser than they are, he is, as St. Paul would say, "their debtor." Undoubtedly, a fight with the ignorance and brutality, the disease and poverty, of Bethnal-green is not a cheerful occupation,—but manifestly that battle must be fought by somebody or other; and the man who is making his money out of Bethnal-green, and who leaves the cure of its evils and the multiplication of its comforts to perfect strangers, is a very mean and shabby person. If Bethnal-green is in want of churches and chapels, priests and preachers and schoolmasters, the people who are bound, in the sight of God, to furnish these things, are the inhabitants of Bethnal-green itself, and especially those who are rich and prosperous. Any arrangement which

should remove the rich and prosperous from all genuine human contact with their more unfortunate and unsuccessful neighbours would be a very wicked and ungodly arrangement.

And this leads us to notice a class of apologies, frequently offered, for some of the most ominous pulpit eccentricities which, during the last few years, have been thrusting themselves into prominence. A godly man is astonished and appalled by the laziness and indifference and heartlessness of some Christian congregation; thereupon, in a way, perhaps, justifiably irregular, he does his best to wake them out of that sleep which may so easily become death. Hymns, prayers, fiery exhortations, personal appeals, vehement gesticulations, "penitent forms," all manner of revival appliances, are possibly, to begin with, not a worse evil than spiritual deadness. A great effect is produced; the sleeping congregation is roused into activity, and he who woke them out of their indifference and sloth becomes *notorious* as a revivalist. If there be any work at all, which we very much doubt, for a *professional* revivalist to do, it can surely be *no* other than this:—to awake those who too long and too heavily are sleeping; it can, surely, never be the work of any one who is not insane to irritate those who are awake already into an inflammatory and feverish excitement. A revivalist is, if we may so speak, a tonic, or a stimulant, or a counter-irritant, but most unquestionably he is not food and rest. His very existence implies disease. If he can cure his patients, so much the better; and the sooner he can cure them, the better. And then, with a joyous regret, let us courteously bid him good bye, and treat him as we do apothecaries and medicine bottles. But this is far from the method that is often recommended by the religious world. Build, they say, for our revivalist a huge hall or tabernacle that shall hold thousands of human beings; let no part of our spiritual person be ever free from the most irritating of blisters. Let us, in our most devout and reverent moods, when we are most conscious of doing our best to obey God and help one another, be appealed to as wretched sinners, slothful and unprofitable servants, and teased and worried, and warned and threatened, as if the grace of God had done nothing for us, and there were no such thing in the world as regeneration and holiness. The revivalist, we are told, will suit a certain class; let him have a huge edifice in which to preach, and let him have this certain class to preach to. To which we answer, It is in every respect undesirable, a total mistake, an unmitigated evil, that the different classes of religious people should be separated from one another. If all the zealous Christians in the world were to be put together, there would be a vast development of zeal with-

out discretion, that would reduce all Christian order to chaos. If all the discreet Christians in the world were put together, there would be so many examinations and re-examinations, resolutions and amendments, committees and sub-committees, reports and adjournments, and then, for safety's sake, the whole long business done over again, that, in fact, nothing would ever be thoroughly done at all. Who would care to join a church, every member of which was nothing but a clever logician ; or a church of which every member was an impassioned enthusiast. The major premisses of the logician must be gathered from actual experience and life. The emotions have as real and important a place in human nature as the intellect or conscience. The better part of valour is not always discretion, nor is mere rashness courage. Enthusiastic people are benefited by the cautious, and the cautious by the eager. An arrangement by which Christian people could be classed together according to their prominent characteristics would simply produce monsters.

The sermons in the volumes whose titles are at the foot of page 344 are a complete and most admirable protest against this tendency, which, in truth, is becoming exceedingly dangerous among us. The sermons of Mr. Davies, for instance, would unquestionably give great pleasure to a congregation of intelligent, well-educated Christian people ; but they are perfectly free from jargon, perfectly intelligible to every sensible Englishman, even if he had never been to school in his life ; and this is the sure proof, or one of the sure proofs, that they are not out of harmony with the Gospel of the common salvation. For the Gospel is not meant for poor people only, nor for rich people only, but for all sorts and conditions of men ; it will humble the pride of the haughty, and teach the mean-spirited and desponding a noble self-respect.

The sermons of Cardinal Wiseman are too much of the nature of a continual appeal to the feelings, and we are very often told that the preaching that has this for its object is the most effective of all preaching. We entirely disbelieve it. The emotions which are not the result of knowledge and thought are scarcely better than the wriggings of a wounded worm. It is the inalienable distinction of a human being that it is possible for him to know *why* he acts, speaks, or feels ; and a very large part of human education has for its chief object to enable us to control our emotions.

But we have already intruded upon too much space. We must conclude with our sincerest thanks to such preachers as teach us, not by cold critical descriptions, but by their own preaching, what the vocation of the preacher really is. Mr.

Davies, Mr. Brown, and Mr. Maclaren expound Scripture instead of playing with it. They come to the Bible as learners, not as patrons. They condescend to no mean devices for entrapping the attention of reluctant hearers. They are quite sure that he who persuades them to pander to bad taste and ignorance, to think more of popularity than truth, more of reputation and power than of the mysteries of God's love, is not God, but the devil.

WILLIAM KIRKUS.

Religious Enthusiasm.—We cannot dismiss this subject without adverting to the error of those who exclude from religion all sensibility and warmth as the offspring of enthusiasm and the proof of a weak mind. Shall we, then, regard the most illustrious individuals whom the Scriptures present to our view as weak and enthusiastic? Does Job exhibit any striking marks of a feeble mind? Or must we suppose that his uneasiness proceeded entirely from the state of his worldly affairs? We should, certainly, do him great injustice if we imagined that "his harp was turned into mourning, and his organ into the voice of them that weep," because he had ceased to dwell "as a king in the army." Who will call David a weak enthusiast? and yet in whom can we find a more ardent spirit of piety, a keener sensibility, or a heart more occupied with religion? In every department of worldly affairs men are praised for zeal and diligence; they are honoured in proportion to the ardour with which they engage in their respective pursuits. Ought such conduct to be excluded from religion alone, where it is most becoming? where there is everything grand to elevate the mind, and everything most excellent to excite desire? If the heart ever rejoice, it should be in the light of God's countenance; if it mourn, it should be for the loss of that which the treasures of the world cannot replace. If religion never touch the affections here, it will not confer its happiness hereafter. He whom it never enlivens by its influence in this life, whom it never teaches to rejoice or to grieve, must not expect to enter into that state where, with everything to occupy the intellect, and enlarge it, there will be no cold and barren speculation, but where everything will inspire delight, and animate the devotions of them that serve God day and night in his temple. Why should men expect so entire and so sudden a revolution in all their feelings and in all their tastes? They watch over every motion of the heart, check every tendency to warmth of feeling, and study to preserve, till the very close of life, a coolness approaching to indifference; and yet they hope, in a moment, to be transported to a state where every pure affection shall be carried to its highest exercise. Let those who anticipate a happy eternity in the presence of God, begin now to taste those pleasures which will be perfect when they join the Lamb on Mount Zion, and sing the song which no man can learn but the redeemed of the Lord.—*Dr. Hugh Jamieson.*

ÆTHIOPIC PRAYERS, etc.

TRANSLATED BY THE REV. J. M. RODWELL, M.A.,

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(Continued from Vol. IV. (New Series), p. 375.)

THE following miscellaneous prayers are translated from an ancient manuscript, marked F, in the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society. This MS. is probably of the fifteenth century.

Prayer for the Bishop.

O God, who rulest all things, we pray to Thee and intercede with Thee for the blessed Bishop N, that Thou wouldest preserve him to us for many years and into days of peace, *and* then that he may finish the ministry committed unto him by Thee, with all bishops and elders and deacons, and with all the perfected assembly of Thy one Holy Catholic Christian Church. And do Thou hearken to and accept the prayers which he maketh on our behalf and on behalf of all Thy people. Open unto him the treasury of Thy blessing, and moreover bestow upon him abundantly the grace of Thy Holy Spirit. Pour out upon him Thy blessing from heaven, that he may bless Thy people: dispel all his enemies, visible and invisible, and crush them beneath his feet, and preserve him unto Thy church, to the praise of Thy only Son, for unto Thee, with Him, and with the Holy Spirit, be praise and power both now and for ever, world without end. Amen.

A Prayer for Compassion.

O God, in whom is truth, and faithful and just :
 To Thee is glory from mankind,
 And praise from the mouth of babes,
 And glory from those on high ;
 And to Thee are directed the prayers of the righteous :
 O God, that art ever the staff of the aged,
 And the upraiser of the dead,
 And the strengthener of the fallen,
 Who makest straight the lame,
 And who causest the halt to run,
 And prosperest those who have nought ;
 The treasure-house of the poor,
 The port of the erring,
 The glory of the righteous,
 The father of the lonely,
 The light of those that are in darkness,

And who causeth the Sun of Righteousness to arise upon them;
Who appearest to all Thy works;
Thou guidest the blind,
And raisest the dead.

Angels and men adore Thee.

Shew Thy mercy on Thy servant in all things,

Give us the fear of Thy name,

Guide us that we may walk in the will of Thy counsel :

O good Shepherd, that hatest not Thy flock,

The glory of those who are saved by Thy name,

And who deliverest those who cry unto Thee in their afflictions;

The home of the poor,

The glory of the meek,

The food of the hungry,

The drink of the thirsty,

The strength of the weary ;

A fortress art Thou to the poor,

Which keepeth safe all who lean on Thee ;

The tower of the poor ;

And he is rich who abideth in Thee,

O Lord, the fortress ;

For to all art Thou faithful :

For the heaven and the earth humble themselves to Thee, O Lord ;

From the mouth of angels is praise Thy due :

Guide Thou him who is led astray into a port and calm :

Who is faithful like Thee, who in Thy mercy givest life to all Thy works ?

Treasurer and dispenser to the indigent, and guide of the blind !

When the poor ask of Thee, good art Thou to Thy servants and to thine earthen vessels whom Thou hast made, and to the image of Thyself which Thou hast fashioned.

Bless us, God of our Fathers :

Behold us, O Thou that art long-suffering and abundant in mercy.

Bestow on us Thy grace and the glory of Thy strength :

Bless us, O Thou that didst bless Abraham ;

Remember us, Thou that didst remember Isaac ;

Keep us and save us, Thou that didst keep and save Jacob from the toils of the hunter, for ever and world without end.
Amen.

A Prayer.

Have mercy on me: remember me in Thy kingdom according to Thy mercy and goodness, and ransom me from my sins for ever.

And save me from my guilt, who have no cure;
And from my sins, who have no comfort.
And hide me from my uncleanness, which will not be pure;
And take me away from my grievous burden;
And be gracious to me, of Thy mercy:
Remove away from me the scourge of Thine anger;
Make choice of my meanness in Thy loftiness,
And make me Thy portion,
And turn me unto Thee,
And teach me to do Thy will,
And cause me to enter into Thy city,
Which is arduous and easy of access,—
Arduous to the foolish,
Easy to the meek:
And make me like those who have inherited Thy city;
And not like those who are without,
But like those who are within.
And make me, not like the many who are called,
But like the few who are chosen;
And not like those who are found here,
But like those who, by watchfulness, are contrite before Thee;
And let us be as the sheep of Thy pasture, for ever and ever.
Amen.

A Prayer for the Night.

Thou art God, and there is none but Thou:
Jesus Christ Thy Son,
And the Holy Spirit, the Giver of life;
Thou art the living One, the righteous Lord, and Giver of life,
And there is none like Thee: Turn me unto Thee;
And we will do Thy will, for Thou hast drawn us by Thy goodness to Thy beloved Son,
Whom Thou hast sent to do Thy will,
For He is Thy strength and Thy wisdom;
Give us to do Thy will;
Thou art God, and there is none but Thee: good art Thou O Lord, and merciful;
For by Thyself hast Thou sworn that Thou wilt have mercy on Thy handy work.

Yea, Lord, fail not Thy faithful word, and we will adore and worship: we will implore Thee, O Lord our Shepherd, together with Thine elect, not like the many who are called, but like the few who are chosen.

For Thou hast created and made us, O Lord: none beside Thee will we acknowledge, Thou art our Father, and Thou our Mother.

Into Thy hands we commend our souls, for to Thee shall every knee bow;

Yea, O Lord, and to Thee shall every tongue confess: reckon Thou us among Thy flock;

Grant that we may worship Thee in spirit and in truth;

For Thou hast begotten us again in the baptism of Thy holy Christian catholic church;

Turn us, O God and Saviour,

Pardon our sins and forgive our offences,

For children of death are we, and small in the knowledge and practice of Thy law, for Thou hast said ask and it shall be given you:

Yea, O Thou faithful One, fail not Thy word: lead us not into temptation,

But deliver us from all evil,

Thou hope of all the ends of the earth;

We will worship and confess Thee O Lord,

We are thine: hearken to our prayer and grant our request,

And give us rest from the heavy burden of sin, by Thy light burden;

And by Thy goodly yoke, take away from us our vile yoke;

Be gracious to us, Lord, be gracious to us;

Have mercy on us, Lord, have mercy on us,

Have mercy on us, Lord, have mercy on us,

We are Thine;

The work of Thy hands—despise us not, O Lord;

Look upon us, and save us;

Make our ways and goings right before Thee,

And let our insipidity taste Thy salt,

And give us light before Thee by Thy only [Son];

Give us thoughts that are good and pleasant before Thee,

That we may find favour in Thy great day.

Save us O Lord from the evil day;

Cause Satan and his devices to cease from us, through Thy holy only Son, in whom Thou art pleased.



Litany of Intercession.

Let us all say, Lord, have mercy upon us.

In every soul and in every thought, let us all say, Lord, have mercy upon us.

O Lord who rulest all things, God our Father, hear us, we beseech Thee, and have mercy.

Thou who didst make the heaven, and the earth, and all the worlds, hear us, etc.

Thou who grantest the prayer of Him who prayeth and blessed the years of the righteous, hear us, etc.

Thou who wilt not the death of a sinner, but givest conversion and life, hear us, etc.

For the peace of the whole world, and the tranquillity of the holy Christian church, hear us, etc.

In our anxiety for this holy Christian church which is of God, and perfectly joined together, hear us, etc.

For all bishops, who rightly direct the way of the Word, hear us, etc.

For our Bishop N., and for help in his ministry, and state, and safety, hear us, etc.

On behalf of our venerable presbyters and the deacons who are in Christ, and for all the nobility, and all the people, hear us, etc.

On behalf of our most religious kings and the leaders of the armies, hear us, etc.

On behalf of purity of the air, and fertility, and for the fruits of the earth.

On behalf of this city, and all our cities and territories, and for those who dwell therein in the faith.

On behalf of those who pay the tribute of fruits to the holy Christian church, and who remember the poor.

On behalf of those who give alms, that we may pray for their salvation.

On behalf of those who journey forth, and for those who travel on foot, and for the sick, and that Thou wouldest speedily heal those who are sick.

On behalf of those who are in prison, or affliction, or bitter servitude, and in the realm of those who judge the brethren.

On behalf of every burdened and afflicted soul, which craveth mercy.

On behalf of Christian souls, and for all the Christian church.

On behalf of Thy people who arise and expect the riches of Thy mercy, hear us, etc.

Deliver Thy people, O Lord, and bless Thine inheritance, hear us, etc.

On the Sabbath.

Almighty God, Thou hast made the world by Jesus Christ our Saviour, and hast ordained the Sabbath, and rested thereon from all thy work ;

And hast commanded us to rest from all the labour of our hands, and to be prepared to devote ourselves to Thy commandments, and hast made for us a festal day of joy to our souls ;

We remember, therefore, the skill of the Wisdom in whom God was well pleased :—*how* the Word was born of a woman for our sakes, and appeared manifestly for this work, and though God, was baptized as a man, and endured the passion of the cross, and died, and rose again from the dead with great power.

Therefore will we keep the festal day of his sacred resurrection, and will honour the Sabbath the first day of the week, and will sing psalms to Him who conquered death, and gave light to all the world, and hath bestowed on us an honour and glory that fadeth not away ;^a

And hast gathered together the people who were dispersed, and hast made them to be one pure fold, and hast blessed them even as thou blessedst Israel.

Thou art the Lord, who broughtest out our fathers from the land of Egypt, and rescued them from bitter servitude, and saved them from the sea, and from making bricks, and brought them forth from the power of Pharaoh and his hosts, and didst cause them to pass the sea which was dry, and feddest them in the wilderness with all good things, and ordainedst for them the law of the ten commandments, which Thou didst speak with Thine own voice, and write with Thine own hand, and badest them rest on the Sabbath in order that they might render Thee humble thanks, and be safe from all evil : and Thou didst guide them by the voice of Thy rebuke, and gather them together, and bring them into Thy holy house.

And therefore hath He bidden us to rest on every Sabbath, because on the Sabbath day He rested from all His work.

Therefore will we search His law, and bless the Lord, and praise Him for all His boons to us—the sons of men.

But greatest of all is the holy resurrection of our Lord and Saviour, and Maker, wherein he hath instructed us : even God the Word, who was begotten before the creation of the world—Son of the Father by the Virgin Mary, without carnal knowledge.

He suffered, and was crucified, and died in the days of Pontius Pilate, and rose from the dead on the day of the Christian Sabbath.

^a *Lit.*, is incorruptible.

Remember, O Lord, that we bring to Thee on this day the sacrifice, and the oblation, and thanksgiving to Thy holy name, that great privilege which Thou hast given us, that we may render its due, to the greatness of Thy power.

And Thou didst perfect the prophesying of prophets.

Thou didst have mercy upon Zion, and haddest compassion on Jerusalem, and didst set up the throne of David in our midst by the birth of Christ, who was born of his seed according to the flesh of the Virgin.

Thou, O Lord, receive the prayer and supplication of Thy people, who call upon Thee in righteousness, as Thou didst accept the sacrifice of the righteous in their time. . . .^b

So now accept the prayers of those who come unto Thee in the knowledge that is in Christ.

We praise Thee on account of all Thy work; O Thou Almighty, remove not Thy compassion and Thy mercy far from us, for Thou art the bestower of mercy and full of compassion from generation to generation. . . .^c

We praise Thee at all times through Jesus Christ, who hast given us the sweet utterance of speech, and a tongue that is good like the voice of an instrument, and hast made us to distinguish between sweet and bitter, and the eye for seeing, and ear for hearing, and the nostril for smelling, and the hand for touch, and the foot for motion: and *all* this hast Thou made by means of a small (drop) germ enclosed in the womb, and didst endue it with an immortal soul, and didst make it to be an enlightened man. By Thy law didst Thou rebuke, and with Thy commandments adorn him, and after a little didst make him mortal, but vouchsafedst him a resurrection.

What return then shall man, for whom Thou hast done all this, make to Thee!

Meet now is it that we should praise and glorify Thee to the utmost of our powers. Accept Thou it that it may be well-pleasing in Thy sight, and save us from the risings-up of those who have many gods, and deliver us from those who oppose Christ, and free us from Satanic errors.

For Thou hast sent Christ, Thy beloved and only Son, to become man, albeit He was God; and hast caused the Paraclete to abide upon us, and hast made the angels to bless us, and hast inflicted ignominy on Satan.

For Thou hast made us, and vouchsafed us life: keep us then, and give us our food, and turn us to repentance.

For to Thee is due praise and worship for all that Thou hast

^b I have here omitted the list of Old Testament worthies from Abel to Mattathias.

^c Other names omitted as above.

done towards us by Thy Son Jesus Christ for ever and ever. Amen.

Lord, let me see blessing and goodness this day.

Hear my prayer, and receive my petition, and forgive me my sins, and deliver me not over into the hand of those who are too strong for me. Drive away from me the evils of Satan, and from the enemies who are round about me.

Remove from me grief and affliction. Enlighten the eyes of my heart that I may do Thy commandments, and put Thy fear upon me. Keep me day and night as Thou didst keep Thy holy servants. I ask of Thee, O Lord, by the prayers of the righteous, that Thou wouldest forgive my sins and transgressions. Have compassion on my former and later *state*, and deliver me from the envious, and from all those who wish me evil; for in Thee do I trust, and on Thee do I believe, and I have no other God but Thee. Lord, grant my prayer, and perform my wish, and preserve the children of baptism. O Thou who art first without beginning, and last without end, I beseech Thee to blot out my sins, and spare my father and my mother, and forgive them their offences, and place me in Thy kingdom, with Thy holy servants. . . . Hear my prayer in Thy compassion and mercy. Amen.

A Prayer of Hope.

My Lord and God Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, I ask and beseech Thee to keep my soul and body in Thy fear; and cut me not down like a worthless tree, which hath no fruit, and take me not suddenly out of this world, but wait and be patient with me, that I may repent and bring unto Thee the fruit of repentance. Should the earth, by reason of the multitude of my sins, repair to Thee for my doom, say to it, Have patience. Should the angels have recourse to Thee at the multitude of my errors, say to them, Have patience.

O loving Jesus, my sin is not a burden too heavy for Thee to bear. Sprinkle Thy blood on me and cleanse me; change my death into life, my darkness into light, my weakness into strength; yea, let not my life be beneath Thy regard: for Thou art He who desirest not the perdition of a sinner. Have patience with me in the multitude of Thy mercy, and bring me to Thyself in the multitude of Thy compassions, and forgive my sins and errors, and blot out all mine offences, and cause me to receive a recompence with those who have been well-pleasing to Thee. For Thine is the power and the kingdom, and to Thee be praise, world without end. Amen.

THE EUCHARIST: GREEK, LATIN, AND ANGLICAN.

It has been remarked, I believe by Paley, that had not the doctrines of our holy religion been derived from divine inspiration, the Saviour would never have instituted a rite which he must have foreseen would prove too frequently a stumbling-block, rather than a bond of union, among his followers in after ages. There can hardly be a better proof of this than a little volume lately published entitled, *The Origin and Composition of the Roman Catholic Liturgy, and its difference from that of the Orthodox Church*, by Ivan Borovnitsky; translated from the Russian by Basil Popzoff. Dr. M'Neal observes in a short preface that the work is curious as giving an "Eastern" view of the Roman Liturgy, and such it undoubtedly is. Most persons who have not given some attention to the subject possess very indistinct ideas as to the real or alleged theological differences between the great branches of the Eastern and Western Churches. Travellers, of course, see only that both are equally administered with a very splendid ritual, but of the comparative merits or demerits of either they are utterly ignorant. And even among the well-informed who may have had their attention directed to the controversies on the subject of the Eucharist between the Anglican and the Roman Communions, there have been few opportunities, even if there had been the wish, to ascertain the sentiments of the Russian or Greek Churches respecting their doctrinal differences with the Papal See. This little volume, however, will supply the want in a great degree. In all candour we should sometimes endeavour to know what a "third" party says of our opponents, though I think that to the Anglican reader the thought will frequently suggest itself how many "distinctions" are endeavoured to be made where there is no real "difference."

It would seem to the reformed mind, for instance, to be of very slight importance whether the office of the Holy Communion is denominated the Mass or the Liturgy, whether the altar is placed "always eastward" and not sometimes "westward," whether the consecrated bread be leavened or "un" leavened, whether the wine is mixed with water "once" or "twice," whether the Creed is only read on certain appointed days or every day. And, as to what is of more importance, the writer is obliged to confess that "there is no essential difference in the substance of the prayers and hymns between the Roman Liturgy and ours (the Russian), for with the exception of the first prayer in the Canon of the Mass, the Roman Liturgy contains and

expresses the same ideas as are contained in the prayers of our Liturgy, though sometimes in other words and more concisely." And he also says "in a dogmatical respect the doctrine of the Romans on the Liturgy nearly entirely agrees with the doctrine of our Church, excepting the opinion on the time of consecration of the host," by which, of course, he means that in the Church of Rome the transubstantiation is supposed to take place at the pronouncing of our Lord's words of institution, and among the Orientals at the invocation of the Holy Ghost.

It may be safely affirmed, therefore, that (if we except the doctrine of the Procession) there is an essential agreement between the Eastern and Western Churches on articles of faith. The only difference consists in the practice of communion under both kinds, in which the former agree with ourselves. The audacious obstinacy of the Roman Church in persisting to withhold the cup from the laity is, as the writer observes, "to go against our Lord's plain commandment, and to act contrary to the example of the apostles and the ancient orthodox church; for both the apostles and all orthodox Christians of the Primitive Church received and gave the Holy Eucharist in both kinds of bread and wine." To such an extent is this absurd prohibition carried in the Roman Catholic Church that priests, "when not officiating," receive like the laity only under one kind. The use of the vernacular language in divine worship is also another point on which the Orientals agree with ourselves *in principle*, for how far the ancient Slavonic in the Russian Church is understood by the people it may be difficult to say. Still there is not, as in the Roman Catholic Church, an actual prohibition of using any but a dead language. After mentioning some of the pretended reasons brought forward by that Church for the use of the Latin the author justly says, "But these are all secondary reasons; the principal one on which the Western theologians are silent, but which is of itself apparent, is that the universal introduction of the Latin tongue, and with it of Latin rites and clergy," offered the popes the best means of subjecting the churches to their own authority.*

* May we not add also of covertly introducing erroneous superstitions which might not be so easily accomplished if the Liturgy were in the vernacular tongue of each nation, owning Rome's spiritual authority. Witness the following "abominable travesty" of the Collect from which that in the Prayer Book on the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin was literally translated:—

Gratiam tuam quæsumus
Domine mentibus nostris
infunde; ut qui Angelo
nuntiante, Christi Filii tui
Incarnationem cognovimus,

Dieu éternel et Tout puissant, qui par l'opération du Saint Esprit, avez préparé le corps et l'ame de la glorieuse Vierge Marie, mère, pour mériter de devenir le digne séjour de votre Fils; octroyez nous, que, par l'intercession de celle

A very strange charge brought by the author against the Roman Church is "that infants, till "seven years" old, are not admitted to communion at all! We Anglicans should certainly think this rather an early period of life for so solemn a rite; but what absurdity is there which some churches have not sanctioned. It would appear, therefore, that in all essential points, "save" one, the denial of the cup to the laity, the unreformed Eastern and Western Churches present no real dissimilarity. And yet, according to Dean Stanley, "there is a difference" arising no doubt from the state of manners and customs in the East which has created an "essential discrepancy in taste and feeling" much, it must be confessed, to the advantage of the West. "Let any one," he says, "enter an Oriental church, and he will at once be struck by the contrast which the architecture, the paintings, the very aspect of the ceremonial present to the churches of the West. Often, indeed, this may arise from the poverty or oppression under which most Christian communities labour whose lot has been cast in the Ottoman empire; but often the altars may blaze with gold, the dresses of the priests stiffened with the richest silks of Brousa, yet a contrast remains. The difference lies in the fact that art, as such, has no place in the worship or in the edifice. There is no aiming at effect, no dim religious light, no beauty of form or colour beyond what is produced by the mere display of gorgeous and barbaric pomp. Yet it would be a great mistake to infer from this absence of art—indeed, no one who has ever seen it could infer—that this involves a more decided absence of form and ceremonial. The mystical gestures, the awe which surrounds the sacerdotal functions, the long repetitions, the severance of the sound from the sense, of the mind from the act, both in priest and people, are not less but more remarkable than in the churches of the West. The traveller who finds himself in the interior of the old cathedral of Malta, after having been accustomed for a few weeks or months to the ritual of the convents and churches of the Levant, experiences almost the same emotion as when he passes again from the services of the Roman Catholic to those of the Reformed churches.^b

But, whatever may be the effect of either services upon the mind and feelings of the Protestant, we find the doctrine of transubstantiation or a "corporal" presence in the Eucharist to be the unswerving and invariable doctrine of both. One would

per Passionem ejus et Crucem ad Resurrectionis gloriam perducamur. Per, etc.

dont nous célébrons la mémoire avec une joie intérieure, nous soyons délivrés des maux présents, et de la mort éternelle. Par le même.—J.C.N.S. *Nouveau Paroissien*, 1817.

^b Stanley's *Eastern Church*, p. 36-7.

imagine that consentaneity upon so important an article of faith would serve to sink all other differences, but such we do not find to be the case. The reformed churches have, therefore, the less reason to lament the discrepancies among themselves, seeing that consentaneity does not certainly produce the effect which might be expected.

Since the "Denison and Ditcher controversy," which fortunately was strangled before it produced any ill consequences, the theological world has remained tranquil as to any discussion on that particular article of faith. On the other side of the Tweed, it is true, the abrogation or retention of the Scottish Liturgy mainly turned upon that point, though now angry feelings and prejudices seem to be abating. Of course every school has its peculiar views, and these have been very much the same at all times, from that of a bare commemoration to a touching closely upon a corporeal presence in the Eucharist. Of the former class Whitby may be taken as the type who came as near the opinion of a mere commemorative rite as perhaps any divine calling himself orthodox could do. But to arrive at this, the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel was first to be disposed of. And this, considering the force of our Lord's expressions, was by no means an easy task. Archdeacon Wilberforce has so fairly and logically treated this subject in his work upon the Eucharist, that his argument must commend itself to all reasonable enquirers. His after conformity to the Roman Catholic Church may with some prejudicial persons weigh against his reasoning; but it does not follow that because an individual of undoubted talent, adopted erroneous opinions at "one period" that his views at an earlier period must necessarily be biassed and inconclusive. He says, "the other interpretation, however, that by the eating of His flesh our Lord meant the receiving His doctrines has been more commonly maintained by those who deny that His words refer to the Holy Eucharist. It has been said that this was the meaning which a Jewish audience would naturally attach to the expression, and such passages have been referred to as Ecclesiasticus xxiv. 21, "They that eat me shall yet be hungry, and they that drink me shall yet be thirsty," so that as Whitby expresses it, "to eat of the bread which came down from heaven" is to "believe in Christ," breaking the bread of life to us by His "doctrine." For the same writer maintains "among the oriental and Jewish writers *to eat* is used as a symbol of the food of the soul." Here then is a notion which would exclude all reference to the Holy Eucharist, and which is rested on the idea which our Lord's words must have conveyed to His original hearers. The first

objection which suggests itself to this interpretation is that the words appear not to have been understood by the Jews. If this was all which they were calculated to convey to an oriental hearer, why did the Jews strive among themselves, saying, "How can this man give us his flesh to eat?" And if this error did not arise from want of faith, but because they did not appreciate the force of an ordinary image, why did not their gracious Instructor set them right by altering his metaphor? The statement of our Lord's mediation they understood but rejected (30—50), they did not complain that it was unintelligible but asserted it to be unfounded, "This is a hard saying," etc. It is plain, therefore, that by the judgment of the Jews themselves, that this was not the ordinary way of expressing the familiar truths that our Lord would instruct them by His doctrine. Neither is there a shadow of evidence for saying that any such meaning could naturally have been deduced from such expressions. To eat wisdom may be taken as a metaphorical expression; but there is no single instance in which to eat any man's flesh is used as equivalent to receiving his doctrine. To ruminate upon and digest the instruction of another, is as easy and obvious language as the subject admits; but to *eat the body* and *drink the blood* of your Teacher as such, bears no conceivable analogy to any benefit to be received from thence, and is in truth a saying not only hard in point of doctrine, but in point of interpretation also."

It may fairly then be admitted, that to treat the Lord's Supper simply or principally as a commemorative rite, will not find any sanction from Scripture. One of the reasons for its institution by the Redeemer, no doubt, was that it might "shew forth (proclaim) His death," till He returned again to judge the world. As such, it must always be of unspeakable importance to the Christian Church. Still, its great and culminating excellence is to be the "spiritual food" of every faithful believer. To *shew forth* the Lord's death is the peculiar province of the Church in its *corporate* capacity; to partake of the benefits of that death by the reception of His body and blood, is the privilege of the *individual* Christian. And here we see the wonderful difference between the Old and New Covenant. In the former, the chosen people were expressly *prohibited* from eating or partaking of blood with the flesh, because the *blood* is the *life*. In the latter, life is given to us through the blood of the atoning sacrifice made upon the cross, of which we *are* to partake, because God has given us His Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, not only to die for us, but also to be our *spiritual* food and sustenance in that Holy Sacrament. How admirably are

the Law and the Prophets fulfilled in this most solemn of all rites. We dare not then take our Lord's words literally, and profess that we receive the bread and wine transmuted into His very body and blood, according to the dogma of the unreformed Eastern and Western Churches. How alien this would be to the great purpose for which this rite was instituted is also ably shewn by Archdeacon Wilberforce, whose language I must again quote, only deploring that one who could so decidedly and clearly demonstrate the unsuitableness of this dogma, should himself have failed in always appreciating the force of his own reasoning. "But further," he says, "it may be observed in the second place, that to rest on a material transmutation in the consecrated elements is, so far forth, to detract from the influence of our Lord's ascended manhood as Head of the renewed race; for its consequence would be, to turn our minds to the natural effect of those sacred elements which we partake, instead of building on the supernatural presence of that ascended Manhood, with which it should be our object to be united. The blessing in the one case would be, to be fed with heavenly food, in the other to be united to a Divine Person. The first of these would, according to the supposition, be a blessing in itself, independently of the other, so that the main object of sacraments, their real life, that which separates them from all other means of grace, that in and through them are conjoined to the true head of man's race, and receive those blessings which, through a spiritual medium, He communicates in holy mysteries to all His members, would become a secondary consideration. Accordingly those ancient writers who most insist on the real presence and action of Christ's manhood in holy mysteries, declare plainly that the human body and blood which are ascended into heaven, are 'not' carnally consumed; and a single definite denial of this kind is more decisive in such a controversy than a hundred passages in which our Lord's real presence in His supper is asserted; because these last consist as well with the spiritual, while the first is incompatible with the carnal presence of Christ."

Admitting this reason to be perfectly correct, of which there can be little doubt, the question next occurs, in what manner is the spiritual presence in the Eucharist supposed to be brought about by the act of consecration on the part of the minister, by the faith of the recipient, or by both combined? If "the faith of the recipient is the consecrating principle," as affirmed by

* *Wilberforce on the doctrine of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ*, page 424, 425.

Bishop Hampden in his celebrated Bampton Lectures, then we are irresistibly impelled to the conclusion that the warnings of St. Paul directed against unworthy receivers are totally inapplicable here. This notion reduces necessarily the rite to a "bare commemoration," and though no doubt it would be displeasing to God that those who partake should do so in a cold and unconcerned manner, yet they could not incur the danger of condemnation for "not *discerning* the Lord's *body*." But in truth this view of the subject arises from confounding two things which in reality are very different, viz., the faith which is supposed to be erroneously the consecrating principle, and that "lively faith in God's mercy through Christ" on the recipient's part which enables him to receive to the strengthening and refreshing of his soul so as to be to him heavenly manna in the wilderness of this world. For this purpose the consecration of the elements by the minister seems an essential requisite in order to provide through the bread and wine that spiritual food and sustenance "externally," if I may so say, which is to be "internally" the sustenance of the soul. And it is this supposition alone, which enables us to reconcile the Twenty-eight and Twenty-ninth Articles of our Church, which at first appear contradictory to each other. The first declares that "the means whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith," so far thus agreeing with the opinion that its receiver is the consecrator; the Twenty-ninth affirms that the wicked, and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth (as Saint Augustine saith) the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ. From putting the two articles together, we may safely infer that the one has reference to the faith of the recipient, which is of course necessary to the "right reception" of the consecrated elements, the other to the case of the wicked and profane who are not partakers of Christ though they have eaten and drank the Sacrament of His body and blood, the previous consecration in this case being presupposed. May we not then fairly conclude that the act of consecration on the part of the minister, and faith on the part of the recipient are *both* necessary to a full and perfect administration of the Holy Eucharist.

"It is curious to observe," in the words of Dr. Goulburn, "how religious ideas are continually in a state of flux and change. Not only do outward fashions alter, but habits of thought are different from what they were. Controversies have shifted their ground, and the theological combatants have gone off to a different part of the field." So may we not say it has happened

with the sacramentarian controversy, transubstantiation, consubstantiation, and impanation, and are not at present, nor have been for some time, the subject of controversy in the English Church, though "serious Christians are coming round gradually, it is presumed by the force of conviction, to the habit of communicating much oftener than they used to do." And most providential is it that such should be the case, for how often does it happen that when controversy is "warm," faith is "cold." Unlike the doctrine of the Trinity, on which she speaks in an explicit and decided manner, our Church does not in the slightest degree attempt to *define* the manner of our Lord's spiritual presence in the Eucharist. And after all so natural is the feeling not to do so, that we find it in the unreformed churches also. In a note to the little work, with the notice of which I commenced this paper, it is remarked that the Eastern Church, while adopting the term *μετουσίωσις*, expressly declares that she does not define the manner of the change (in the Eucharist), for this is known to God only. To which I may add, that in spite of the dogmatically decisive language of Rome on the doctrine of transubstantiation, she does declare at Trent that "it is a mystery which cannot be explained in words." Here there is a most satisfactory and undeniable confession consolatory and refreshing to those who, members be they of what Christian Church they may, desire to grasp the *substantial benefits* to be derived from a devout participation in the Holy Communion, and weary not themselves with endeavouring to discover the precise manner in which those benefits are presented to the devout and faithful recipient. Regarded from this point of view may not the Anglican read with unmixed pleasure and real satisfaction the sacramental hymn with which I will conclude this paper. I will not stop to inquire whether Presbyterianism in Scotland of either section would not do well in endeavouring to follow the example of our own Church by the adoption of more frequent communions, but sure I am that this hymn by the well-known Minister of the Free Church at Kelso will recommend itself to every one by the tone of deep piety which pervades every portion of it, and the admirable and appropriate language in which it is couched :—

"Here, O my Lord ! I see Thee face to face,
 Here would I touch and handle things unseen,
 Here grasp with firmer hand the eternal grace,
 And all my weariness upon Thee lean.

"Here would I feed upon the bread of God,
 Here drink with Thee the royal wine of Heav'n,

Here would I lay aside each earthly load,
Here taste afresh the calm of sin forgiv'n.

"This is the hour of banquet and of song,
This is the heav'nly table spread for me,
Here let me feast, and feasting still prolong
The brief bright hours of fellowship with Thee.

"Too soon we rise; the symbols disappear,
The feast, though not the love, is passed and gone,
The bread and wine removed, but Thou art here
Nearer than ever, still my Shield and Sun.

"I have no help but Thine, nor do I need
Another arm save Thine to lean upon,
It is enough my Lord, enough indeed,
My strength is in Thy might, Thy might alone.

"I have no wisdom save in Thine, who is
My Wisdom and my Teacher both in one;
No wisdom can I lack while Thou art wise,
No teaching can I crave save Thine alone.

"Mine is the sin, but Thine the Righteousness,
Mine is the guilt, but Thine the cleansing blood,
Here is my robe, my Refuge, and my Peace,
Thy blood, Thy Righteousness, O Lord, my God!

"I know that deadly evils compass me,
Dark perils threaten, yet I would not fear,
Nor poorly shrink, nor feebly turn to flee,
Thou art, O Christ! my buckler, sword, and spear.

"Feast after feast thus comes and passes by,
Yet passing points to the glad feast above,
Giving sweet foretaste of the festal joy,
The Lamb's great bridal Feast of bliss and love."

H. P.

AN OLD ACCOUNT OF THE STRAUSS CONTROVERSY.*

BY PROFESSOR H. B. HACKETT.

No portion of the Bible, not excepting now even the Pentateuch, which had been so long the battlefield of the German critics, excites so much interest at the present moment in Germany as the four Gospels. This is owing to the new direction which the course of biblical criticism has taken in that country, since the appearance in 1835 of Strauss's work on the *Life of Christ*. This work, it is well known, has produced a sensation in the German theological world, unequalled by anything which has occurred since the publication of the *Wolfenbüttel Fragments*, by Lessing, in 1778. It has passed rapidly through repeated editions, has been printed, how many times we are unable to say, in an abridged and less critical form for uneducated readers, has been translated into other languages, and has given rise to a controversy, which after the lapse now of these ten years nearly, is still kept up with undiminished vigour.

Of the degree of positive influence which this work of Strauss has exerted, of the actual impression which it has made on the public mind, it is not easy to form a definite opinion. We should certainly err, however, were we to regard the attention merely which it has awakened as any very exact criterion of the favour with which its doctrines have been received, or as indicating to any very great extent an increase of the infidelity of Germany over and above that which previously existed. In the first place, it should be remembered, that at the time when Strauss came forward with his new theory for the explanation of the Gospel history, the old type of rationalism, that which flourished particularly from the beginning of the present century until 1817, which is represented in exegesis by Paulus, and in dogmatics by Wegscheider, had lost very much of its scientific interest with the public, and had thus left the ground open for some new development of the rationalistic principle. Under these circumstances, Strauss appeared; and of those who embraced his sentiments, the great majority consisted, not of those who now went over from the Christian camp to unbelief for the first time, but of such as had already taken this step, and on this occasion merely exchanged one form of religious scepticism for another. In the

* *Wissenschaftliche Kritik der Evangelischen Geschichte. Ein Compendium der gesammten Evangelienkritik mit Berücksichtigung der neuesten Erscheinungen bearbeitet von Dr. A. Ebrard.* 1842. [This article appeared in the *American Bibliotheca Sacra*, May, 1845. We reprint it because Strauss has thought fit to recall attention to his romance by the publication of a *Popular Edition*. We have omitted the notes.—Ed. J. S. L.]

second place, Strauss's notoriety has proceeded, after all, much more from the opposition which his views have encountered, than from any demonstration of numbers or strength which his supporters have made in his behalf. Those who have taken part against him exceed by scores those who have attempted to do battle for him. Zeal for the truth of God is not yet wholly extinct in the land of the Reformers; and this zeal, wherever it exists, cannot but display itself whenever any danger, be it real or apparent, seems to threaten the interests of Christianity. "We bar the doors carefully, not merely when we expect a formidable attack, but when we have *treasure* in the house." It is truly gratifying to see the proof which this controversy has elicited, that Germany has still so many who continue faithful to the truth, and who can bring to the defence of it an ability and learning equal to the crisis. Again, the civil proceedings in which Strauss has been involved, have given him a publicity which his writings alone would not have procured him. At the time of the publication of his *Life of Jesus*, he was occupying the place of Repetent in the theological seminary at Tübingen, and at the same time delivering lectures on philosophy in the university. He was immediately called on by the superintendents of public instruction to shew, if he could, how the views advanced in this book were to be reconciled with his position as a professed Christian teacher. Failing to make this out to the satisfaction of his judges, he was removed from his office, and thus became at once, in the estimation of many, a martyr to the rights of free inquiry. He was elected, after this, in 1839, with much opposition, and after loud protestation from various quarters, to the professorship of dogmatics and church history in the university of Zürich in Switzerland. But the people of the canton, indignant at the outrage thus offered to their religious feelings, soon rose *en masse* and compelled him to resign his office and withdraw from the country. The excitement and controversy attending these transactions drew on him necessarily universal attention, and rendered him famous throughout Europe. Finally, there are already no slight indications, that the influence of Strauss is waning, and that the impression which he seemed to produce at first, has given way to a more sober estimate of his work considered as an intellectual production, as well as to a conviction of the utter falsity of the critical principles, so-called, on which it is written. In such a country as Germany, where the learned class is so numerous, there are always many who take no very active interest in the theological results which such controversies are designed to establish, who yet make it a matter of honour to see to it that literary justice

is dealt out to the parties. They constitute a sort of court of science, into which these questions are brought, and where, all polemic feelings being put aside as much as possible, they are decided with reference solely to the skill, ability, and general fairness of argument, with which the combatants have maintained their cause. The judgment thus given has always great influence in determining the authority and ultimate fate of the views which are the subject of dispute. We feel ourselves borne out now by our means of information in saying, that the scientific public in Germany have decided on the contest between Strauss and his opposers, and have given no doubtful verdict in favour of the latter. This may be inferred, among other proofs, with sufficient certainty from the present tone of the leading critical journals, from the well-known character for talents and scholarship of many of those who have signalized themselves on this occasion in defence of Christian truth, and particularly from the style of discussion, as regards Strauss individually, which the later publications relative to him have assumed. A politic controversialist does not venture, whatever may be his own private sentiments, to treat an opponent before the public in a manner very much at variance with the general estimation in which he is held. The bearing which he exhibits towards him will be conformed very much to what is supposed to be the public consequence of the personage with whom he has to do. Dr. David Friedrich Strauss, on this principle, has ceased certainly to be a very formidable character. His name, whatever terror it may have awakened once, is now pronounced without fear. As the smoke of the battle has cleared up, his dimensions have revealed themselves more clearly to the view of his countrymen; they have verified his humanity, and now treat him just like any other mortal who, though he may have shewn some acuteness and said some just things in a very good style in opposition to unwise apologists for the truth, is yet suspected of having gone sadly astray from religion and common sense; that is, they give him full credit for his shrewdness—they admit him to be in the right when he is not wrong—they refute him with argument as well as they can whenever he himself makes pretension to argument;—and as for the rest, who can blame them, or find fault with their logic, if they are unable to deal with impiety, absurdity, and nonsense otherwise than as such?

It is in this general style now intimated, that Dr. Ebrard has taken up the questions at issue between Strauss and his opposers in the work named at the foot of page 378; and in so doing has reflected, in common with other similar writings which have lately appeared, the present feeling of an extensive

portion, at least of Germany, in respect to this controversy. It does not comport with our object to characterize this able production at much length. It occupies an intermediate position between a regular commentary on the gospels on the one hand, and a connected biography of the Saviour on the other. It has this in common with the former, that it discusses the same general topics, such as the plan of the different evangelists, their genuineness, the consistency of their several accounts with each other, which claim the attention of an interpreter; but it differs from a commentary, inasmuch as it does not profess to give a detailed exposition of the Gospels, or of any extended portions of them in continuous order. It resembles, again, a biographical sketch of the Saviour in its attempt to arrange the materials of the evangelical history in their supposed chronological connection, but makes no endeavour, like the *Lives of Christ* which we have—for instance, from Hess and Neander—to throw over this naked outline the fulness of representation and freshness of colouring which an expansion of the hints and simple statements of the evangelists render so easy to a master of the art of historical composition. The work has professedly a polemic aim against Strauss, and more particularly against that part of his book which professes to compare the different accounts of the evangelists with one another, and out of the alleged inconsistencies and contradictions to be found in them, to construct an argument in support of his hypothesis of their mythic origin. As a work of critical science, as a general help to the thorough study of the gospels, it is certainly one of the most useful books of the kind which we have ever seen. But it is especially valuable as presenting to us a critique on Strauss's *Life of Jesus* as a literary and scientific work, and thus enabling us to judge of it precisely in those respects in which it has arrogated to itself the greatest merit. We propose, therefore, in the sequel of the present article, to avail ourselves of some of the materials here offered for forming such a judgment, and at the same time to present, so far as it may be necessary for the accomplishment of this particular object, a brief account of the leading notions of Strauss's monstrous hypothesis.

This writer, who has attained so much distinction, was born at Ludwigsburg, in Würtemberg, in 1808. He pursued his early studies chiefly at Tübingen, officiated for a short time as vicar to a country curate, and then went, in 1831, to Berlin, where he heard lectures from Schleiermacher. Hegel had died a short time before this, but had left his philosophy in the zenith of its glory, to which Strauss now attached himself, and on which, after his return to Tübingen, he lectured with great applause at

the university. At the age of twenty-seven, he published his *Life of Jesus*, and thus brought his name, for the first time, prominently before the public. In this work he has applied the principles of Hegelianism to the interpretation of Scripture, and claims it as his great merit that he was the first to extend the domain of this philosophy to matters of religion. As this system is variously expounded by its teachers, it is not surprising that some of them, as Marheinecke, Rosenkrantz, and others who claim to be its true representatives, and to maintain its consistency with revelation, should refuse to acknowledge Strauss as a disciple of this school. As an adherent of the Hegelian philosophy, according to his exposition of it, it is impossible for him to admit the idea of Christianity as a historical religion, and he must discover, consequently, some mode of explaining its records, their origin, and the contents of them, which is consistent with his philosophy. Here lies the *πρώτον ψεύδος* of his scheme. The question of the genuineness of the Gospels is prejudged before he comes to their examination. It is impossible that any amount of evidence for them should establish their truth against the *à priori* decisions of his philosophy. This philosophy, as expressed in a word, is undisguised pantheism. Here is the norm to which all must be brought, the *lapis Lydius* which is to try everything. On this principle it becomes with Strauss a philosophical absurdity to suppose that the Gospels are genuine productions, and contain a record of actual occurrences and veritable doctrines, as these terms are generally understood; for, from such an admission, what would follow? Aye—there would be then a personal God—he would be omnipotent, and could work a miracle; the soul is immortal, and will live on in the world to come; every individual is accountable for himself, and must look to the consequences of his destiny—doctrines, of course, which pantheism denies, and which it must view as the brand-marks of spuriousness in any book which professes to teach them. Straussism now proposes to itself the somewhat difficult task of adhering to its philosophy, and yet maintaining a show of respect for the Scriptures. It would not venture on the avowal of an open hostility to the Word of God.

From this step, indeed, the rationalism of Germany, under all the forms of its manifestation, has studiously held itself back. It has always aimed at the same object, and that has been to blot out from the Bible all evidences of a supernatural revelation, and to reduce its teachings to a level with those of nature; but it has laboured to accomplish this result without acknowledging any inconsistencies between it and a certain reception of the Bible as a source of religious instruction. The methods which

it has employed for this purpose have been various, and have been changed from time to time, as their insufficiency and absurdity have become apparent. The one which has been on the whole most prevalent, and which has held possession of the field longest, is that of a forced interpretation. On meeting with a miracle or the appearance of a miracle in the Bible, it was explained away as a natural occurrence, either because the sacred writers themselves, it was alleged, really intended to relate it as such, and no other view is authorised by a just construction of their language, (thus in the account of the man healed at the pool of Bethesda, John never thought of relating any thing more, it was said, than a case of ordinary cure by bathing); or when the desired result could not be reached in this way, because we are to consider the writers as merely stating their own impression in regard to the matter, while it belongs to us as interpreters to distinguish between their opinion of an event and the event itself. What these arts were found inadequate to accomplish, it was left to the principle of accommodation, so-called, to consummate. The Jews—so the rationalists argued—were looking merely for a temporal king in the Messiah; and Jesus, who was a good man and sincerely desired the moral reformation of his countrymen, took advantage of this idea—(most palpably false, by the way—for what more perfect contrast can be imagined than that which exists between the Saviour as he was and professed to be, and that which the worldly Jews expected of the Messiah)—gave himself out as the Son of God, as the Head of a new universal kingdom, as the Judge of the world, and so on, simply in order to procure a more ready reception of his instructions, and to accomplish with better effect the benevolent object of his mission. In this way the Bible seemed to retain in some sort its authority and truth, and yet was robbed of everything which could be construed into evidence of its divinity or of the supernatural character of the dispensations whose history it contains. But this mode of interpretation lost at length its novelty. It violated too many principles of language and common sense to maintain its ground against the stricter views of philology which had begun to prevail; and the spirit of rationalistic criticism transferred itself next from the contents of the sacred writings to the sacred writings themselves. The critics of this school became suddenly endued with a wonderful sagacity for deciding on the genuineness of ancient compositions, for distinguishing by means of certain internal indications of style, idiom, and thought, together with a certain inward, undefinable sense of their own, between such parts of these compositions as were true, and such as were false; they could place

their hands, with infallible certainty, upon the entire book, in the sacred volume—upon the chapter here and there, or upon the verse, which was to be rejected as an interpolation and as unworthy of its reputed divine origin. Before such a process, those parts of the Bible which contained anything offensive to the rationalistic sense, which affirmed, for instance, the reality of miracles, prophetic inspiration, and the like, rapidly disappeared; and yet the effort which was thus in fact overturning the foundations of Christianity and all revealed religion, claimed to be nothing more than an assertion of the rights of a just and scientific criticism. But the arbitrary nature of such judgments could not fail to be perceived. They were capable of being exposed, and were exposed; so that rationalism began again to be pressed with the difficulties of its position both as attempting to maintain a mode of attack on the Scriptures which it could not justify at the bar of science, and as seeking to conceal its design by an artifice too shallow to answer any purpose of deception. All these expedients having been exhausted, one might have supposed that rationalism would be compelled now either to desist from the warfare, or carry it on henceforth without reserve or subterfuge, with an open assumption of the ground which it really occupied, but which it was so unwilling to avow. To this issue it seemed for a time as if it must come; but at this juncture Strauss presents himself with his mythic scheme, and opens the way for at least one other experiment of the kind which had been so often attempted.

The term *myth*, which has been so much used in modern criticism, is variously explained. The definition of it which Strauss adopts as regards the Gospels, is that of a *religious idea clothed in a historical form*. This historical form may be, in itself considered, a pure fiction, having no foundation whatever in any actual occurrences, but arising solely from the tendency of the human mind to give to spiritual truths an outward representation; or it may be founded upon certain historical circumstances as a point of departure, which have been gradually enlarged and modified in conformity with the ideas which have sought to express themselves by means of them. The former is the idea of the myth in its purity and universality; and it is this sense of it which Weisse has adopted as the foundation of his attempt to get rid of the facts of the evangelical history. Strauss, on the contrary, employs it in the other sense. He admits that there was such a person as Christ—a Jewish Rabbi (that is his language) who lived and taught in Palestine at the period which is usually assigned to him—that he collected a circle of disciples whom he impressed with so high an idea of his

wisdom and goodness, that they considered him as the Messiah, and thus at length awakened in his own mind an ambition, hitherto foreign to him, of being received in that character. This is the sum of all the historical truth which he allows to be contained in the Gospels. The rest is the result of a disposition on the part of the followers of Christ, which began to manifest itself soon after his death, to glorify their deceased Master in every possible way, and especially by ascribing to him those traits of life and character which the Jews supposed from the Old Testament would be exhibited by the Messiah. The Gospels, in a word, are, with the exception of the slight historical basis just mentioned, the product of a mere mental effort to realise and embody the rational Messianic idea which prevailed among the Jews so universally at the time of the birth of Christ. The Old Testament, as already intimated, it regarded as the soil, out of which these ideas, which have been rendered thus objective in Christ, are said to have sprung. Thus the temptation of the Saviour, which the evangelists relate, is resolved into a fiction, having its origin in the belief, that good men, as illustrated in the history of Job, are objects of the special hatred and persecution of Satan; and hence this must have been true also of the Messiah. The account of the miraculous multiplication of the loaves and fishes, is merely an imitation of the Mosaic account of the manna in Exod. vi. 16; and the transfiguration on Tabor has its type in what is related as having befallen Moses on Mount Sinai. The visit of the magi from the East, is said to have been suggested by the prophecy of Balaam in Numb. xxiv. 17, that a Star should arise out of Jacob, and by the representation in Isaiah lx. and Psalm lxxii., that distant nations and kings should bring presents of gold, spices, and other costly treasure as a tribute to the Messiah. The flight of the holy family into Egypt was intended to correspond to the flight of Moses into Midian; the murder of the children of Bethlehem to that of the children of the Israelites by Pharaoh; the appearance of Jesus at the age of twelve years in the temple, to the somewhat similar narratives respecting Samuel, Solomon, Daniel (1 Kings iii. 23 *seq.*; 1 Sam. iii.; Dan. iv. 5 *seq.*), etc., etc. These are examples of the manner in which the histories of the Gospels are said to have been formed, or, more properly speaking, to have formed themselves. They are the work, not of any single individual or of any fraudulent design, but of a gradual and spontaneous aggregation about the person of Jesus of the various types and analogies which the Jews supposed would be realised in the Messiah. The commonly received opinion respecting the time of the composition and the authorship of the Gospels would be

fatal of course to this theory; and this opinion accordingly is without ceremony set aside, and the ground assumed, that the Gospels were written about the middle of the second century after Christ, not by persons who stood in a sufficiently near relation to him to be able to report what they wrote on the authority of their own knowledge and observation, but by individuals whose names are unknown, who put down in good faith as their own belief and that of their contemporaries these mythic fictions then current, which had gradually sprung up and wrought themselves into a historical form in the manner which has been described. The Gospel of Luke, however, and the Acts, are referred by Strauss to a somewhat earlier origin, and the epistles of Paul also, with the exception of particular passages, are allowed to be genuine. His main argument for justifying his assertion, that the Gospels originated at so late a period, is derived from what he represents as their internal condition. Of this he gives his own account; and were there nothing to object to it, as regards either the soundness of the critical principles on which he has proceeded in this examination, or the accuracy and truth of his statements, it might seem indeed that we have here no slight obstacle to a literal reception of the memoirs of the evangelists. He undertakes to make out, that they offend perpetually against the chronology, history, social customs and institutions of the period to which they profess to relate, and furthermore that they are full of discrepancies and contradictions as compared with each other, which no art of interpreters and harmonists can possibly reconcile. On this basis he builds his conclusion—the Gospels could not have proceeded from writers who had any personal connection with the transactions and scenes which they relate, but they must have been composed at a period when time had already obscured the original accounts, and left room for those intermixtures of the marvellous and incoherent which they everywhere exhibit, and which mark the mythic creations of every age and people. It is generally acknowledged that Strauss has stated the apparent discrepancies between the Gospels with unusual force and effect; and it is on the ability displayed here, that his pretensions as a writer and critic mainly rest.

It will be perceived at once from the preceding sketch, that the work of replying to Strauss must consist principally in a vindication of the Gospels against the charges which he has preferred against them. The other parts of his hypothesis fall at once when deprived of this support. If the claims of the Gospels be established, and they are shewn to be from the hands of the personal followers of Christ, or of their associates, there remains then no interval for the mythic process of which Strauss

speaks; and the very idea of it, sufficiently absurd even were we to concede to him the entire interval for which he contends, is seen to be at once the merest dream that ever entered the head of a philosopher. It is with this vindication, as involving obviously the gist of the whole subject, that Dr. Ebrard has occupied himself mainly in the present work. Those more general objections, consequently, which lie against the views of Strauss, he has had less occasion to urge fully, than some other writers who have pursued a different plan. These will be found given at greater length, particularly by Tholuck, in the introductory part of his *Credibility of the Evangelical History*, by Ullmann in his work entitled *Historical or Mythic?* and by Julius Müller in his articles in the well-known theological journal, *Studies and Criticisms*, published at Heidelberg. As illustrating the manner in which this part of the discussion has been conducted, it will not be out of place to mention here some of the leading positions which have been taken against Strauss under this more general view of the subject. We have space only to enumerate them without much expansion.

First; it is affirmed that on Strauss's principles all history loses its certainty, and becomes a mere phantom,—an illusion. No biography was ever written of any individual, no history of any kingdom or nation, which may not be resolved into a set of myths as easily as the account of the Saviour contained in the Gospels. All confidence in the past is destroyed; all distinction between the ideal and actual is annihilated, and men can be certain of nothing which has taken place at any period remote at all from their own time, whatever may be the testimony by which it is supported. Second, The theory of Strauss leaves the origin of the Christian Church, the rise and spread of Christianity in the world, an unsolved enigma—an event without any adequate cause, or conceivable explanation. It involves the absurdity of a creation out of nothing. It can be shewn that Christians existed already in great numbers in every part of the Roman empire at the close of the first century—that they were bound together by the most intimate communion of sentiment and opinion—that they held their principles with such firmness, that no violence of persecution, no blandishments of wealth and power, no terrors of martyrdom could move them from their faith; and yet Strauss tells us, that the idea of this Messiah, whose name they bore, and for whom they sacrificed and suffered so much, did not fully develop itself till half a century later than this! Third, The character which the gospels attribute to the Saviour, is entirely unlike that which the Jews as a people expected that the Messiah would assume. It is not easy, in fact,

to see how the image of him, which they had pictured out to themselves under the influence of their national pride and egotism, could have been more decidedly contradicted than in the person and history of Jesus as presented to us by the evangelists. The idea of such a character as that of Jesus as portrayed in the Gospels, was entirely beyond and above the conceptions of the Jews, and so far from being produced by a desire to realise their Messianic hopes, arrayed against itself their strongest prejudices and passions, and from that hour to this has been an object of their most determined rejection and hatred. Fourth ; The supposition of Strauss assumes a definiteness and unity in the expectations of the Jews respecting the Messiah, which did not exist. The bulk of the people, as we find it stated also in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, believed that he would be a descendant of David, and a native of Bethlehem ; but according to the conceptions of the rabbins, as founded on Daniel vii. 21, he was to be a celestial spirit, who would descend at once from heaven to earth, in order to establish his kingdom—traces of which opinion present themselves in the Gospel of John and in Paul. Some supposed that his dominion would be temporary—others, eternal ; some that he would convert and bless the heathen—others, that he would destroy them ; some, that he would restore to life the dead of all mankind—others, that he would raise the Jews only ; and so on many other points, their views were in like manner entirely vague and unsettled. Fifth ; The anticipations of the Jews respecting the Messiah, whatever they may have been, could have had no influence on the heathen ; and yet the great majority of those who had embraced Christianity before the middle of the second century, consisted of converts from heathenism. The forming principle, consequently, to which Strauss attributes so much efficacy in the production of the Gospels, was here entirely wanting. To suppose that these histories could have been constructed out of an idea which *really* occupied the minds of men, would seem to be sufficiently absurd ; but what are we to think of it, when by far the greater part of those who are said to have been the unconscious instruments of working out this mythical development had not even this idea itself ! Sixth ; He attributes to the early Christians a procedure just the opposite of that which they actually adopted. He assumes that they had already in their minds a distinct image of the Messiah as derived from the symbols and prophecies of the Old Testament, and that they then framed a history for it in accordance with these predictions ; whereas it is notorious, both from intimations of the New Testament itself and from other sources, that they were inclined to

just the opposite course—that is, having the facts first given—the history itself presented to them—to interpret the prophecies on the principle that their meaning is likely to be best explained by their fulfilment. They no doubt carried this principle so far as to put often a forced interpretation on Scripture in order to increase the testimony of prophecy to the truth of Christianity; but that only shews how impossible it would have been, under such circumstances, that the Gospels should have been produced in the manner that Strauss represents. Seventh; All history proves that nothing which can be pretended to be in the remotest degree analogous to what is supposed here has ever taken place, except in the most barbarous times and after the lapse of an almost interminable series of years; and yet Strauss would persuade us that Christianity, from being a mere fiction, established itself in the minds of men as a historical verity, in the incredibly short period of little more than a century after the death of its Founder, and that, too, in the most enlightened age of Greek and Roman civilization! Finally, His system is affirmed to be full of self-contradictions and to contain in itself the elements of its own refutation. He denies, for instance, the genuineness of the Evangelists in general, but receives them as trustworthy witnesses whenever they assert anything which he can employ as an argument for impeaching their own credit. He professes to regard the contents of our Gospels as the result of a process of symbolization, so simple and natural, that it was carried on by a thousand minds at once, without consciousness or design; and yet when he comes to the actual details, he is obliged to assume a degree of reflection and study in adjusting the character of Christ to its supposed mental type, utterly irreconcilable with the idea of any such spontaneous operation. He allows that Luke probably wrote his Gospel in the first age of Christianity; and as every one knows, this evangelist opens his history with the announcement (Luke i. 1—3), that many had already preceded him in writing on the same subject. Even his history, therefore, was not the first which had been composed. Written accounts of the life of Christ were already in existence and well known. They must have made their appearance, consequently, almost immediately after the crucifixion of Jesus. There could have been no interval of any duration between that event and their composition. This is justly regarded as decisive of the whole question. It is thus proved that written documents relating to the Founder of Christianity have existed from the very first, and that there has never been any such traditionary period in the Church, as Strauss pretends, and as is necessary to the support of his

hypothesis, during which men were dependent for their knowledge concerning Christ upon uncertain oral accounts, which were transmitted from one to another. This history had already been written out by various hands, and scattered far and wide, before the mythic period to which Strauss would refer the formation of our Gospels had arrived. Had any such tendency to exaggeration as he supposes discovered itself then, those histories would have served as an effectual check upon it, and preserved the great body of Christians, at least, from lending an ear to fictions which they saw to be unsustained by their written testimonies.

It may appear singular that the work of Strauss should have excited so much surprise, when the idea on which it is founded, instead of being advanced now for the first time, had long been familiar to the minds of a certain class of German critics. Semler was the first, perhaps, who distinctly proposed it, and we find it actually applied by him to the histories of Samson and Esther. After this it was adopted without reserve by such writers as Eichhorn, Kayser, Gabler, Ammon, Berthold, Siefert, and others, in particular passages both of the Old and the New Testaments, that is to say, whenever they met with narratives and representations, which, in their more obvious historical sense, implied a supernatural interposition, and from which they could not easily remove the appearance of this, either by impeaching the integrity of the text, or by explaining away its meaning by a forced interpretation. In this manner, and by such critics, the mythic principle had been gradually extended to numerous portions of the Old Testament, and to various facts in the history of the Saviour, as his supernatural birth, his resurrection, ascension, and still other events of the like miraculous character. Strauss's book contains, in fact, very little in its actual details, which has not been anticipated by preceding writers. His peculiarity consists merely in this, that he has given to this mode of interpretation a degree of unity and completeness which it had not yet received. He was the first to open his mind to the conception that the means which had been employed to do away with certain parts of revelation might be employed with equal effect to do away with the whole of it. Others who had gone before him in the same career stopped short of the issue to which their principles were leading them; he took up the work where they left it, and urged it through with unflinching constancy.

It will sound strangely to our readers to be told after this that Strauss still pretends to hold fast to the truth of Christianity, and would deem it a serious breach of charity for any one to question the sincerity of his faith in its records. The

explanation of this mystery may be given in few words. According to his philosophy, the truth of the facts of Christianity is not necessary to the truth of Christianity itself. Christianity is an idea, entirely independent of the history, so-called, in which it has accidentally clothed itself; and if a person holds merely to this idea, whatever it may be, he holds to all which is true, and all which was ever intended to be taught as true in the Christian writings; and is entitled to the name of a believer. Thus, one of the great truths asserted in Christianity, as he affirms, is the reality of the Divine and human in man, that is, in every man—for pantheism makes us all, of course—entire and several—parts of the Deity; and this truth, after having so long struggled to bring itself to the distinct consciousness of mankind, has at length obtained its fullest development and recognition in the person of Jesus Christ. That is, the human mind has employed him—it being a matter of indifference to the truth itself whether there ever was such a person or not—as the representative of this idea; and if any one receives this idea, he receives all which the Gospel teaches respecting the Divinity of Christ, and the miraculous works attesting this character which he is said to have performed. So also of various other truths, which find their symbolization in the history which the evangelists have related. Indeed, since these truths have been embodied, so to speak, in a more impressive manner, and with greater purity, in the gospels than in any other similar mode of representation, Christianity is to be considered as the most perfect religious dispensation which has yet appeared, and as making the highest progress which the human race have hitherto made in the apprehension of moral and spiritual truth.

This mode of viewing the Scriptures creates obviously a necessity for some method of interpretation conformed to it. Here Strauss's system has to encounter itself with a new mass of absurdities. All the ordinary established laws of language are disregarded, and a set of hermeneutical rules introduced, as loose and visionary as any which were ever applied to the Bible by a Hermas, an Origen, or a Swedenborg. The literal or historical sense must be discarded. There is always a deeper meaning for the initiated than that which lies upon the surface. While the ordinary reader attaches himself to the outward form, the philosopher penetrates to the spirit. That which is related as fact being understood as symbol, this symbol will be explained, of course, as denoting any idea which the fancy of the interpreter may choose to connect with it. In this way Hegelianism, with a mock reverence for the Word of God, may adduce its

Scripture warrant for all its dogmas and blasphemies ; the Bible is converted into a perfect *quodlibet ex quolibet* ; and there is not a philosopher who has lived from Confucius to Schelling who might not with equal propriety plead its authority for his wisdom or his ravings.

We have not space to pursue further these topics. It only remains for us now to endeavour to assist the reader in forming some general conception of the manner in which Strauss has developed his internal argument, as it is termed, against the genuineness of the Gospels. The nature and object of this have been already stated. It professes to be founded on a comparison of the Gospels with each other, and with other writings, Jewish as well as Greek and Roman, which illustrate the same period of history. Out of this comparison he undertakes to shew that the evangelists abound in the most palpable inconsistencies and self-contradictions, and that they are utterly at variance also with other unimpeachable historical authorities. In this way he would impose on the Gospels a character corresponding to that of the origin which he imputes to them—he would make them out to be the productions of men who lived at a remote period from that of the scenes and events which they describe and exhibit proof, in this contradictory form of their narratives, of the vague, uncertain manner in which they were handed down for so long a time from one generation to another.

That the ground over which this part of the work conducts us is not free from difficulty, no one who has studied the Gospels critically will pretend to deny. Strauss is not the first who has made this discovery. The apparent discrepancies between the Gospels were noticed by the earliest Christian writers, and received from them the attention which, as Christian apologists, they were bound to give them. Augustine has left us a treatise—*De Consensu Evangelistarum*—on this very subject. Similar works were composed by Eusebius and Ambrose. The same ground has been traversed by a thousand writers since their time ; and, as often as a new commentary has been written on the Gospels with any pretensions to critical merit, it has repeated and explained these difficulties. It has been said, with probable truth, that in Strauss's whole work there are not perhaps twenty of these discrepancies between the evangelists, as they are called, which have not been pointed out by previous writers, and for which a solution has not been proposed. It has been shewn that a portion of them, as urged by objectors, consist entirely of misstatements which need only to be placed in a correct light in order to have their groundlessness perceived—that

some of them rest upon the ignorance of critics themselves in regard to language, or a deficiency of information in some other branch of antiquity—that some of them, which for a time appeared to be incapable of explanation, have been since cleared up by more extended research and the advancement of science—that many of them result merely from the fragmentary form in which the evangelists have related their history—and that in those cases in which they seem to differ from each other, it may reasonably be resolved into the imperfections of our own knowledge, and that in those cases, again, in which they disagree with other writers, they are entitled, considered merely as historians, and all question of their inspiration apart, to as much credit as Josephus, or Philo, or Tacitus, or any one else whose authority has been so confidently arrayed against them.

But all this avails nothing for Strauss. Things remain for him as they have been from the beginning; criticism has made no progress since the days of Porphyry; Chubb, Morgan, Reimarus, and such like, are the only men of true discernment, while the rest of the world have been deceived by superficial appearances, and need still to have their errors and incredulity corrected and exposed. This task has been so often undertaken, yet without success, that one would think that some special fitness for it would be necessary in order to warrant now a renewal of the attempt with any prospect of a better result. Mere elegance of style, dexterity in stating the points of an objection with force, hardihood of assertion, unbounded egotism, contempt for the opinions and cold-blooded indifference to the dearest hopes of mankind, would not seem to be sufficient qualifications for undertaking this labour anew. Surely some new discoveries have been made which are to take the world by surprise. Recesses of science have been explored, hitherto unsealed to mortal eyes. Our champion must have brought to his work stores of erudition, before which the learning of all Christian scholars sinks away into insignificance and contempt. We are now assuredly about to hear the testimony of witnesses against the Gospels who have never yet spoken, and whom it has been reserved to the indefatigable Dr. Strauss, in the illimitable excursions of his far-reaching scholarship, to discover for the first time, and to bring forward on this occasion for the rehearing of this so often adjudicated question.

How far these expectations are realised by the actual result, might be shewn by following Dr. Ebrard in his detailed exposure of some of the objections which Strauss has urged against the history of the Saviour. But we have the means of satisfying

the curiosity of our readers on this point in another way. In the first part of his treatise, Dr. Ebrard makes a thorough business of examining and refuting the objections of Strauss, in connection with the particular passages in the Gospels on which they are founded. He then at the commencement of his second part presents a summary view of the critical principles which are assumed as the foundation of these objections, and with the soundness or unsoundness of which they must stand or fall. At the same time he gives us a clue to the literary pretensions of our critic, and reveals some secrets of book-making, which are adapted to put us on our guard against first appearances. From this statement, as drawn out by our author, any one can judge both how really formidable is this famous attack which Strauss has made on Christianity, and how far authorised he is, by any superiority of knowledge and learning, to look down with scorn upon the host of Christian scholars whom he has treated with so much contempt. Dr. Ebrard presents this critique—such it virtually is—on Strauss's *Life of Jesus*, under the head of a *Receipt* for enabling any one who chooses to produce a similar book, and thus to emulate this great author in the renown which he has won. We shall conclude the present article, therefore, by copying out for our readers this receipt with some considerable fulness. Here it is.

Receipt for Writing a Life of Jesus like that of Dr. David Fr. Strauss.

(a) Before you begin, go to an antiquarian book-store and buy a copy of *Lightfoot and Wetstein*, for the sake of their rabbinic learning; and then fetch from some public library the second part of Havercamp's *Josephus*, and opening it at the register, set it on the table before you.

(b) You are now to task yourself for an Introduction. Let it be something written in your finest style, in which you will have much to say about science, Origen, and his allegorical interpretation, and various other matters, with some flourishes at last respecting your subject, how deeply affecting, how beautiful and grand it is, though, as to historical reality, you will not presume to claim a great deal for it.

(c) You enter next on the work itself, and must commence with special care. There are four histories before you, from which you are to draw your materials. You have nothing to do here with the question, whether these books are biographies or compositions of some other kind, whether everything is narrated in the exact order of its occurrence or not, whether all the writers had the same plan, or a different one, etc. But

you assume, without mooted the question at all, that these four histories are so many chronological biographies, written entirely on the same plan, for the same object, and in the same manner. This, of course, you will not be so simple as to say expressly ; but if two of the books happen not to agree at any time, you will proceed just as if that which you do not say were a point taken for granted, beyond all dispute. Your readers will be none the wiser for it. Comp. Strauss, b. i., pp. 285, 294, 407, 500, 574, 650, 718, 733, 738.

(d) You take up now the contradictions of your four sources. If these are trivial, and lie merely in a different mode of representation, you then pretend that, as for yourself, you attach no great importance to them; but, at the same time, you take care to bring them all forward, and to put them in as imposing an attitude as possible. To illustrate this, suppose, for example, you were writing a life of Farel. In one of your sources, it is said—Farel was a reformer from Frankfort, and met with Calvin at Geneva; but in another of them Calvin came to Geneva, where he saw Farel and Viret; and still, in a third, Farel visited Viret, in whose room was a French traveller, Calvin. Here you reason thus:—According to A, Calvin is already in Geneva, and Farel finds him there; while, according to B and C, Calvin finds Farel. According to C, it is Farel who calls upon Viret; while, according to B, it is Calvin who makes the visit to Farel and Viret. According to C, the meeting of Calvin and Farel is an accidental one; while, according to B, Calvin appears to have sought the interview by design. According to C, the meeting takes place in Viret's room; according to B, it has entirely the appearance as if it took place in a room which Viret and Farel occupy together. Comp. Strauss, §§ 109 135, and, indeed, §§ 17-143.

(e) If the contradictions are really great, and such as to indicate to an unprejudiced person, that the events which two of the sources relate are entirely different from those related in the two others, you are then, either silently to assume the identity of the two accounts, or to seek to render this plausible by urging the points of similarity. In this way you can show off a rich stock of contradictions. Thus, for example, A says:—"Cajus on a certain occasion met a carriage full of country people who were riding home from a church service. Just at that moment an old beggar woman passed by, and asked them—they were singing merrily at the time—for a present, but received none. Cajus took out his purse and gave her a few groschen. Grateful for his kindness, she kissed his hand, and prayed that God would bless him and his family." B says:—

"The wife and children of Cajus had gone on a certain occasion to visit an aged aunt. Cajus could scarcely wait for their return. Towards evening he went out on the way to meet them, and the carriage soon appeared. The children, when they saw their father, shouted with joy; and on coming nearer, he perceives that their aged relative herself sat with them within. He sprang upon the door-step of the carriage, and, full of joy, kissed her hand." You put on now a conscientious mien, and discourse after this wise:—"On account of the differences here, the harmonists have attempted to explain the two accounts as referring to different transactions. But who does not see the violence of this assumption? Both times we have a Cajus who goes out to walk; both times a carriage full of people, who both times sing and shout; both times Cajus meets with the carriage; both times a family is mentioned; both times an aged woman figures in the scene; both times the hand is kissed. That the two narrators wished, therefore, to relate one and the same occurrence, admits of no question. It is quite another matter, whether in the manner in which they relate it, they do not contradict themselves. According to A, it was a carriage full of people, who have no particular connection with Cajus—peasants, it would seem; according to B, they are his children: according to B, the carriage has a door-step—it was a coach therefore; according to A, it appears as if it was a common waggon: according to A, the carriage is returning from church-service; according to B, from a visit. According to A, the woman is a beggar woman, and receives from Cajus an alms; B not only knows nothing of any alms, but makes the beggar woman his aunt. According to A, it is the woman who kisses his hand, and indeed, as it would seem, upon the ground by the side of the waggon; according to B, it is he who kisses her hand, and in the carriage itself. He who does not perceive now, that we have to do here with two secondary, distorted accounts of some legendary event, does not know what distorted or legendary means. Comp. Strauss §§ 89, 101, b. ii., p. 95, and elsewhere.

(f) Nay, even if the *time* in one authority is *expressly* different from that in the other, still you must assume the identity of the two events; and now your contradictions will become as plentiful as you can wish. For example, A says: "Cajus travelled to Rome in his thirtieth year, and saw St. Peter's church;" and B says: "Cajus travelled in his fortieth year to Erfurt and visited the great clock." Here you find the first contradiction in this, and according to A, Cajus travels to Rome, according to B, to Erfurt; the second in this, that according to A, he sees St.

Peter's church, according to B, the great clock; the third is this, that A and B contradict themselves in reference to the period of life when Cajus is said to have made the journey in question. Comp. Strauss b. ii., 505 and elsewhere.

(g) If you find any event related only by A and B, but not by D and C, you are not to inquire whether A and B may have had special grounds for mentioning it, which the others had not, but you say at once—"C and D *know nothing* of this event or circumstance." Comp. *ex. gr.* Strauss, b. i., pp. 428, 536, 677, 686, 727, 744; ii. pp. 20, 49, 123, and other places.

(h) When three writers who are independent of each other relate an event, it must be strange, indeed, if one of them does not describe it more minutely, the others less so. This circumstance now you must turn to account, and always find a "climax" in the different versions of the story. Thus, for example, A says: "Cajus came into the forest, and found a wounded stag and healed it." B says: "Cajus went out to walk, and as he came to the borders of a forest, he saw a stag lying there, wounded by a thorn, which he extracted." C says: "Cajus went into a forest to walk, and heard a groaning: he went in the direction of the noise and saw," etc. Evidently a "climax," you must now exclaim! The locality is designated by A only as a forest; by B as the border of the forest, and the wound is said to have been occasioned by a thorn; C, finally, has resolved the accidental finding of the animal into a hearing of its groans, and a gradual approach to the spot. Comp. Strauss, b. ii., p. 143 and elsewhere.

(i) In certain cases you can avail yourselves also of another artifice. Suppose A related a circumstance *m*, and B related the same circumstance, but added at the same time attendant circumstances, *n*, *o*, *p*, not mentioned in the account of A, which are of such a nature, however, that the circumstance *m* occurring, they must necessarily *eo ipso* have taken place along with it. Here now you are not to say: "If the statement of A, that *m* occurred, be true, then the statement of B, that *n*, *o*, *p*, also (as necessary consequences of *m*) occurred, must likewise be true;" but you say just the reverse: "B has merely *conjectured* the attendant occurrence of *n*, *o*, *p*." For example, A says: "The tree fell to the ground;" B says: "The tree fell to the ground; its branches were broken to pieces, and much of the fruit hanging upon them, being loosened by the shock, fell off." You say now thus: "B adds to the general fact the breaking of the branches, and the falling of the fruit as accompanying circumstances. We need not hesitate long upon the question, Whence did he know this? If the tree fell, he said to himself,

nothing is more likely than that some of its branches were broken, and much of the fruit shaken off." Comp. Strauss, b. ii., p. 490.

(k) Having found now a sufficient number of contradictions between the different accounts of the narrators, you pass next to the *internal difficulties* which lie in each individual history, or in the *subjective event* itself, to which the history relates. Here you enter on a field from which you can gather ample spoils. Every event is either simple, and related only in its most general traits, or it is described fully, with an enumeration of all its circumstances. If the former be the case, you then say: "This plain, unadorned representation is perfectly agreeable to the spirit of the primitive, legendary age, in which the story had its origin;" but if the latter be the case, you say, "The minuteness with which the narrator has dressed out the event in all its circumstantial drapery, shews most clearly, that the exaggerating power of tradition has been at work here." Comp. Strauss b. i., pp. 383, 395 b., 450, 567, 635, 728; b. ii., 24 f. 36 f. and other places. Proceed in this way, and you will never find yourself at a loss. You can turn anything into a myth, whether stated by your narrator in one form or another. Say what he will, it is myth, and myth it must remain.

(l) A bold and impudent falsification of the facts, you will occasionally find very useful. By mere assertion, or the gratuitous introduction of some trait unknown to your author, you can make the particulars of a statement appear entirely contradictory to each other. You need have no fear of such a step, as if it might be hazardous; scores of readers will believe you the sooner for so dashing a manœuvre. Thus, for example, it is said: "Cajus was a faithful father, and devoted much time and labour to the education and instruction of his children;" and in another passage it is related, that a son of Cajus, now grown up, met with a man who had previously been his teacher. You have only now to pervert the first passage, so as to make it affirm expressly that Cajus gave himself all the instruction to his children which they ever received, and then you can ask, "How could his son meet with a teacher of his, when he never had any teacher except his own father?"

(m) Another little stratagem, to which you can resort, is that of constantly putting the question, what was the *object*, when a thing is so plain as to be evident of itself. If Cajus makes a deep and respectful bow to an aged man who meets him, you must ask: "What was the object of that bow? Was it intended merely to please and gratify the old man? But how can it be supposed, that the compliment of a stranger would afford an old man so much pleasure? Or did Cajus perform

that act in order to express his views respecting the reverence which is due to old age in general? A very good object, certainly, but there was no spectator present to profit by the example, and he would have done better at all events to have inculcated that principle publicly in a Compendium of Morals. Or will any one say, that it was to this particular individual that he wished to make such a demonstration of his sentiments? This, again, is not without its difficulty. The act being merely a silent one, might have been misunderstood; and he would have been surer of his object to have explained it in express terms. And besides, what interest could he have in forcing upon a stranger, in so hasty a manner, an expression of his views upon a moral subject of this nature?" Comp. Strauss, b. i., pp. 221, 261, 290, 556, 562, etc.

(n) It will be found, that in the whole course of a history, certain particular circumstances occur repeatedly, though in every separate passage where they are mentioned they are sufficiently explained. The causes which occasion their recurrence are always either specified or intimated. In such cases, you must make it a point to take these circumstances out of their connection, and to represent them as proceeding from a studied design of the writer, consequently as a pure invention on his part. If, for example, one of your sources relates in a certain place, that Cajus returning from a walk sat down to table; and again, in two other passages that he went out, on two different occasions, before dinner—induced, indeed, every time so to do by special reasons—you must then say: "It appears to have been a standing rule with Cajus, to walk or go out before dinner. Who does not see in this the design of the writer to distinguish Cajus from other men, since he represents him as going out for exercise in the forenoon, while the general practice is to do this in the afternoon?" Comp. Strauss, b. ii., p. 585, where John's outrunning Peter is said to be one of a series of incidents, introduced for the purpose of conferring a superiority upon John over Peter. For other similar manœuvres of Strauss, see the author's work, *Theil.*, i., § 78, 4.

(o) If you find that any difficult point has not been satisfactorily explained hitherto by any commentator, you need not ask, whether it can be thus explained; but you select two from the entire number of the different explanations offered, which distinctly contradict each other, and both of which are untenable. You now reason thus: "*This* explanation is impossible; *that* also is impossible. The matter therefore *is* inexplicable." Comp. Strauss, b. i., p. 226 f.

(p) But it is time to remind you of your learning. You

have no conception what an effect it has now-a-days to see a mass of citations in a book under the text. "Ah, I understand that"—you say—"but where shall I obtain this learning. I have not read either Josephus, or, to confess the truth, a great deal of anything else." My dear friend, that makes no difference. The exegetical Manuals of Paulus, De Wette, Olshausen, and some antiquated commentaries and monographs you have already studied somewhat: Wetstein and Lightfoot lie before you; you own Winer's Bible-Dictionary: and luckily, Havercamp's Josephus has several capital Registers. You need not suppose it necessary to have read everything which you quote. Heaven forbid! Wherever you find citations—in Winer, in Paulus, or elsewhere—copy them off without misgiving,—they are lawful plunder. Only think what a learned man the world will take you to be! How must such a hope fire your soul! But it may not be amiss to be a little particular in my instructions here:—You begin with Paulus. Here you labour at one point. You must amuse your reader with examples of his style of forced interpretation, and shew at great length how very *unnatural* his natural explanations are.—Olshausen you approach in a different way. He is not confessedly free from faults. His greatness consists not so much in the acuteness of his harmonistic talent, as in depth of Christian feeling and in his power of developing the spiritual fulness of the Divine Word. In this respect his name marks an era in criticism. As a reformer of the shallow, insipid exegesis which rationalism had brought into vogue, he stands by the side of Schleiermacher and Neander, who produced a similar revolution in dogmatics and church history. His merits, however, you must overlook and attack him upon his weak side. You must hunt up as many instances as possible of his unsuccessful attempts to harmonize the evangelists, and point at them the shafts of your keenest ridicule and satire.—In Lightfoot, you must seek bravely for rabbinic passages, whenever and wherever you can.—In Josephus, whenever the name of a city or any single political event comes in your way, you must scan the Register, and happy will you feel yourself to be if Josephus does not mention this name or event. You then trump it forth in triumph, as a proof that Josephus "*knew nothing* of it." Whether the name or event was important enough to be mentioned by him, you need not trouble yourself to ask; nor as to the plan of Josephus, of which you are ignorant, need you make any inquiry. You take it for granted, that Josephus *must record everything*; what does not stand in the Register of Josephus, did not exist—it is something which never took place.

(q) Finally, you are to read through also the *apocryphal gospels*; do not be alarmed—it will not cost you much time. The most ridiculous distortions and caricatures of the life of Jesus, which you find there, you will sedulously collect and present them as parallel to the simplest biblical narrations. You can safely assume that the majority of your readers have not read these apocryphal compositions in full; and so will not perceive, as they otherwise would, the utter irrelevancy of these pretended parallelisms. Thus, for example, if a person reads in one book—"Cajus was very old, and when he went abroad, two of his sons were accustomed to lead him;" and in another book—"Cajus was over a thousand years old, and was so weak that he could not move a limb, but his sons took him upon their shoulders and bore him about, and his beard grew to be more than forty ells long"—every one sees that the first is a sober statement, but the second, an absurd tale. You must place them both, however, as parallel to each other thus:—"Cajus is said, according to A, to have become very old; we find precisely the same in the apocryphal book B where we find even the number of his years mentioned as one thousand, and the length of his beard as forty tells long. Both accounts agree also in respect to the great bodily weakness which the old man suffered at this advanced period, since according to A, he was led by his sons, while in B, this legendary incident is already magnified into his being carried by his sons. One might attempt, indeed, to reconcile this by saying, that he was at first led, and afterwards as his weakness increased, that he was carried; but it is manifest, that we have before us merely a mythic picture in both accounts." Comp. Strauss, b. i., p. 226 f.

And such stuff, can it be supposed that my readers will receive with patience? My dear friend, should you apply this mode of proceeding to any ordinary history, containing nothing of a miraculous nature, no one indeed would believe what you say—nay, the world would consider you as absolutely mad. But if you apply it to a section of the Bible, to a supernatural history, you may be sure of a legion of admirers, who will stand ready to catch up your words and echo them with thoughtless applause. Observe well, it is against the miracles alone that the scepticism in this case is directed. These, some men would at all hazards discredit and cancel from the records of truth; and any procedure which is designed to explain the sources of the evangelical history as unhistorical, they applaud as an exhibition of the greatest mental acuteness, whereas, were it applied to any other writing, they would undoubtedly pronounce it uncritical and nonsensical.

One word more, I beg to add, in conclusion. In some persons there is still left a spark of that weakness which is called reverence for the Bible. So long as this weakness exists, it will stand in your way, counteracting the impression which your investigations are intended to produce. Seek, therefore, on every possible occasion, to weaken and destroy it. The practised eye will not fail to discern such opportunities. Such passages, for instance, as Matt. xvii. 24—27; xxi. 10, etc., you will not suffer to pass unimproved for this purpose. In particular, I would remind you, that the cross on Golgotha is the place where the Saviour of men was mocked eighteen hundred years ago, and where it will be specially seemly to renew that derision, if any one has a disposition for it at the present day. Go thou now and do in like manner. "I will give thee the whole world, if thou wilt fall down and worship me. And your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall become as gods." *Probatum est.*

Aramean and Nabatean Inscriptions in the Hauran.—Under this title M. De Vogüé has a communication to the *Revue Archéologique* for April. He gives copies and readings of several curious inscriptions which were obtained by M. Waddington and himself. The first is on a monument to one Hamrath the wife of Odenath, and is assigned to the reign of Herod the Great. It also appears in a Greek translation, as also do some others in the same region. The sixth is dated the month Tishri in the seventh year of Claudius Cæsar. They all belong nearly to the same period, and it is worthy of remark that some of them are almost, if not quite, identical in character with the famous examples in the Wady Mokatteb. The period assigned to them singularly enough is the same as that suggested for the Sinai inscriptions by the Hon. E. W. Montague about a century since. This traveller gave a short account of the written rocks in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1767, with a plate of fac-similes. He thought they were written in the first ages of Christianity, and in the characters used by the Jews about the time of Christ. It is needless to add that he quite objected to the opinion that they were the work of the Israelites. He says the Rabbins of Jerusalem agreed with him in his conclusions.

Some curious Hebrew inscriptions found at Jerusalem by M. Vogüé are described by him in the *Revue Archéologique* for March, and they exhibit several points of resemblance to the others. He refers them to generally the same age as those of the Hauran. It seems, however, next to certain, that the Sinaitic inscriptions are not all of the same date; some may be older, but others are assuredly more modern. We are glad to find that palæography is rapidly approaching the solution of the vexed question of the Sinaitic inscriptions, not a few of which may now be confidently explained.

THE ENCOMIUM OF THE MARTYRS.

AN INEDITED ORATION OF EUSEBIUS OF CÆSAREA.—Syriac text.

[THE following short oration is found near the end (fol. 250 rect.) of the venerable volume from which, at different times, there have been printed :

1. The Recognitions of Clement.
2. Titus of Bostra against the Manicheans.
3. The Theophany of Eusebius.
4. The Martyrs of Palestine, also by Eusebius.

This last was published by Dr. Cureton in 1861 ; but it is singular that the learned editor, whose premature decease all Orientalists deplore,* made no allusion to the *Encomium*, which

* Dr. Cureton died at his country residence, Westbury, in Shropshire, on the 18th of June, after an illness of several months, arising from a shock to the nervous system received last year on the occasion of a railway accident. He was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, where he graduated in 1830 ; and after having been ordained deacon in 1831 by the Bishop of Rochester, was admitted to priest's orders in the following year by the Bishop of Oxford. He was for some time sub-librarian in the Bodleian Library, and afterwards for several years assistant-keeper in the department of MSS. in the British Museum, of which institution he was latterly a royal trustee. In 1847 he was appointed chaplain in ordinary to the Queen, and two years after was nominated to a canonry in Westminster Abbey, to which is annexed the rectory of St. Margaret's ; the two appointments being worth about £1,800 a year. Dr. Cureton was a scholar whose personal character and great literary attainments won for him the respect and admiration of the learned at home and abroad. He was an honorary D.D. of Halle, member of the French Institute and of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, corresponding member of the German Oriental Society, etc., etc. His publications in the departments of Arabic and Syriac literature are numerous. Among the former we may mention editions of Rabbi Janchūm's Commentary on the Book of Lamentations, of An-Nasafi's Pillar of the Creed of the Sunnites, and of Ash-Shahrastāni's Book of Religious Sects and Philosophical Schools. The list of the latter is still longer, comprising the Epistles of St. Ignatius, 1845 ; the Vindiciæ Ignatianæ, 1846 ; the Corpus Ignatianum, 1849 ; the Festal Letters of St. Athanasius, 1848 ; fragments of the Iliad from a Syriac palimpsest, 1851 ; the third part of the Ecclesiastical History of John of Ephesus, 1853 ; the Spicilegium Syriacum, 1855 ; the celebrated Curetonian Gospels, 1858 ; and the History of the Martyrs in Palestine by Eusebius, 1861. He has, we understand, left behind him an almost finished work on the establishment and early history of Christianity in Edessa—texts, translation, and notes, to the publication of which we look forward with the deepest interest.

[illegible]

CORRESPONDENCE.

[We wish our readers to understand that we cannot be held responsible for the opinions of our contributors and correspondents. The utmost we can do is to keep a careful eye upon the literary character of their communications, and to see that they do not transcend the limits of fair criticism and lawful inquiry.]

MR. PARKER'S CHRONOLOGY OF THE ARCHONS.

IN the last number of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, there is a letter of fourteen pages from the Rev. Franke Parker, entitled "The Archons of Demosthenes," in which he controverts the statements made by me in the preceding number of the *Journal*, pp. 423—428. A few words from me in reply seem necessary. The questions at issue between us amount in fact to these. Was the archonship of Pythodorus that which began in 432 B.C., or that which began in 453 B.C.? and was the archonship of Agathocles that which began in 357 B.C., or that which began in 375 B.C.? Mr. Parker adopts the latter date in each instance; I adhere to the former, which is that of all chronologers who wrote before Mr. Parker, and which is supported by evidence which appears to me absolutely conclusive. I will, for the second time, bring forward a sufficient portion of this evidence to convince any one, who is open to conviction, that the received dates of these archons are their true dates. All agree, even Mr. Parker, that the archonship of Evænetus began in 335 B.C. Between this and the archonship of Agathocles, Mr. Parker pretends that there were forty years (or at least thirty-seven*), while all other writers, ancient and modern, make the interval twenty-two years only. I will now prove that this last was the true interval. I first observe that the archonship of Aristocrates was by common consent forty-two years before that of Agathocles. According to Diodorus, the former coincided with the 378th Olympic year, the latter with the 420th. According to the Parian Marble, Mr. Parker's great authority, the former was 135, and the latter ninety-three years before its epoch. Again, it is not in the extreme points alone of this interval

* Mr. Parker says, p. 164, "that the proper date of Agathocles is B.C. 375; and that of the twenty-one years to be introduced between the end of the Peloponnesian war and the death of Alexander, fifteen are to be introduced in the reign of Philip, i.e., below the archonship of Agathocles." In p. 168, again he says, that Philip reigned thirty-nine years, instead of the twenty-four usually reckoned to him, and that the reign of Philip began six years later than it is usually reckoned to do (counting, of course, from the Peloponnesian war as an epoch). Taking all this into account, it seems to me that Mr. Parker ought, in order to be consistent with himself, to have placed the archonship of Agathocles three years later than he does; or, otherwise, to have made the error in its date eighteen years in place of fifteen. This, however, is a matter of perfect indifference to every one but himself.

of forty-two years that the agreement exists: it is found all through the interval. The archonship of Callias is placed by Diodorus nineteen years after that of Aristocrates, and by the Marble in 116; that of Asteius is placed by Diodorus seven years after that of Callias, and by the Marble in 109; that of Phrasiclides is placed by Diodorus two years after that of Asteius, and by the Marble in 107. Mr. Parker cannot, therefore, deny, consistently with his own positions, and in fact he does not deny, that so far as respects these forty-two years, the series of archons given by Diodorus is correct. The errors in the series, which he imagines to exist, must be after Agathocles or before Aristocrates. It follows from this, as a matter of course, that if there be any error in the Olympic year, the 420th, which Diodorus assigns to Agathocles, there must be precisely the same error in the Olympic years equated to those of the other forty-two archons; and, on the contrary, if it can be demonstrated that any one of these forty-three archons presided in the Olympic year assigned to him by Diodorus, every one of the forty-three must have done so. Now, I propose to *demonstrate* that two of these forty-three archons, Phanostratus and Menander, who presided in the 119th and 118th years of the Marble epoch, presided in the Olympic years 394 and 395, as stated by Diodorus; and, if I succeed in demonstrating this, it will follow that *all* the forty-three archons presided in the Olympic years assigned to them by Diodorus; and, consequently, that between the archonships of Agathocles and Evænetus there were twenty-two years, *and no more*; leaving not a single vacant year in which any of Mr. Parker's imaginary archons can be "introduced." The proof that Phanostratus and Menander commenced their archonships in 383 and 382 B.C. is a very simple one. There is a record of three eclipses which, from the description given of them, *must have* occurred on the 23rd December, 383, the 18th June, 382, and the 12th of December, 382. This record was copied by Ptolemy from Hipparchus, to whom it was transmitted by some more ancient astronomer, who was probably an eye-witness of one at least of the eclipses. Now, the record states expressly that the first eclipse occurred in Poseideon in the archonship of Phanostratus; the second in Scirrophorion in the same archonship; and the third in the former Poseideon in the archonship of Evander; obviously the same person that Diodorus calls Menander. It is uncertain, and it is of no importance, which of the two readings of the name is correct. Here there is direct evidence of the most positive description in favour of the received chronology, from the archonship of Aristocrates downwards. Against this Mr. Parker can find nothing to say; but he throws some dust in the eyes of the ignorant by talking of the discord among astronomers as to the eclipse of Thales, and of Professor Adams' discovery that there was an error in the calculation previously made of the quantity of the moon's acceleration;—all which is absolutely beside the question. No astronomer has ever doubted that the three eclipses, recorded as having occurred in the archonship of Phanostratus and his successor, occurred on the

days above mentioned. I challenge Mr. Parker to produce a single one of his "astronomical friends" who will commit himself to the opinion that these facts admit of rational doubt; or that any uncertainty, which has ever been supposed to exist, as to the amount of the moon's acceleration could have the slightest bearing on the question. As to the eclipse predicted by Thales, no one, I suppose, doubts that it was that which occurred on the 28th of May, 585 B.C. I certainly have never doubted it, though Mr. Parker brings me prominently forward as doing so. I deny, however, that it was the eclipse which terminated the Lydian war. I think that Herodotus was mistaken in identifying this last eclipse with that predicted by Thales; and I suggested, at the meeting of the British Association in 1856, that Herodotus was led into this mistake by his having heard that Thales had predicted the eclipse of 585 from his knowing that the eclipse, which terminated the Lydian war, had occurred in 603. It is not at all a matter of doubt that eclipses were visible in Asia Minor in the morning of the 17th May, 603, and in the evening of the 28th May, 585. The question is, which of these two eclipses, if either of them, could have been total in a possible field of battle of the Lydians and Medians. In deciding *that* question, the quantity of the moon's acceleration, and the possibility of there being a small error in the motion of her node, must be taken into consideration, as they would materially affect the track of the moon's shadow; but, as I said before, they cannot have the slightest bearing on the question in what years the eclipses of the moon took place, which are recorded as having taken place under Phanostratus and his successor.

Having now proved that the archonship of Aristocrates coincided with the 378th Olympic year, beginning in the summer of 399 B.C.; and, consequently, that the eighteen archons introduced by Mr. Parker after Agathocles, with the years over which they were supposed to preside, had no real existence; I proceed to prove the same thing as to the three other archons whom he introduces before Aristocrates. According to him, the interval from Euctemon to Aristocrates was twelve years; according to Diodorus, and according to *fact*, it was only nine. All are agreed that the interval from Pythodorus to Euctemon was twenty-four years. We have, then, to consider whether the archonship of Pythodorus began in 432, according to the received chronology, or in 435, allowing for three archons introduced by Mr. Parker before Aristocrates. His own date of 453 has been already proved to be inadmissible; the following considerations are, however, conclusive against it as well as against 435.

The archon before Pythodorus was Apseudes. In his archonship, Meton, having discovered the cycle of nineteen years which bears his name, procured a law at Athens that his arrangement of the calendar, in respect to intercalary years and exemptile days, should commence at the new moon following the summer solstice of that year. Accordingly, the next year, when Pythodorus was archon, was the first year of the first Metonic cycle. It was also a year in which the Olympic games were celebrated, because the Metonic cycle was

proclaimed at the games which immediately followed its commencement. The archonship of Pythodorus had, therefore, two characteristics; it was the first year of an Olympiad and the first year of a Metonic cycle. Now, it is notorious that the year which began in the summer of 432 had these two characteristics, and that neither that which began in 435 nor that which began in 453 had either the one or the other of them. Mr. Parker has not ventured to say a single word in reply to this argument, which I brought forward in my former paper, although it is *absolutely conclusive*.

But this is not all. Thucydides mentions an eclipse of the moon which prevented Nicias from sailing. It occurred, he says, in the nineteenth year of the war; that is, as all are agreed, and as Diodorus expressly states, in the archonship of Cleocritus. This, he says, and everybody but Mr. Parker says, was the 364th Olympic year, beginning in the summer of 413 B.C. In that year, 28th August, the moon was totally eclipsed; but it is certain that three years before, or twenty-one years before, she could not have been eclipsed at all.

Again, Ptolemy records eclipses of the moon as having been observed in Babylon in the seventh year of Cambyses, and in the twentieth and thirty-first years of Darius. From the description of these eclipses, which is recorded, they *must* have occurred respectively on the 16th July, 523, on the 19th November, 502, and on the 25th April, 491. This is in perfect conformity with the received chronology; but, according to Mr. Parker, all these eclipses should have occurred twenty-one years earlier.

As, however, Mr. Parker seems to consider that eclipses can furnish no evidence of any value, though others regard the evidence which they furnish as of the very highest value, I will adduce some testimony of a different description. Thucydides says that, in the beginning of the twelfth year, a treaty was made between the Athenians and Argives and others, by which they were bound to take certain oaths thirty days before the Olympic games, which, he says, were celebrated that summer. The war began ten months after the commencement of the archonship of Pythodorus, that is according to the common chronology, in May 431. If the first year of the war began then, the twelfth would begin about May, 420; in the summer of which year it is indisputable that the Olympic games were celebrated; and it is equally indisputable that they could not have been celebrated twenty-one years (or three years) previously, as Mr. Parker's hypothesis would require us to suppose.

Again, Aristarchus (cited by Ptolemy in his *Almagest*, pp. 162, 163) says, that he observed the summer solstice at the end of the fiftieth year of the first Calippic period, being the forty-fourth year from the death of Alexander, that is, in June 280, as all must admit; and he says that this was 152 years after the observation of the solstice by Meton in the archonship of Apseudes, in the morning of the 21st Phamenoth, that is on the 27th June, 432. Mr. Parker, strangely enough, overlooks this testimony of a writer who lived nearer to the time

of which he speaks than any of those whom he cites, and who had doubtless obtained the best evidence which was then available on the subject. If this single evidence stood alone it would, in my judgment, outweigh all the evidence on which Mr. Parker relies.

Mr. Parker cites a great number of writers; but of these very few, when correctly quoted and properly interpreted, will be found to favour his views. Of the few that do so, it may suffice to say, that they must have been mistaken. Their evidence is perfectly worthless when weighed against that which I have adduced in favour of the common chronology. It appears to me, however, worth while to point out some of the mistakes which he has made in citing his witnesses and in interpreting their evidence. He appeals to Africanus as favouring his views. Africanus, however, followed the received chronology in direct opposition to him; and he can only make the contrary appear by suppressing the most material part of his testimony, and by adopting an arbitrary alteration of his text, suggested by an editor of Syncellus, but supported by no manuscript authority. Africanus says, that "Cyrus became king of the Persians in the year in which the fifty-fifth Olympiad was celebrated," (560 B. C.) in support of which statement he cites several authorities; but he also says that this was "after the seventy years captivity." If this passage stood alone, it might admit of two interpretations;—that of Mr. Parker, who supposes that Cyrus took Babylon in 560, having begun to reign in Persia in 581; and that of all other writers, who think that Africanus places the termination of the captivity in the first year of Cyrus in Persia, twenty-two years before his capture of Babylon, either through a gross mistake, or, as seems more probable, in order by a "pious fraud" to support his favourite theory as to Biblical chronology. According to this view, Africanus placed the accession of Cambyses in 529; while, according to Mr. Parker's view, he placed it in 550. If this passage stood alone it might, perhaps, admit Mr. Parker's interpretation; and *he lets it stand alone*, strangely overlooking another extract from Africanus, which has come down to us, which puts it out of all doubt that the other interpretation is the true one. Syncellus (P. 323 A.B.) quotes Africanus as saying, "The seventy weeks are counted from Artaxerxes to the time of Christ. For from Nehemiah, who was sent by Artaxerxes to repeople Jerusalem in the 115th year of the empire of the Persians, and the twentieth of Artaxerxes himself, being the fourth year of the 83rd Olympiad, to this time, which is the second year of the 202nd Olympiad and the sixteenth of Tiberius Cæsar, are 475 years, which are 490 Hebrew years," (of twelve lunar months)." We need not trouble ourselves with this computation of the seventy weeks. The main fact with which we have to do is that the 20th year of Artaxerxes is equated by Africanus to the 115th of the Persian empire; of course the first of Artaxerxes was the 96th of the empire; the first of Xerxes was the 75th; the first of Darius the 39th, and the first of Cambyses the 31st. These numbers point to 559 as the beginning of the Persian empire, 529 as the beginning of the reign of Cambyses, and 521 of

Darius. It appears then, that as respects Persian and Grecian chronology, Africanus is in perfect agreement with the received chronology. It was only the Jewish chronology which he falsified, in order to bring it into harmony with his preconceived theory. But Mr. Parker endeavours to establish an agreement between Africanus and himself in respect to the archonship of Creon. He pretends that Africanus made this to commence in 702 B.C.. "We learn," he says, p. 165, "from Julius Africanus that Creon was archon in 19 Ol. 3, that is B.C. 702." We learn from him no such thing. He says that Creon was archon 903 years before Philinus, who presided in the first year of the 250th Olympiad or A.D. 221. The archonship of Creon began, therefore, according to Africanus (as according to Eusebius, and all modern chronologers except Mr. Parker) in 653 B.C. Mr. Parker, however, substitutes 923 for 903. The latter is the reading of both the manuscripts, and of all the editions in the Greek text. Goar, however, the most stupid of editors, fancied that this must be a mistake; and he substituted 923 in his margin, and in his Latin translation. Mr. Parker looked to the Latin version only, and was thus led into error. He makes a further mistake in attributing to Africanus the statement that Creon was archon in the 19th Olympiad, but called by others the 25th. These statements as well as the mundane date 4801 are due to *Syncellus*; and, I need scarcely say, that *his* chronological statements have no value whatever. His work is only of use from its containing extracts from Africanus and other writers whose entire works have perished. It need only be stated that *Syncellus* placed the birth of Christ in A.D. 8, and his crucifixion in A.D. 42; and his character as a chronologer will be duly appreciated.

So much for Mr. Parker's right to claim Africanus as countenancing his views. Another ally that he claims is Dionysius. It seems, Dionysius states, or implies, that Rome was built seventy years before the archonship of Creon. *Of course*, he means in 753, seventy years before 683, when Eusebius and, as we have just seen, Africanus placed the archonship of Creon. "No," says Mr. Parker, "Dionysius must have agreed with Africanus (or rather with me) in placing this archonship in 702; and, *therefore*, he must have placed the building of Rome in 772," and, of course, counted all his dates "A.U.C." from this early epoch. He placed the battle of Actium, for example, in A.U.C. 742! These consequences only need to be stated, in order that their absurdity may appear.

I think I have said quite enough on those points in Mr. Parker's letter which do not specially refer to myself. I will conclude, therefore, with noticing two statements in my former paper which he seems to consider that he has disproved.

One of these relates to the archonship of Euctemon. The Marble places Aristocrates in its 135th year. According to Diodorus, whom I have proved to be right, Euctemon was archon nine years before, which would be in the 144th year of the Marble. I proposed to read this in place of 147th, Seldon's date. I don't think that Mr.

Parker has proved that 147 is a better reading than 144; but I have no interest in the question. That the sculptor of the Marble has made mistakes I have no doubt; and I suspect that the copyist made others. Which of them made the mistake in this instance is of no importance whatever. It is certain, however, that one or other of them has done so. If 144 was not the date on the marble it ought to have been so.

The other statement of mine, against which Mr. Parker contends, is that the archons mentioned by Demosthenes as having had decrees passed when they were in office were Thesmothetæ. I need only reaffirm this, which is, I believe, the opinion of all who have treated on the subject with the single exception of Mr. Parker, and against which he has not adduced a single argument of any weight. All he can say is that, in addition to the eight archons mentioned by Demosthenes as presiding at the passing of decrees, he mentions a ninth as giving a date. This ninth, Mnesitheides, must, he says, have been an archon Eponymus, and consequently the other eight must have been Eponymi too! The conclusion does not follow. But I will add, Mr. Parker has begged the question as to Mnesitheides having been an *Athenian* archon. It is evident to me that he was archon at Delphi. The decree of the Amphictyons is first given, at the passing of which Cleinagoras presided as priest. *His* name appears in the preamble, just as the name of the Thesmotheta who presided appears in the preamble of an Athenian decree. But at the end of the decree, or on the back of it, the date would be given. At Athens the archon Eponymus of the year would be named, and at Delphi the person who was archon Eponymus *there*. This appears to me the most natural solution of the difficulty, but it is not the only one. Mr. Clinton seems to have thought that Mnesitheides was the Thesmotheta who presided at Athens when Æschines was elected Pylagora. Other solutions have occurred to me, which I need not mention. Anything is preferable to tampering with the received chronology of this period, which is as certain as that of modern English history.

EDWARD HINCKS.

DE VOCUM 'AION ET 'AIONIOΣ APUD N. T. SCRIPTORES
SIGNIFICATIONE. CUM INTERROGATIUNCULA
DE SS. INSPIRATIONE.

CUM nuper DECLARATIO quædam, à theologis quibusdam celeberrimis confecta, ad omnes Angliæ et Hiberniæ clericos ab iisdem missa est, rogantibus eos, per ipsorum erga Deum amorem, ut chirographa sua ei apponerent; cùmque hæc Declaratio affirmat pœnas impiorum post mortem æternas esse, nec unquam finiendas, ut et piorum beatitudinem, nihil intempestivi, uti spes nobis est; faciemus, si investi-

gemus quæ hac de re Scripturarum Sacrarum, Veterum et Novarum, vera et certa mens sit.

Harum autem pœnarum, et hujus beatitudinis duratio, omnino fere ex significatione verborum *αἰών* et *αἰώνιος*, quæ de his rebus in Novo Testamento passim usurpantur, pendet. Harum igitur vocum oportet omnes, quibus hæ res curæ sunt, vim indubitatam imprimis cognoscere. Loca Novi Testamenti, ubi aliter quàm per has voces pœnæ apud inferos definiuntur, postea notabimus.

Græco verbo *αἰών* æquipollet apud Hebræos *עוֹלָם* sive *עוֹלָמִית*, (unde forsàn Latinum *olim*) quod tempus sanè longum significat, sed non infinitum, ut ex plurimis ubi occurrit locis liquet. Hac voce (Gen. xiii. 15, xviii. 8), significatur *perpetua*, ut dicitur, *possessio* terræ Canaan Abrahamo datæ, quam tamen posteri ejus jamdudum amiserunt. Hac etiam voce, Gen. xvii. 7, indicatur circumcisionem *in æternum* institutam fuisse; quæ tamen divinitus omissa est. Hac quoque, Exod. xxi. 6, notatur *perpetua* ejus servi servitus cujus auris à domino perforata fuerit. Hæc, 2 Chron. vi. 3, 2 Sam. vii. 3, significatur *perpetuas* throni Davidici et Templi Hierosolymitani. Hac denique, Exod. xxvii. 21, xxviii. 43, Lev. x. 15, xvi. 34, xviii. 11, designantur *perpetua* legis Mosaicæ statuta, quæ omnia abierunt. Itaque omnibus his locis Septuaginta Interpretes dant vel *αἰώνιος*, vel *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*, vel *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*, vel *εἰς αἰῶνος*, vel, de terrâ Canaan, *εἰς κατάσχεσιν αἰώνιον*. Et in libro Danielis xii. 2, ubi dicitur eos, qui multos ad bonitatem converterint, effulsuros ut stellas in sempiternum, Septuaginta habent *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, καὶ ἔτι*, ubi posterioribus verbis satis ostenditur, quicumque locum reddiderit, eum non *αἰῶνα* infinitum credidisse; quod idem manifestatur, hic et alibi, pluralis numeri *αἰῶνες* usu; nam quis *infinita* multiplicat?

Qui Græcum *αἰών* infinitum *durationis spatium* faciunt, nituntur ut plurimum vocis constitutione, *αἰὲ ὤν*. Sed, si hæc constitutio vera sit, quod minime negamus, nihil ad rem nostram probat; nam multæ voces, inter quas et hanc ponimus, non semper ex derivationibus interpretandæ sunt, sed plerumque ex communi sermonis usu. Loca quæ modò apud Septuaginta indicavimus, satis ostendunt quo illi sensu *αἰών* usurpaverint. Nec desunt multa loca apud classicos, ut loquimur, Græcorum auctores, qui isti vocis sensui planè suffragentur. Sic Herodotus, i. 32, habet *αἰών* pro brevi humanæ vitæ spatio, *τελευτήσας τὸν αἰῶνα, vitὰ finite*. Simili sensu habet et Homerus, *Iliad.* v. 685, xvi. 453, et alibi; habet et Æschylus, *Agam.* 554, *Theb.* 744; habet et Xenophon in *Cyropædiâ* de Cyro moriente. Sed nihil opus exemplis; res satis nota. Itidemque in Novo Testamento exempla complura videmus vocum *αἰών* et *αἰώνιος* sensu finito planissimè usurpatarum. Sic 2 Cor. iv. 4, *ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου*. Luc. xvi. 8, *οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου*. Matt. xiii. 22, *ἡ μέριμνα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου*. Eph. ii. 2, *κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου*. Sic et Philem. 15, *ἐχωρίσθη πρὸς ὥραν ἵνα αἰώνιον αὐτὸν ἀπέχῃς, οὐκέτι ὡς δοῦλον, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ δοῦλον, ἀδελφὸν ἀγαπητόν*. Luc. xvi. 9, *ποιήσατε ἑαυτοῖς φίλους ἐκ τοῦ μαμμωνᾶ τῆς ἀδικίας, ἵνα, ὅταν ἐκλιπῇτε, δεξωνται ὑμᾶς εἰς τὰς αἰωνίους σκηνάς*. Quibus omnibus locis sensus harum vocum *αἰών* et

αἰώνιος manifestè finitur. At si in uno tantum loco finiretur, is locus satis prohiberet quominus eas *sensu* temere *infinito* caperemus in iis locis ubi de sorte mortuorum, sive miserâ sive felici, sermo est.

At ne obliviscamini, monebis, (quod supra dixistis,) alia esse Novi Testamenta loca ubi de malorum poenâ et de bonorum beatitudine dicatur, voce *αἰών* vel *αἰώνιος* non adhibitâ. Non sumus obliti, respondemus. Meminimus terribilissima verba illa, Mar. ix. 44, *ὅπου ὁ σκώληξ αὐτῶν οὐ τελευτᾷ, καὶ τὸ πῦρ οὐ σβέννυται* quæ et novimus desumpta esse ex Esaiâ prophetâ, lxvi. 24, *ὁ γὰρ σκώληξ αὐτῶν οὐ τελευτήσει, καὶ τὸ πῦρ αὐτῶν οὐ σβεσθήσεται*. Sed quid hæc probant? Si vermis iste, quidcunque sit, non moritur, non sequitur ut eum passuri passuri sint sine fine. Nec, si ignis non extinguitur, sequitur ut igne isto urendi in æternum urendi sint.

Neque obliti sumus quid de bonis hominibus in cœlum admissis dicatur, Luc. xx. 35, *οὔτε ἀποθανεῖν ἔτι δύνανται, ἰσαγγελοὶ γὰρ εἰσὶ*. Sed hæc verba indicant immortalitatem tantum animæ; non affirmant animæ sortem in cœlo semper immutabilem futuram. Animæ, ut Sacra Scripturæ docent, vivent in æternum; animæ bonorum in æternum felices erunt; sed nusquam dicitur felicitatem illam semper eandem, semper ejusdem generis et quantitatis, semper sine varietate fore. Pares angelis erunt; sed angeli multi è beatitudine ceciderunt; ergo quo jure dicemus animas *ισαγγέλους* statum suum nunquam mutaturas? Non innuimus eas unquam commissuras ut felicitate priventur; sed quis negabit felicitatem, quâ fruituræ sint, posse variam et multigenam fieri, et modò majorem, modò minorem? Quod dicitur de malorum *κόλασι*, Matt. xxv. 46, idem dicitur de bonorum *ζώῃ*; eam scilicet *αἰώνιον* fore; et quid sibi velit *αἰώνιος* satis jam diximus. Quod autem *αἰώνιον* est, quid vetat esse mutabile? 'H bonorum *ζώῃ* (addere liceat) vocatur *αἰώνιος* etiam apud Matt. xix. 29, Rom. ii. 7, John vi. 40; et *βάρος* eorundem *δόξης* appellatur *αἰώνιον*, 2 Cor. iv. 17; et sic John xi. 26 dicitur, *ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνῃ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*.

Quæ dicere volebamus, dicere tentavimus. Sensum literalem verborum *αἰών* et *αἰώνιος*, quod solum nobis propositum erat, explicare conati sumus. Argumentis à benevolentia, et aliis, quæ vocantur, Dei attributis, qui nunquam scilicet animus creâset ut sine fine cruciarentur, hic loci insistere non nostrum est.

Hæc Latinè potius quàm Anglicè scripsimus, memores verborum Burnetii in libro doctissimo *De Statu Mortuorum*, qui vetat ut quæ hac de re scripserit in linguam vulgarem transferantur. Quem librum quicumque inspiciet, videbit hanc quæstionem de poenarum apud inferos duratione antiquissimis temporibus apud ecclesiæ patres agitam fuisse; et non tantum Origenem, sed et utrumque Gregorium, Nazianzenum et Nyssenum, necnon, ut quidam suspicati sunt, Hieronymum, censuisse ignes apud inferos non minùs *καθαρίους* quàm *κολαστηρίους* esse, ideoque tandem finiendos.

Est et res altera hâc DECLARATIONE affirmata, nempe plena et verbalis, quam vocant, inspiratio Sacrarum Scripturarum; hoc est, inspiratio verborum omnium et singulorum, ne uno quidem excepto, è quibus Sacra Scripturæ constant. Hanc rem nunc temporis per-

pendere nostrum non erat consilium. Sed hoc unum rogamus: si singula Scripturarum Sacrarum verba in animos Scriptorum earum singulorum à Deo infusa sive inspirata sunt, utpote ad salutem humanam necessaria, quare non per omnes ætates, eadem et in eodem statu atque ab initio scripta, à Deo conservata sunt? Et unde fit ut textus Hebraicus (ne de Græco loquamur) in multis locis tam corruptus sit, ut sensus inde idoneus, vel à doctissimis et sagacissimis viris, vix extundi possit?

O. E. A. CL.

ON THE NAMES HIDDEKEL, EUPHRATES, AND TUBAL (TVER).

AMONG those interchanges of consonants with which every student of comparative philology is familiar, none perhaps is more common or more interesting than that of *r* and *l*. Such interchange we find in the Spanish *bolsa* from Lat. *byrsa* (βύρσα), the Romance *citola* from Lat. *cithara* (κithára), Fr. *palefroi* from *parafredus*, *silk* from *sericum*, *Cagliari* as the modern form of *Caralis*, and *Salisbury* for *Sarisbury*.^b The object of the present paper is to shew that the supposition of the same interchange throws light on the meaning of the names Hiddekel and Euphrates, and enables us to trace into modern Europe the name of the ancient Tubal.

Of the form Hiddekel (חִדְקֶל), the Hebrew equivalent of the Greek Τίγρης or Τίγρις, there can be little doubt that the first syllable is not radical: the root is *Dekel*. Of this name we find many different forms, though no one can imagine that we have any record of all the varieties which it has assumed as uttered by all those tribes who in succession during scores of centuries have dwelt near the banks of the Tigris, in different parts of its long course; or who, dwelling more remote, have yet become familiar with its name. We are told by Strabo, Pliny, and others that the meaning of the name is "an arrow," and this sense is arrived at without much difficulty if we admit Sir Henry Rawlinson's supposition,^c that there existed in early Babylonian a root *dik*, equivalent in meaning, and cognate by origin, to the Sankrit *tij*, "to be sharp;" Greek, δάκνω; English, *s-tick*, etc. From this root it is readily supposable that a derivative noun might be formed by aid of an added liquid, such noun signifying either *the sharp* (weapon) or *the biter*, an epithet or a name by no means inappropriate for an arrow, especially among races accustomed to speak of "the *mouth* of the sword." But the suffix, which is or contains an *l* in Hid-dekel, in the Aramæan forms *Digla* and *Deklath*, in the *Diglath* of the Targums, the *Diglad* of Josephus, the *Diglito* of

^b Many more examples will be found in Professor Key's work on *The Alphabet*, and in an article by the present writer on the letter *R* in the *Philological Society's Transactions* for 1862-3.

^c See *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xiv., part i., p. xcv., note.

Pliny, and the modern forms *Daghele*, *Dijleh*, *Dajla* (and *Diyalah*, or *Diala*, the name of one of the branches, is probably only another variety of the same word), appears with an *r* in the Greek *Τίγρης*, the Zend *Tejerem*, the Pehlevi *Tejera*, and in the *Tiggar* and *Tikkar* of the cuneiform inscriptions, if Rawlinson's reading is correct. Thus, *dekel*=*tiggar*=arrow.

Next comes the consideration of the first syllable in *Hid-dekel*. Every scholar knows how commonly, by the side of the dental mutes, as in Greek, *τὸ*; German, *das*; English, *that*, we find the simple aspirate as the chief or only radical in demonstrative pronouns and pronouns of the third person. Thus we have in Anglo-Saxon, *he*, *heo*, *hit*; in Latin, *ho(c)*; in Greek, *ὁ*, *ἡ*, *οἱ*, *αἱ*, *οὗτος*, etc.; in Hebrew, *הוא*, *היא*, *הם*, etc.; in Syriac, *hu*, *hi*, *henu*, etc. It seems by no means a satisfactory theory, that of Nordheimer, which regards all these forms as derived from the verb of existence *היה* or *היו*; but there does appear to be sufficient ground for believing, with him, that the definite article in various languages is derived from the demonstrative pronoun. Besides Nordheimer's arguments, let us notice that in Homer *ὁ*, *ἡ*, etc., are demonstratives, which in later Greek have become mere indications of *δευτέρα γυνώσις*; that the Anglo-Saxon *the* is most probably derived from *that*; and that the emphatic Latin demonstrative *ille* is unquestionably the origin of the French *le*, the Italian *il* and *lo*, the romance *il* and *lo*, and the Spanish *el*, as the Portuguese *o* is probably from *ho(c)*. Believing, then, that the Hebrew article in its common form of *ה* (*hā*) is derived from *הוּ* (*hū*), or the fem. *הי* (*hi*), I am inclined to think that *dekel* may have been a feminine noun, like the Latin *sagitta*, or the French *flèche*, and that we have here the article prefixed in an intermediate form, *הי* (*hī*) between the original feminine *הי* (*hi*) and the later form *ה* (*hā*), in which all distinction of gender was lost.^d (A word or two presently on the *ה* and the *הי*.) In like manner I believe that in the name of the Euphrates^e we have the actual masculine pronoun used as an article in the first syllable of the word, and, in the Hebrew, unchanged from its original form. The words of the last clause of Gen. ii. 14 are *והנהר הוּא יוֹרֵד בְּעֵבֶר הָאָרֶץ*; which in the English Bible is rendered, "and the fourth river is Euphrates." This is doubtless the meaning; but what is this *הוּא*? Our translators have simply omitted it: they doubtless felt that there was no room for such emphasis as in "the Lord *he* is the God, the Lord *he* is the God," in 1 Kings xviii. 39 (*וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה הוּא יְהוָה וַיִּקַּח אֶת הָאֵשׁ מִן הָעֵצִים וַיִּבְרַח הָאֵשׁ מִן הָעֵצִים*). Nor does "that is" afford at all an appropriate sense, as in the preceding verses, where it is

^d I have here assumed two things; that the fem. *הי* existed in the earliest Hebrew, and that the Masoretic punctuation has preserved to us, at least in this instance, the true early pronunciation. It would be out of place to discuss fully either of these points here.

^e I am indebted here to a suggestion of my learned friend, Dr. Tregelles, which I wish to acknowledge, yet without throwing on him any responsibility for my treatment of this part of my subject.

followed not by a noun, but by a participle. On the other hand, it is not difficult to suppose the *hū* to be an early form of the article, if we can find in *pherath* any significance, as in *dekel*. This we get, either if we explain the name, as Mr. Rawlinson does in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, as derived from "*fra*, the particle of abundance," or if we find here another instance of the interchange of *l* and *r*, and derive *pherath* from the rad. *rtz*, whence *rtz*, *speed*, *swiftness*, and the Arabic *palatanū*, a *race-horse*. On the former supposition *hu pherath* will signify "*the abundant river*," or "*the fertilizer*;" on the latter, "*the swift river*,"—an epithet very appropriate during the greater part of the course of the Euphrates.

Returning to *Hiddekel*, there is yet the change of *h* into *n* to be noticed. That *h* is the true form of the word is rendered probable by the etymology above suggested, and almost certain by the fact that in the Samaritan Pentateuch the name is found with the simple aspirate instead of the *cheth*. The change of *h* into *n* may be a mere error in copying, resulting from the great similarity of the letters: in the Samaritan alphabet these letters are very little alike. Or it may be the same kind of strengthening of the aspirate into the guttural which we find in many instances in Greek, as where *οὐ*, *ἦ*, *δέν*, when added to *ἄλλα* or *πολλά*, form *ἄλλαχού*, *πολλαχόθεν*, etc. We may also note the Hebrew by-forms *נַחַר* and *נַחֲרָה*, *נַחֲרָה* and *נַחֲרָה*; while a yet more remarkable strengthening of the aspirate appears in the Italian *annichilare*, as derived from *nihil*, and in the mediæval form—still used by the devout at Rome—of *nichi* for *nihī*.

Turn we now to *Tubal*. It will be remembered that in several passages of the Old Testament this name and that of *Meshech* occur together. In Gen. x. 2, and elsewhere, they are mentioned together as sons of *Japheth*. In Ezek. xxviii. 2, we read, "Behold I am against thee, O *Gog*, the chief prince of *Meshech* and *Tubal*." But in like manner we find the names of *Muskai* and *Tuplai* "constantly associated" in the Assyrian inscriptions, and the *Moschi* and *Tibareni* similarly coupled by *Herodotus*. If, therefore, *Gesenius*, Mr. Rawlinson, and others are, as I believe, right in identifying the name of *Meshech* (or as the Samaritan MSS. have it, *מֶשֶׁךְ*, or *מֶשֶׁךְ*, the LXX., *Μοσῶχ*, the Vulgate, *Mosoch*) with *Muskai* and *Μόσχοι*, they are doubtless equally right in identifying *Tubal* with *Tuplai* and (with *l* changed into *r*) *Τιβαρηνοί*. "Now the *Muskai*," says Mr. Rawlinson, "are regarded on very sufficient grounds as the ancestors of the *Muscovites*, who built *Moscow*, and who still give name to *Russia* throughout the East." He says that these two tribes "can scarcely fail to belong to one and the same ethnic family;" yet he seems not to have observed that in modern *Russia* the name of the *Tibareni* is preserved in immediate and intimate connection with that of *Moscow* in the province and archiepiscopal city of *Tver* or *Twer*. The province bounds that of *Moscow* on the north-west, the cities being about one hundred miles apart. The identification of *Tver*

^f See Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i., p. 651.

with *Τιβαρηνοί* becomes complete if we recollect the two facts that the Greek *β* is pronounced (almost) like our *v*, or the Russian *w* before a vowel; and that the *r* in this word is radical, not part of the termination. Possibly it is only an error of the engraver's to have engraved *Tiba-reni* in Mr. Rawlinson's map, with a hyphen before the *r*; if otherwise, it would need strong arguments to prove that the termination is *-ρηνος*, rather than, what it certainly seems to be, the same as in *Κυζικ-ηνος*, *Αβυδ-ηνος*, *terr-enus*, *ali-enus*,—*Σαρδι-ανος*, *Rom-anus*.

R. F. WEYMOUTH.

CHALDEAN INTERPRETATIONS.

IN *The Journal of Sacred Literature* for last October, I read a letter of Mr. Sayce on the Casdim and the Chaldees. It was a gratification to me to find that a new enquirer was engaged in the study of cuneiform literature; and although I saw much in his letter which appeared to me erroneous, I trusted that he would in course of time see and correct his mistakes, and I did not feel myself called on to direct public attention to them. The April number of the *Journal* contains a second letter from Mr. Sayce. In this he has referred to me by name, misrepresenting my views in the most extraordinary manner. I must therefore ask you, in common justice, to insert this reply to his strictures upon me.

The passage of mine which he quotes for the purpose of misrepresenting it and condemning it, occurs in an essay of mine, "On the Polyphony of the Assyrio-Babylonian Cuneiform Writing." I am fully sensible that this essay contains errors. In the last page of it I anticipated that it would be found to do so. Some of these errors I could now point out myself; and I have no doubt whatever that others which are as yet unknown to me could be pointed out by others. I should feel obliged to any one that would point out to me any of them in a friendly spirit; and if any one should point out any in an unfriendly spirit, I should admit his right to do so, and should acknowledge myself corrected. Mr. Sayce, however, has not corrected any error of mine. He has attributed to me opinions that I never expressed at all, and has then assailed these imaginary opinions as if they were mine. He has spoken of a theory of mine being inconsistent with facts; the theory in question not being *mine*, but a cast-off theory of his own! It is one which I never entertained for a moment, and which I should not have thought it possible that any one should entertain, were it not plain from Mr. Sayce's remarks upon it that *he* had at one time done so. He has now, however, discovered some of the many proofs of its falsehood that could be given; and he is pleased to denounce it as "Dr. Hincks' theory!" [Note n, p. 189]. I repudiate it altogether.

The words of mine which Mr. Sayce quotes occur in a passage where I was contrasting the relative positions in the old Chaldean,

the Egyptian, and Elymean languages, of the verb and of its subject and object. Having given examples in which *in*, the subjective pronoun of the third person singular, was agglutinated to the beginning of the Chaldean root, while particles indicating the tense of the verb were agglutinated to its end; I go on to say, "any other pronoun, singular or plural, might be substituted for *in*; and if an object were to be expressed, the proper pronoun was inserted between the pronominal subject and the verb; thus, 'I hate him' would be *mun-nan-nu-ri*." All this is most certainly true; the four examples, in which the different tenses of *nu* are preceded by *in*, are transcribed from a bilingual grammatic tablet, in which they are equated to the third person singular of the four mutative tenses of *nu* in the third or *pihel* conjugation. The same tablet shews that the insertion of *nan* (that is, *na-an*) between the pronoun and the verb indicates the addition of the objective pronoun *him* or *it*. It gives *in-gar* as the equivalent of *iskun*, "he appointed;" and *in-nan-gar* as the equivalent of *iskun-su*, "he appointed him." It gives again *in-lal-i* as the equivalent of *isagal*, "he weighs," and *in-nan-lal-i* as the equivalent of *isagal-su*, "he weighs it." As for *mun* (that is, *mu-un*), it repeatedly occurs in bilingual tablets before verbs, which are proved to be in the first person singular, either by the use of the possessive pronoun of that person *mu*, "my," in the same context, or by the equivalent Assyrian verbs being in that person. When the Chaldean bilingual inscriptions, which are now lying *printed* at the British Museum, shall be *published*, Mr. Sayce will be compelled to admit that the preceding statements of mine are unassailable.

I go on to say: "It is only a pronominal object that could thus be expressed; if it were necessary to express 'I hate the enemy,' the arrangement would be, the enemy, I him hate." And then I dismiss the Chaldean arrangement, passing on to that of the Elymean language. At the close of this quotation, Mr. Sayce says: "To this last statement I must, however, demur." If he meant by "this last statement" the sentence which I separated from what went before it, and if he had demurred to the statement on proper grounds, I should have gone with him. To a certain extent I demur to it myself. I should now write: "It is only a pronominal object that could thus be *inserted*; if it were necessary to express 'I hate the enemy,' the arrangement would be, 'the enemy I him hate,' or, *simply*, 'the enemy I hate;' not 'I the enemy hate.'" As thus modified, I believe the statement I made to be perfectly correct.

It is evident, however, from what Mr. Sayce goes on to say, that his reasons for demurring to my statement are totally different from mine, and that the above correction would not affect them at all. He proceeds to say: "The form *mu* appears to me to be a causative; how else, at all events, could the expression *mu-na-nin** be explained except by 'caused them (Kudur-Mapeck and his son) to build?'" I will presently state how else it can be, and ought to be, explained. First, however, I will remark that I have never yet given any explanation at all of the passage in question, or of any passage in

which *muna* occurs; and that I can see no apparent inconsistency between Mr. Sayce's translation of these words, and the passage of mine quoted above. In place of the character represented by a star in Mr. Sayce's transcription, he not knowing its true value, I will write *kak*, which is its value in Assyrian words, and I then ask, where is the inconsistency of my supposing, as I do, that *mun-nan-kak* means "I built it," and of my supposing, as I do not, but as I might do for any thing that I have ever said to the contrary, that *munanin-kak* means "caused them to build?"

If Mr. Sayce had stopped here, I should, I confess, have been very much puzzled to know with what error he charged me. It comes out, however, in his note *n*. "Another insuperable objection to Dr. Hincks' theory, as I think, is that in the same legend we find the third personal (possessive) pronoun together with the form in *mu*. Now, we cannot suppose that the Jauban kings would thus confuse the principles of universal grammar, and that *e.g.*, Sacat-turká would write, 'his lady, I reared it (*muna-uddu*).'" So then, according to Mr. Sayce, it is my theory that *muna-uddu* means "I reared it." Now, common as the word *uddu* is, I never recollect to have met it as a transitive verb, nor can I believe that it is so used in this or any other passage. *Muna*, as I have already stated, I have never yet translated; but according to "my theory," it seems that it is equivalent to *munnan*. The omission of one of the concurrent *n*'s might, perhaps, be justified by analogy, though of this I am by no means clear; but the dropping of the final *n* is absolutely intolerable. It produces a most disagreeable *hiatus*, which would be avoided if the *n* were retained; and, what is of more consequence, this *n* is a *characteristic* letter, distinguishing the singular from the plural; while *munnan* is "I him (her or it);" *munna* is "I them." According to Mr. Sayce, it is "my theory" that in the inscriptions of the early Chaldean kings *muna* represents the *munnan* of the inscriptions of Assur-ban-apli. I can only repeat that I have never expressed or entertained any such theory. *Mun-nan* is a combination of two pronouns, the subject and object of the verb; *muna* is a noun, and has no etymological connection with either of the pronouns.

Of the meaning of this noun I can have no doubt whatever. It is more than once reduced to *mu*, a well-known verb, signifying "to give;" *na* is a suffix forming a noun, which, like many other suffixes is liable to be omitted, when the sense would be clear without it. *Muna* then should, from its etymology, signify "a gift, or offering;" and that this is its true meaning is confirmed by the fact that, when it occurs in any inscription, it is *invariably* preceded by the name of some deity to whom the gift or offering is made. This answers Mr. Sayce's question: "How can Merodach-adan-akhi's brick inscription be translated? The names and titles of the goddess must *otherwise*"—he means, if *muna* be translated "I it,"—"be without any connection whatever with the rest of the legend, whereas the simple translation, 'the Lady Ri, Lady of the East country (Nipur) his lady, has caused Merodach-adan-akhi, King of Babylon, son of Irba-

Merodach, King of Cingi-Accad, to build Bit-anna her *sacred* (?) place,' commends itself at once to the senses."

What Mr. Sayce may mean by a translation "commending itself to the senses" is not very plain. I will only observe that the translation here given by him appears to me absolutely inadmissible, and for this plain reason;—the name and titles of the goddess in the first three lines do not stand alone as they should do, in order that the translation should pass, but are followed by a postposition having the value "to." They must, therefore, be translated as in the dative, and not in the nominative. The postposition appears as *r*, *nir* or *ni-ir*, being a contraction for *ni-ra*, precisely as *kit* is a contraction for *ki-ta*. There is no postposition of more common occurrence on the bilingual tablets than *ra*; and its signification *to* is established beyond all controversy. Mr. Sayce mistook the *ir* at the end of *nir* for *isa*, which he calls "mysterious." I wish that his printer, by a most unfortunate transposition of the two footnotes *k* and *l*, had not given a careless reader cause to suppose that I was mixed up with this blunder. The reference to my page 19 belongs to note *l*, where he quotes from me in his text.

The true translation of the brick inscription before us, which I will now give, connects the several parts, at least as well as the false one above quoted from Mr. Sayce. I arrange the words in the order which is natural to an Englishman, and not in the inverted order in which they stand in the original. "Marduk-iddin-Akhi, King of Babylon . . . built, as a gift to the Lady Ri, lady of the Eastern country, his lady, the Ih-anna, the house of her worship."

Sometimes, as in the inscription of Kudur-Mapuk, the two characters *ni-in* occur between *muna* and *kak*. Mr. Sayce thinks that they should be read *nin*, and that they impart plurality; and he evidently thinks that I must be of the same opinion. I, however, refer the two characters to two distinct agglutinations; *mu-na-ni*, his gift, *in-kak*, he built. Mr. Sayce thinks that Kudur-Mapuk's son was a builder as well as himself. I cannot think that the inscription says so. He thinks that father and son each built a "*namti* (?) treasury." But the word which he misreads, *namti*, means "life" or "safety." More than eight years ago (*Zeitschrift*, P. M. G. X. 517), I pointed out the use of *nam* as a prefix forming a derivative noun. The latter part of the word is not to be read *ti*, but some syllable terminating in *l*; I suspect *khil*. As to its signification there can be no question. It occurs repeatedly in the Assyrian inscriptions, always in opposition to "the slain." The postposition *ku* means "for," in Assyrian, *ana*. Thus we have in a bilingual tablet, *nam-gabani ku=ana ipdiri-su*, "for his freedom," followed by "the silver he weighed." The root of the noun signifying "freedom" is *gab*; and *nam-gab* is translated *ipdiru*, "freedom" in the nominative. The inscription of Kudur-Mapuk ought, therefore, to be translated (omitting his titles and his description of his buildings, which present difficulties that I cannot at present master): "To Hurki, his king, Kudur-Mapuk . . . for his own life, and for the life of . . . his

son, king of the lands of Sinkara (expressed by two characters which seem to signify 'the abode of the sun'), as his gift he built." The interpolated characters are, as I believe, introduced on account of the length of the interval between the king's name and the verb. Here it is eleven lines. In the only other inscription where they are introduced, it is no less than thirty-three. As for the translation, "his lady, I reared it (*muna-uddu*)," which Mr. Sayce attributes to me in his note *n*, I, of course, disclaim it. My translation would probably be (but the inscription is unusually obscure), "to his lady . . . a gift went forth."

As my object in this letter is not to correct Mr. Sayce's mistakes generally, but only to disclaim the absurd translations, as I consider them to be, which he has attributed to me (which could best be done by giving my own translations of the passages), I will here conclude. On the rest of Mr. Sayce's paper I do not feel myself called on to offer any remarks: but I hope that my not doing so will not be considered to imply that I assent to all, or indeed any, of his statements.

EDW. HINCKS.

Killyleagh, county Down, 15th April, 1864.

THE INSCRIPTION UPON THE CROSS.

ONE word more as regards this inscription! Much has been *written* and spoken upon it, and one of the great critical scholars of the day (the Dean of Canterbury) makes the following observations, in his note on Matt. xxvii. 37:—

"On the difference in the four Gospels, as to the *words of the inscription itself*, it is hardly worth while to comment, except to remark, that the advocates for the verbal and literal exactness of each Gospel may here find an *undoubted* example of the absurdity of their view, which may serve to guide them in less plain and obvious cases. *A title was written, containing certain words; not four titles, all different, but one; differing probably from all these four, but certainly from three of them.*"

May I venture to express an opinion, that these observations are somewhat *unadvised, contemptuous, and contradictory*.

1. *Unadvised*, inasmuch as Dean Alford seems to dismiss the subject at once with a remark which implies that there *are differences* in the manner of giving the inscription which are *irreconcilable*. Is this so? Are there differences which *are irreconcilable*?

2. *Somewhat contemptuous*, inasmuch as he evidently views all who hold the doctrine of *verbal inspiration* (if he means this, by "*verbal and literal exactness*") as guilty of consummate weakness and folly; whilst *we* who hold that doctrine feel that we are able to *defend and support* it by solid argument.

3. *A little contradictory*, inasmuch as he first of all states, "*a title was written,*" "*not four titles, but ONE;*" and then adds,

"differing probably from all these four." But "one *title*," and yet after all "FOUR" titles!

In noticing this little contradiction in his mode of expressing himself, I do not wish to be thought captious, but as the *satisfactory proof* of there being no *irreconcilable* difference between the four Evangelists as regards the inscription upon the cross turns upon this point, viz., that there really was but *one title*, I am tempted just to notice it. That the Evangelists all differ, the one from the other, in their mode of giving the inscription upon the cross, is quite clear. Are then their differences *reconcilable*? Most assuredly they are.

I. John gives Pilate's "title," Ἐγραψε δὲ καὶ τίτλον ὁ Πιλάτος. Two other of the Evangelists give "the ACCUSATION" against Jesus. *Matthew*,—Ἐπέθηκαν ἐπάνω τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένην. *Mark*,—Ἦν ἡ ἐπιγραφή τῆς αἰτίας αὐτοῦ ἐπιγέγραμμενη. *Luke* simply gives the word ἐπιγραφὴ.

But what was the *ἐπιγραφὴ*? It is most reasonable to answer τῆς αἰτίας! Surely it is allowable to supply the ellipsis from *Mark*, whose words have been quoted.

II. What then was the TITLE?—Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζαρεῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων. What was the ACCUSATION?—Ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων. See *Luke* xxiii. 2; *Mark* xv. 18; *John* xviii. 33, 37; xix. 12, 14, 15. Thus *Matthew*,—οὗτός ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων. *Mark*,—ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων. *Luke*,—οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

There is no inconsistency, no want of agreement, no irreconcilable difference here. Each evangelist does what he *professes* to do. *John* professes to give the "TITLE," and he gives it! *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke* do not profess to give Pilate's *title*, but the "ACCUSATION" against Jesus, and they each of them give it. If *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, or either of them, had used the word "title" (in other words, had professed to give *Pilate's title*) there would have been a discrepancy between all, or either of them, and *St. John*, which it would perhaps have been difficult if not impossible to have harmonized. But, each professes to give the "*accusation*," and the "*accusation*" ONLY; and as long as they each give the "*accusation*," (it matters not, whether it be simply given, as by *St. Mark*, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, or with an additional remark, as by *St. Matthew*, "οὗτός ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς," etc., etc., etc.; and by *St. Luke*, "οὗτός ἐστιν," etc., etc. etc.) they each do what they *profess* to do; there is *perfect consistency* in their statements, and no semblance of *irreconcilable differences* between them.

W. R. C. R.

Dowdeswell Rectory, Gloucestershire, April 23, 1864.

REMARKS ON THE STATISTICS OF THE EXODUS.

As the heat of the controversy about the Exodus has somewhat subsided, you will perhaps allow me to draw attention to two or three

mistakes of fact and calculation into which almost all the writers on the subject have fallen.

First, it is generally assumed that the number of the Israelites to be accounted for was about two millions, and calculations are made to determine the rate of increase which would gain this result in, say, 215 years. But the only datum is the number of fighting men above twenty, and the total number of two millions is inferred from this on the hypothesis that the proportion is the same as in our own country: in other words, that the actual rate of increase for the last twenty years had been the same as in England. Some writers, for instance, conclude that we may suppose the Israelites have been doubling every fifteen years, but on this supposition the number under fifteen years of age must exceed the number at all other ages. Thus: the increase in fifteen years, *i.e.*, the excess of births over deaths, is equal to the whole previous population, *i.e.*, to the number of survivors (now above fifteen) *plus* the number that have died. Therefore those under fifteen exceed those above by twice the number of deaths in the last fifteen years (supposing no children to have died). Now this supposed rate of increase is slightly above five per cent. per annum, and an easy calculation will shew that at this rate, where the males between the ages of twenty and fifty is 600,000, the total population will be about four millions and a quarter, of which those under twenty would be nearly two-thirds. On the other hand, when the total population has at this rate grown to two millions, the males between twenty and fifty will be about 275,000. These results are on the supposition that there are no deaths under the age of four-score. It would be much nearer the truth, therefore, to say, that what we have to account for is the growth of a population of over 1,200,000 in 195 years; the excess over this number being nearly equal to the number of deaths in the twenty years from 195 to 215. The difference between this and the usual statement is important, as the numbers above given shew.

The number of the first-born under twenty in proportion to the entire population would require to be modified in accordance with the same principle of calculation. Another common error is the following: "It is very possible that in 215 years there may be seven or nine descents in the same line, and it is also possible that each generation may be six times as numerous as the preceding. Therefore it is argued, the nation may have experienced a sixfold multiplication seven or nine times in the same period. Now, this is to argue that in a family of twelve children, all may be supposed to be born at the same time, or as in the present case, all before the father is $2\frac{1}{5}$ or $2\frac{1}{3}$, *i.e.*, 31 or 24 years old. If each man's eldest son is twenty years younger than himself and his youngest forty, the number of descents through youngest sons will be exactly half that through eldest sons. Writers who are on their guard against this fallacy say: "If we suppose every man to have ten sons born between his twentieth and fortieth years, we may suppose them born on an average in his thirtieth year;" in other words, we may assume in this

case that the population increases tenfold in thirty years. This is, however, fallacious. Thirty years is indeed the average interval between father and son, but it is less than the least period of tenfold multiplication; the family is not multiplied tenfold until the *last* of the ten sons is born. In fact, the word *average* in the premisses refers to the period of birth, some being born later, and some earlier, but in the conclusion it is transferred to the period of multiplication, which is not sometimes earlier and sometimes later, but always later. By a mathematical formula we can ascertain the number of each generation living at any particular period for any supposed rate of increase. Thus, on the above supposition, the total number of the fourth generation living at the end of 120 years would be 6,416 times the number at the beginning (instead of 10,000, as on Mr. Birks's calculation.) The number of the sixth generation living at the end of 172 years would be half a million times the original number; the first member of the sixth generation would be born in the year 120, and the last in the year 228. The gross blunder of supposing that four children to a marriage, for example, would give a fourfold increase, would not be worth mentioning if Dr. McCaul had not fallen into it.

T. A.

THE NAME OF JESUS, PHIL. II. 9.

IN Mr. Franke Parker's article, in the April number of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, entitled, "The Sepulchre in Sychem," he maintains the position that the "name above every name," of Phil. ii. 9, must be a name of God. This position is defensible if the reading of the received text be adopted, but it is greatly strengthened by the fact that the true reading is probably τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πάντων ὀνομα. I cannot, however, think with Mr. Parker that the name referred to is Jesus, and that this name, as being compounded with "Jehovah," is spoken of by the Apostle as a "name above every name." Names compounded with "Jehovah" are too common in Hebrew history for the argument to be a valid one, that our Saviour's possessing such a name was a reason why those in heaven, and those on earth, and those under the earth, should confess that He is the Lord. Besides, —whatever may be the etymological import of the name "Jesus"—this name appears, according to New Testament usage, to point to our Lord's humanity rather than His Deity; to be the name of His

* The formula in its simplest form is as follows: Suppose the average number of sons to each father to be m , born at intervals of p years, beginning at the father's 20th; then the number of persons in the n th generation born between the years $q-p$ and q , will be the co-efficient of a in $a^{20} + a^{20+p} + \dots + a^{20+p(m-1)n}$. To find the number living at any particular period t , we must add the co-efficient of all powers of a less than r . If the uniform age at death is s , we must take no power lower than $r-s$. This is on the supposition, as before, that the age at death is uniform.

humiliation; His proper name as a man. I should suppose the Apostle's meaning to be somewhat like this: God the Father, in fulfilment of the prophecy of Isa. xlv., has given to His Son the name which is above every name, even Jehovah, or THE LORD, that to *Jesus*, who humbled Himself, and took upon Him the form of a servant, every knee may bow, and every tongue confess that He is Lord of all. We may thus with probability regard "the name of *Jesus*" as emphatic, "*Jesus*" being the name of the humiliation, though not "*the name which is above every name.*"

THOMAS TYLER.

P.S.—As papers written by me, and to which the initials "T. T." were appended, were inserted in earlier volumes of the *J. S. L.*, it may possibly be worth while to mention that I am not the author of contributions in recent numbers bearing the same signature.

London, April 7th, 1864.

HEBREW SYNONYMS.

THERE is no easily accessible modern work on Hebrew Synonyms. The work of Hirschfeld, *Hebräische Synonymik*, is not of much value. There is, however, an old work of some value by J. Plantavitus, entitled, *Planta Vitis seu Thesaurus Synonymicus Hebraico-Chaldaico-Rabbinicus*, Lodovæ., 1644. A selection of synonyms carefully discussed, will be found in Reimarus (H. S.), *De Differentiis vocum Hebraicarum*, Wittenberg, 1717, which, however, is scarce. The more important recent works on the subject are in Hebrew, viz.: Papenheim's *Jerioth Salomo*, 3 vols. (1784—1831), and a series of articles by Luzzatto of Padua, published in the *Bikkune Ha-Ittim*, from 1825 to 1829, said to be only specimens of a complete work, yet unpublished. An article on the bibliography of the subject by Müplan, is published in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, vol. xvii., 1863, p. 316.

T. A.

A FALSIFIED FRENCH VERSION OF THE BIBLE.

THERE is a French version of the New Testament of which an edition published at Bourdeaux about 1688 became very famous, in consequence of its containing the words *purgatory* and *mass*, and sundry other flagrant corruptions. It may not be generally known that other Roman Catholic editions of the Scriptures in French, even earlier than this, exhibit some of its most wilful perversions. I have before me a folio Bible in French, said to have been translated by theologians of the university of Louvain, and faithfully revised, corrected, and illustrated with plates. It was printed at Paris by Sebastien Huré, printer and bookseller in ordinary to the king, 1667, "with approbation of the Doctors." A great number of passages in

this book are "ingeniously tormented" to make them teach popish doctrine. Take a few examples.

Is. viii. 19. When they shall say to you, etc.—Answer ye, shall not every people ask of its God to the dead for the living? (Chaque peuple ne s'enquêtera-il pas de son Dieu aux morts pour les vivants?) This is certainly not opposed to praying to the dead.

Matt. i. 25. And had not known her when she brought forth her first-born son, and called his name Jesus.

xxvi. 28. This is my blood of the New Testament which shall be shed for many in remission of sins.

Luke xiii. 3, etc. Do penance.

Acts xii. 15. It is his guardian angel.

xiii. 2. The index informs us that, in this verse, the Greek means "while they sacrificed" (*eux sacrificians*).

xv. 2. Apostles and priests.

1 Cor. iii. 15. As by the fire of purgatory (*comme par le feu de purgatoire*).

vii. 10. The sacrament of marriage.

ix. 27. I chastise my body by blows (*par batures*).

2 Cor. vi. 14. Do not join yourselves to infidels by the sacrament of marriage.

Gal. iv. 10. Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years, as if ye were yet under the law.

Col. ii. 18. Let no one seduce you at his pleasure under pretext of humility and of religion, given to Moses by angels.

1 Tim. iii. 2. If he has been a husband, that it be of only one wife (so of Deacons, in verse 12).

iv. 3. Condemning the sacrament of marriage, abstinence from food which God has created for the faithful, etc.

v. 17. Let the priests who duly preside, etc.

Tit. i. 5. Establish priests in the cities (*par les villes*).

Heb. iii. 7. He was heard for his reverence when he was raised.

vii. 27. Had no need, like the priests, to offer sacrifices daily.

ix. 22. Without the shedding of the blood of beasts legal defilement is not removed.

ix. 25. Nor yet that he should offer himself often as he did upon the cross.

x. 26. No more host (*hostie*) for sin. [This word is used in verses 11 and 12, and in verse 18 we are told there is no more legal oblation for sin.]

xi. 30. After a procession of seven days.

xi. 39. The promise, that is to say, entry into heaven.

xiii. 6. Marriage is honourable in all things.

xiii. 16. Do not forget well-doing and the communion, for one merits before God by such sacrifices.

James iv. 11. We beatify those who endure.

v. 14. Let him call the priests of the church.

1 Pet. iii. 19. He preached to the spirits who were in prison, who were once disobedient.

v. 1. I pray the priests—who am a priest.

v. iii. Having domination over the clergy, or over the heritages of the Lord.

2 Pet. i. 6. To knowledge abstinence, and to abstinence patience.

ii. 21. The holy commandment which had been conceded to them by tradition.

iii. 17. The error of wicked heretics.

1 John ii. 14. Ye have overcome the wicked one and his ministers.

ii. 20. Ye have an unction from the saints.

v. 17. All iniquity is sin, and sin to death.

Rev. ix. 11. In Hebrew Abaddon, and in Greek Apollon, and in Latin having the name the Exterminator.

xiv. 13. Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord: Henceforth, says the spirit, because they rest from their labours (à ce qu'ils se reposent de leur travaux), but their works follow them.

The preceding examples will shew whether the translators were sincere when they wrote “Car nous ne falsifions point la parole de Dieu, comme font plusieurs;” and again, “Ne faussans point la parole de Dieu” (2 Cor. ii. 17; iv. 2). They were more in earnest when they wrote, “Let us conduct ourselves wisely towards those who are without, profiting by occasions to procure their conversion” (Col. iv. 5). I cannot conclude without noticing Heb. iv. 14, which runs, “Let us hold confession; for we have not,” etc.

The edition is an elaborate one, having marginal references, copious indexes, the prefaces of Jerome, and other supplementary matter. Of all the books of the New Testament, the epistle to the Hebrews seems to have been most diligently and systematically falsified by interpolations and other devices.

Q.

NEPHESE IN THE SENSE OF MONUMENT.

IN the fourth note to “Selections from the Syriac,” in the last number of your Journal, the writer seems to doubt whether the Syriac “naphsho” really denotes “a sepulchre or mausoleum,” and even suggests that the correct reading might be “nauso,” “a shrine or temple.” Now the same word is found repeatedly in the Talmud in the sense of “sepulchral monument.” This is established beyond all doubt, both by the context and all rabbinical lexicons. In the second section of *Shekalim*, p. 3, we read, “They build a *Nefesh* (monument) over his grave.” And in the Jerusalem Talmud Rabbi Shemon, son of Gamliel, says, “We do not make (build) monuments (naphshoth) for the righteous; their words are their memorials.” Now as the language of Judea, in the age of Rabbi Shemon, was a Syriac dialect, and as indeed the Syriac linguistical elements preponderate in the Talmud, we need not doubt that “naphsho,” in the

passage to which the note refers, is correctly rendered "a sepulchre" or "mausoleum," and the proposed emendation is quite unnecessary.

A. BENISCH.

May 28th, 1864.

BIBLICAL NOTES, QUERIES, etc.

CHRONOLOGIC REVISED BIBLE.

It is a remarkable fact that after the immense amount of labour and wealth expended on the English versions of the Bible, there does not yet exist a chronologic revised Bible in our language, yet such a work may be produced by combining the best chronologic arrangements of Scripture according to the plans of Townsend, Geneste, Merrel, with the amended versions of Boothroyd, Lowth, Doddridge, and other translators. I have attempted it, so far as the Gospels are concerned, in my improved *Monotessaron*; and I trust that others of more health and wealth will yet favour the British public with this great national desideratum. Such a work ought to be printed in paragraphs, and these paragraphs should have their arguments or contents noted in the margin, as in the Bibles of Vander Hooght, Wilson, and Reeves.

JEWISH CABALA.

It is curious that the very ancient and celebrated Cabala of the Jews has never yet been presented in English with the accuracy and completeness requisite. The best English notices of it I have seen are contained in the works of Basnage, Brucker, Allen, Etheridge, Burnet, and Brocklesby. There is, I believe, no English published version of the *Liber Jesirah*, nor any of Franc's French work on the Cabala—the most philosophic treatise on the subject that has yet appeared,—but I possess unpublished English versions of them, and I have perused in the British Museum a very remarkable Latin version of the main part of the *Liber Sohar*, by the learned Postellus, a unique MS. which deserves publication.

DISLOCATION OF THE DAYS OF CREATION.

Is there not strong internal and external evidence, that the yums or days mentioned in the first chapter of Genesis have become disarranged in respect of chronologic succession. If we alter the order as it now stands in our common Bibles, and call the third day the fourth day, and call the fourth day the third day, the series of events will be developed in a more intelligible manner. The alteration of these two numerals will, perhaps, throw new light and harmony into a concatenation of facts, which have greatly perplexed theologians and philosophers. The cosmogony of Moses will then be reconciled with many other passages of Scripture and mythologic tradition. It will

represent the formation of the heavens and astronomical systems before it describes more particularly our planet Earth, and its vegetable and animal families.

DISCOVERY OF THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE "WHOLE DUTY OF MAN."

As I stated in a former number of *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, among the most curious unsettled questions in the history of literature is this—Who was the author of the *Whole Duty of Man*? This problem has been as much controverted in the religious world, as the authorship of the *Letters of Junius* has been in the political world; but no satisfactory solution has yet been published, confirmed by external and internal evidences. I am politely requested to state the reasons why we may believe that Dr. Richard Allestree or Allestry (born in 1619) is entitled to the credit of writing this celebrated work, which in its time enjoyed extraordinary popularity, and strongly influenced the characters of large classes of the community. In thus speaking, I refer of course to the original *Whole Duty of Man*, first published under this title in 1657, and not to several subsequent works bearing the same title, but not of the same principles, nor of equal ability or celebrity.

In attempting to prove that the authorship of this work is to be attributed to Dr. Allestree, I beg leave to state that he has been mentioned by previous critics among those suspected of writing it; but as far as I am aware their suspicion has not been confirmed, as it is now confirmed and ratified by the strong arguments which I shall adduce. When the reader has duly considered them, he will see how far I have satisfactorily established my point, and set this long-vexed question at rest.

Let me now briefly describe by what steps I advanced to my result. It appears from the statements of biography, that Dr. Hammond, Bishop Fell, and Dr. Allestree were intimate personal friends for many years. This noble triumvirate of piety and learning contributed to each other's literary labours and successes in several instances. Bishop Fell survived the others and wrote their lives. Now Hammond and Fell both indicate that Allestree was not only a man of high scholarship, but of profound modesty, who as much as possible withheld his name from public notice and applause. His talents were, however, displayed as a court preacher and diplomatist, as the regius professor of divinity at Oxford, and as provost at Eton; and he was so much esteemed for his personal merits, that he could afford to dispense with fame as a popular author, when his writings were in the greatest request. It is probable that Allestree wrote his *Whole Duty of Man* when he was about thirty-eight years of age, and wishing to have it published anonymously, he submitted the MS. to the perusal of his friend, Dr. Hammond, who was already a distinguished author. Consequently, the first edition of the *Whole Duty of Man* was published in 1657, with a recommendatory preface by Hammond, in which he

speaks of the author as one "who had taken care to convey a liberal alms to the corban [of religious literature] so secretly."

But the most direct proof that Allestree was the author of the *Whole Duty* is furnished by Bishop Fell, who wrote his life, and first published his forty sermons soon after his death. Now Allestree died in 1680, leaving Fell, I believe, his literary executor, and Fell first published the collected works of the author of the *Whole Duty of Man* in 1682, within two years after Allestree's death. Now here is a very strong argument in favour of our supposition. For Fell in his preface to this collection, insinuates that the excellent author had but recently died; he says "had God lent longer life to this eminent person we might have had another treatise which was designed and promised. He adds, "Many persons will now expect an account of the person and condition of the author, but they must not pry into what is studiously concealed" (see the folio edition, 1684).

My supposition is strongly confirmed by the learned and judicious Dr. Prideaux, author of the admirable history of the *Connection between the Old and New Testaments*. He was very likely to have known the truth on the topic under discussion, and he thus speaks of the works in question: "The works ascribed to the author of the *Whole Duty of Man* were written by Bishop Fell and Dr. Allestree. As to what Bishop Fell says in a folio edition, at Oxford, 1684, in which all these books are comprised together, where he mentions the author as lately dead, it was generally understood to be meant of Dr. Allestree, who was then lately deceased. Of Dr. Allestree's writings, there is a folio volume of sermons, which may be compared with these treatises;"—in reference to this quotation, it does not appear that Bishop Fell wrote any part of these treatises themselves, though he wrote the general preface to them, and he ascribes them entirely to some other person.

It is highly probable, that if Dr. Allestree left any anonymous writings, (and even his sermons were not published under his name during his life,) such writings would be edited by Bishop Fell his chief friend, at the precise period when the collected works of the author of the *Whole Duty* were edited by him. Moreover, it is extremely unlikely that Fell and Hammond should have had any other great mutual friend, so closely corresponding in all characteristics, and chronological particulars with Allestree; and yet that this friend should never be mentioned.

In short, the coincidences between Allestree and the author of *The Whole Duty* are so strong as to carry conviction; they were both distinguished for wonderful modesty, and avoided publicity; they were both ascetic High Church disciplinarians; they were both the special friends of the same persons at the same times; they both died at the same period, and their collected anonymous works were edited by the same person just at the same period. In fine, their style of writing, their characteristic phrases, and their religious, political, and moral sentiments strikingly resembled each other.

The works of the author of the *Whole Duty of Man* were distinguished for so many merits that they attracted extraordinary attention; and they have been attributed to many individuals, beside Allestree. For instance, they have been ascribed to Lady Pakington, Archbishop Stearne, Archbishop Lancroft, Archbishop Frewen, Bishop Chapel, Abraham Woodhead, and William Fulman.

Among all these, the only name that carries any plausible pretensions to the authorship of the works in question is that of Lady Pakington, who is mentioned as their reputed author by the learned Dr. Hickes, the nonjuror; and it has been stated that a MS. of the whole, or part of these works in her ladyship's handwriting, was in her family's possession during the last century. But an absolute refutation of this opinion appears in the preface of Bishop Fell, who certainly knew the name of the author. It is certain that the author of the *Whole Duty* was a *man*, because Fell, his editor, speaks of this author in the masculine gender, and talks of *his* book, *his* name, family, and person. The very fact that Lady Pakington is called the *reputed* author, not the *real* author, is enough to set her claim aside. Probably her admiration of these works induced her to transcribe some parts of them, or she may have assisted Dr. Allestree in a portion of the treatise, entitled *The Lady's Calling*.

I trust that this question is now satisfactorily answered by a strong concurrence of probabilities, and that Dr. Allestree will henceforth be acknowledged as one of the best and greatest of English authors, for the excellence and magnitude of his writings. They are distinguished for the purity, vigour, and conciseness of their style, and for the weighty judiciousness, solid good sense and crassa Minerva of their counsels. The following is a list of Allestree's writings, if my supposition be correct:—

"Forty Sermons;" "Whole Duty of Man;" "Private Devotions;" "Causes of the Decay of Christian Piety;" "The Gentleman's Calling;" "The Lady's Calling;" "The Government of the Tongue;" "The Art of Contentment;" "The Government of the Thoughts;" "The Lively Oracles of Scripture;" "The Duty of Christian Resolution;" "A Paraphrase on St. Paul's Epistles."

Of this great Christian moralist, the *Edinburgh Review* thus speaks, "The writer deserves to be numbered with Cowley, as one of the earliest purifiers of English style from pedantry. After the lapse of one hundred and seventy years his works contain scarcely a word or a phrase which has become superanuated."

If in this communication I have proved my point, and succeeded in rescuing the name and writings of a very noble English author from unjust neglect, my remarks will not be deemed superfluous.

Bath, June 1st, 1864.

FRANCIS BARHAM.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

L'Idée de Dieu et ses Nouveaux Critiques. Par E. CARO. 8vo. Paris and London. L. Hachette.

IN the discharge of his duty as a lecturer on metaphysics, M. Caro has taken the opportunity of cautioning his hearers against the popular errors of the present day. Matters of pure speculation, he thinks, although interesting in themselves, should give way to a discussion of those topics which are now engaging the notice of the whole world; and as the attacks of atheism and pantheism have assumed everywhere the most varied forms, so the champions of the truth should multiply their answers, and shew themselves at all the assailable points. From such a feeling the volume we have to consider has resulted; it is a kind of abstract of M. Caro's public teaching, and we trust that under its present shape it will meet with the success it assuredly deserves.

Our author's intention is to give in due succession the negative and the positive view of the subject; he will, at some future period, state what he conceives to be the true ideas of God, of immortality, and of man, in his relation both to this world and to the next; just now he describes what modern infidelity thinks of these all-important problems. The *Idée de Dieu et ses Nouveaux Critiques* may be summarily defined a sketch of Hegelianism and of its consequences.

We say Hegelianism, but the philosophy of Kant is responsible likewise, according to M. Caro, for a great proportion of the errors into which recent sophists have fallen. "Condemnation of metaphysics, distrust with respect to our high faculties, represented as always carried away beyond their proper sphere, elimination of every reality not immediately amenable to experience, the whole development of critical philosophy, nay, of Positivism itself, is to be found in the *Critique of Pure Reason*."

Hegel's system strikes the student at once by the harmony with which all its constituent parts are blended together, by the vigour of the argumentation and the apparent grandeur of the whole scheme. Such a system, however, could not in its original form be presented as intellectual food to our French neighbours. Stripped of its abstract formulas, it was better adapted for the work it had to do, and its influence soon leavened the various categories of literature, history, and æsthetics. "The negation of a real and living God; the idea of the divine personality considered as nonsense and below the notice of serious thinkers; the notion of a certain indeterminate Being placed at the origin of all things, an obscure principle which determines itself by the succession of phenomena under the twofold shape of nature and of history; the efficient and the final causes of the world represented as anterior to the world itself, *immanent*, not *transcendent*, which is the same as to say that the world is its own efficient and final cause; the identity of con-

tradictory terms adopted, if not as the basis of a new system of logic, at least as an excellent principle of criticism. Such are a few of the leading ideas which have lately been put into circulation, and which are from the pure Hegelian stock." M. Caro after thus shewing how the favourite theories of German metaphysicians have been modified to suit French tastes, proceeds to explain the dissolving nature of these theories, and the fatal revolutions they must bring about in every branch of human knowledge. Once admit that the good, the true, the beautiful, do not exist, but that they are in a constant state of formation, then the doctrine of the ideal disappears at once from the sphere of poetry and of the fine arts. Away with the great classical epochs; the most corrupt school of literature expresses a given moment in the necessary succession of ages, and it deserves therefore the same amount of study as the periods which have hitherto been the object of so much mistaken reverence.

It is equally evident that each fact being a given incident in universal reality, there is no possible reason why we should condemn as immoral and base all the deeds of wickedness with which history is full. They must *necessarily* have happened, they were calculated like the revolutions of a piece of machinery, or the vibrations of a pendulum. Our business is not to *judge*, but to *understand* them, to reduce them to their law. Thus morality and immorality in the modern vocabulary of historians are meaningless words, and history itself becomes a branch of natural philosophy.

The application of these doctrines to religion is of the highest importance, and deserves to be carefully noted. All systems aiming at giving an account of man's position with respect to the unknown world are equally reasonable; they merely shew how at various epochs in the history of the universe man represented to himself the divine; and the interest that belongs to them is exactly akin to the one we feel in surveying archæological specimens preserved on the shelves of a museum. God is no longer a personal Being, but merely the name given to a certain class of ideas (*nomina, numina*); here religion becomes a subjective phenomenon; immortality, heaven, future life, all these words sink into mere *ignes fatui*, capable of deceiving only weak minds; our reason is our heaven; we are immortal, in so far as we understand our dependance in the universal order of things—the wondrous mechanism of nature.

Such a system, in practice, leads to a kind of quietism based upon the necessary character of all that happens here below. What is liberty but the realization in this world of truth, justice, right? Now, if the true and the good, as Hegelians constantly repeat, are only the variable resultants of a certain combination of forces, if they are not a fixed goal to which we should ever be aiming, how can we apply our liberty? Shall we be satisfied with striving after phantoms? M. Caro acknowledges that many of the disciples of Hegel are better than the system they advocate, and that they often sacrifice logic to their nobler sentiments; but this is just a simple piece of inconsistency which is conclusive against the views we are combating.

The remarks we have now been offering to our readers are the substance of a masterly discussion carried on by our author in his introductory chapter against the scientific atheists of the present day. Before taking separately the works of Messrs. Taine, Renan, and Vacherot, whom he selects as the chief representatives of this school, he has thought it advisable to study the primary sources from which the school itself is derived, and he terminates his prefatory tableau by proving in the clearest manner that, even whilst we reason on natural facts, we require some other test besides those supplied by empiricism.

Amongst the philosophers who appear in M. Caro's gallery, M. Renan is the one with whom English readers are most familiar, and therefore we shall devote to him the remaining portion of this short review. Some persons have seemed surprised at what they call the novelty of M. Renan's ideas on our Lord and his teaching; but the slightest acquaintance with the earlier productions of the author of *La Vie de Jésus* would have led them to see that the latter work was nothing else but the application of theories carefully elaborated during the fourteen previous years, and expressed in the *Etudes d'Histoire Religieuse*. It is curious to see what effect the *Vie de Jésus*, when it first issued from the press, had upon those quasi-sceptics, who, already holding very loosely by positive religion, might naturally have been deemed especially open to M. Renan's influence. Let us, on this subject, consult M. Caro who has had the occasion of questioning a few of the persons to whom we are alluding. "They are not satisfied. They tell us that when so serious a question is handled, it would not be out of place to think less of artistic perfection, and more of the exigencies of criticism. If a man wishes to claim the right of drawing an inference, he must prove that he can argue a case. The circumstance was grave enough to justify a departure from the fastidious habits of an over-refined mind. In short, people have been at first astonished, and then fatigued and irritated at meeting nothing but inductions, conjectures, mere suppositions on the most solemn points of that history to which is suspended the moral life of the world. They have formed a flattering idea of the author's talent, but they affirm that talent alone was not what they expected to find in his book."

M. Renan, accordingly, has by no means secured the suffrage of scientific readers. What the errors are of that theological novel, which he calls the *Life of Jesus*, competent critics have already abundantly demonstrated, and M. Caro does so himself in a masterly chapter (the third) to which we would earnestly draw the reader's attention. But the fact that the adepts of Hegelianism should have shrugged up their shoulders at this latest specimen of French unbelief, and spoken sneeringly of the *science* it was supposed to contain, is something calculated to humble even a vainer man than M. Renan.

At the same time it must be frankly acknowledged that the *Vie de Jésus* has enjoyed an amount of success which no work, treating of religious subjects and published during the last thirty years, can boast of having obtained. For this M. Renan is indebted to a party with

which he would certainly refuse to be identified; he, the arch-critic, the man "who lives aloft and who dreads to step down" (*qui vit haut, et qui a peine à s'abaisser*), we allude to that pseudo-liberal party identified with Voltaire, and denouncing Christianity in the name of freedom. For liberals of this description M. Renan's book was a kind of standard; they raised it up and rallied around it their diminished forces. Then how pleasant it is to fancy that after a few hours' reading you are on a level with Paulus, Ewald, Strauss, and Feuerbach! How comforting to believe that you are still a Christian because, like M. Renan, you build up a kind of "ideal Christianity, a religion free, individual, without dogma, without connecting tie, without either theology or church; an eclectic and sentimental religion which each one arranges and fashions according to his own views of God, admitting under this vague and confused name all great men, all great moralists, indiscriminately and on the same level, thus building for the future that Jerusalem, one day described to us by M. De Sacy, 'the Jerusalem with a hundred gates, upon which the name of Mahomet will be carved next to that of Moses, the name of Buddha next to that of Jesus Christ, and, in order to please everybody, the names of Voltaire and Rousseau next to those of St. Peter and St. Paul. We have here a Jerusalem which is strikingly similar to the tower of Babel. The only difference is this, the old Babel finished by the confusion of tongues, whilst the modern one begins by the confusion of ideas. It is promising.'"

What we like especially in M. Caro's volume is the constant, firm, out-spoken assertion of a personal living God, in opposition to the unsubstantial dreams of pantheism and the brutal denegations of atheism. He takes of the present state of religion in France a much less desponding view than some of his contemporaries. The very excitement caused by the publication of works like those of Messrs. Renan, Taine, and Vacherot is, he remarks, an excellent symptom. "The inestimable price of the ideal truths which formed our belief and our hope has aroused in us a profound feeling, now that we think ourselves threatened to lose them, now that, through the efforts of modern criticism, the Infinite seems concealed beyond deeper obscurity. Let us not complain of the crisis through which we are passing, of the trial we are undergoing. Is not this doubtful of agitation, better for the dignity of philosophy than a weariness visited by neither thoughts nor dreams—than the common-place optimism which characterizes epochs of decay? We would add that many persons who know nothing of the Bible turn to it now out of mere curiosity, and for the sake of verifying the quotations or testing the statements of M. Renan: once brought into contact with the sacred volume, they seek in vain those fanciful descriptions, those assumed inconsistencies which *savants* make so much of; and finding themselves in the presence of Him who came to save us, they wonder how prejudice and the conceit of false learning could have led a writer, particularly proud of his critical powers, to accumulate within the compass of one volume so many absurdities.

G. M.

Auguste Comte, et la Philosophie Positive. Par E. LITTRÉ. 8vo.
Paris and London : Hachette.

THE biography of M. Auguste Comte is a work which, in more respects than one, deserves to be noticed. Whatever opinion we may be inclined to form of the philosophical doctrines identified with the founder of Positivism, he was certainly, as a mathematician, one of the most eminent men of our times. His powers of application were extraordinary, and some of the views he has propounded will bear the test of severe criticism. But this is not all. If the epithet were not almost incongruous, when applied to such a man, we might almost say that M. Auguste Comte was a theologian. At all events, he aimed at founding a new religion, based upon our connection, not with the unknown world, but with the world of sense. His system of philosophy comprised a scheme of divinity (very gross, to be sure); he was the chief of a church, and, as M. Littré remarks, towards the end of his career he had "instituted himself the High-priest of humanity; he was a kind of Pope, and, in that quality, he published *briefs*."

For various reasons, we have thought that a short account of M. Littré's excellent volume would interest our readers. It places before us the whole development of an important and still influential school; it is written, besides, with a clearness, a method, a simplicity, which are truly fascinating; and last, though not least, it breathes a spirit of impartiality doubly valuable in a work of this character.

M. Littré has divided his biographical sketch into three parts. The first begins with the earliest labours of M. Auguste Comte, and takes us as far as the epoch when he asserted his position as an independent thinker, unfolding his doctrines in a course of lectures, beginning the composition of his large treatise, and shaking off altogether the bonds which, up to that time, had associated him with the school of Henri Saint Simon. M. Comte, as his historian observes, was primitively a revolutionist; and his efforts were, in the first instance, devoted to the destruction of the social and religious institutions then prevalent throughout Europe, and which, he thought, were diametrically opposed to the principles of 1789. Gradually brought to see the insufficiency of the mere negative process to counteract or annihilate existing evils, he applied his energies to the solution of the difficulties which seemed to him most important; and it was whilst endeavouring to construct a political system that he produced a philosophical theory applicable, as he deemed, to every manifestation of the human mind. M. Littré thus describes M. Auguste Comte in his capacity of a *chef d'école*, and he then goes on to enquire whether Positivism did not already exist in a germinal or rudimentary state in the teaching of some of the thinkers who flourished during the latter part of the eighteenth century. Kant, Turgot, and Condorcet are, according to M. Littré, the forerunners of Positivism, properly so called; and this fact he endeavours to prove by a careful examination of the theories with which the names of these philosophers are associated. The distinctive merit of Turgot is that of having understood the law of progress, and more particularly of having

pointed out the subjective origin of the theological conceptions of antiquity. Kant, in a *brochure*, of which M. Littré supplies a complete translation, has shewn that history is a natural phenomenon submitted to determined conditions; but, at the same time, by giving to that axiom a metaphysical foundation, he has completely ruined his own theory. Finally, Condorcet, whilst seeing very clearly that a new period in the history of the world had arrived, allowed himself to be carried away by the prejudices which reigned amongst his contemporaries, and denounced the social institutions of ages gone by, instead of appreciating them impartially, and of acknowledging their adaptation to existing circumstances.

We have thus enumerated those who prepared the way for the success of M. Comte's doctrines; let us now see what these doctrines were in substance. We quote the following definitions from M. Littré's volume: "Positive philosophy is the *ensemble* of human knowledge, disposed according to a certain order which allows us to understand both the connection of the various parts, and the unity of the whole. His new method enables us to draw from it general directions whereby we can best master, not only each branch, but also the entire cycle of knowledge. Positive philosophy is distinguished from theological philosophy and from metaphysical philosophy, inasmuch as it is of the same nature as the science from which it proceeds, whereas theology and metaphysics, being of a totally different nature, can neither guide the sciences nor be guided by them. The inductive sciences, theology, and metaphysics, have no common origin. That common origin exists only for positive philosophy and for the sciences."

If our purpose, in the present article, were to discuss the merits of Positivism, and not merely to give a brief account of M. Littré's volume, we could easily prove that the definitions of the Comtian philosophy rest upon a limited and thoroughly incomplete view of the nature of science. Both M. Comte and M. Littré assume that *all* our knowledge is confined to an appreciation of natural phenomena, and of the laws which govern them; they say that there is no connection whatever between these phenomena on the one side, and the principles of either theology or metaphysics. So far they are right; but they deny that there are certain facts amenable to the test of theology and metaphysics, respectively, and here they are decidedly wrong. They ignore the truths that "are spiritually discerned;" and, engrossed by the world of sense, they attempt to raise up on the ruins of man's noble nature the most withering of all systems. M. Comte, as we shall see presently, sacrificed, finally, logic to truth, by admitting that certain facts cannot be accounted for from the data of mere empiricism; but his followers, and M. Littré more particularly, protested energetically against what they called (and what really was) a want of consistency; they accepted the system in its results as well as in its principles, and deliberately passed a verdict of absurdity upon every fact that is not immediately and exclusively perceptible by the senses.

As one of the most distressing consequences of such a theory, let us

notice the new definition of history, for the enunciation of which M. Littré praises Kant: "*History is a natural phenomenon, submitted to certain conditions.*" If we once admit this, we must give up altogether the responsible character of man, consider morality and immorality as mere words, and proclaim, as an axiom, the degrading theory of "accomplished facts." M. Littré regrets that Condorcet should have joined in the denunciations of Christianity made by Diderot, d'Holbach, and the other sensationalists of the last century. Christianity, he says, was a phenomenon which corresponded to a certain stage of civilisation: we know now that *God is a quality, not a being, and that the ideal becomes real only in our own thoughts*; but our superior enlightenment should make us charitable, and we can surely place the religion of Christ in our museum of antiquities, side by side with the theologies of Zoroaster, Zeus, Confucius, and Buddha!

The second division of M. Littré's work presents to us, blended together, details of a biographical nature and questions of doctrine which are extremely important. We see M. Comte completely absorbed by his system, throwing into it all his energies, and sacrificing to the propagation of doctrines the numerous opportunities he had of establishing his reputation as a first-class mathematician. It is painful to find, even in our own times, the spirit of jealousy so rife amongst men of science; the *entre-mangeries professorales*, of which Bayle complained two hundred years ago, are particularly repulsive when they occur in matters where theological questions should not find admittance; and it was to them that M. Auguste Comte owed the loss of a situation he had filled during several years, at the Ecole Polytechnique, with the greatest success. He applied to M. Guizot, but without any satisfactory result, for the creation of a lectureship at the College de France, the subject of which would have been the history of science. His publisher, for fear of quarrelling with M. Arago, stooped to an act of dishonesty which issued in a law-suit. Finally, M. Auguste Comte, reduced to a state of *quasi-beggary*, would have been, probably, obliged to leave incomplete the labours upon which he placed so much value, if Messrs. Grote, Raikes Currie, and others, had not most generously got up an annual subscription, the results of which were sufficient to keep the philosopher from absolute want. This portion of the volume is illustrated with quotations from an interesting series of letters addressed by M. Comte to Mr. John Stuart Mill; it closes with the year 1842, when family difficulties necessitated a separation between Madame Comte and her husband. At that epoch the system of philosophy now known by the name of *Positivism* was completed; the entire edifice had been raised in the mind of its author, but at the cost of immense sacrifices both of health and of comfort.

Biographical incidents do not occur very plentifully in the third part of M. Littré's volume. The establishment of the Positivist society, the lectures delivered by M. Comte at the Palais Royal, his last illness, and his death—such are the principal facts we notice. The letters to Miss Martineau, and to M. Célestin de Blignières, are the

chief documents from which our author has quoted. An episode, however, makes this portion of the work particularly interesting, and forms the subject of a very curious discussion, the conclusion of which is a decided statement of dissent, on M. Littré's part, from what he calls the modified views of his master. During the first manifestation of his philosophical theories, M. Auguste Comte had carefully expressed his intention of discarding every religious idea. "The final septematization of ethical laws, cleared of all theological conceptions, was to rest immediately and irrevocably upon the *ensemble* of positivist philosophy." In 1845, however, as we have already hinted, M. Comte discarded the word *philosophy*, to adopt that of *religion*, and, according to M. Littré's remark, the spiritual power became for him a truly religious one.

It is somewhat singular that, after proclaiming, towards the earlier part of his career, that the reign both of theology and metaphysics was gone for ever, M. Comte should have ended by confessing that the human mind cannot help believing in the existence of an independent will, or of independent wills, which interfere in the administration of this world. We have not to discuss the character of this complete change of opinion, nor is it our business to examine the causes which led to it; but if we place ourselves on the standpoint of Positivism, we are compelled to say, with M. Littré, that never was any declaration made more fatal to the very elements of that scientific theory which M. Auguste Comte's genius has invested with so much notoriety. The fundamental axiom of Positivism may be stated thus:—The human mind is necessarily neither *metaphysical* nor theological; its passage through both these phases is only one of transition. If, on the contrary, we admit the late evolution of Comtianism, we must declare that the theological element is an indispensable element in our character; and this first step once taken, shall we hesitate for a single moment in preferring, to the crude and withering conceptions of M. Comte, Christianity, that system which has renovated the world and enlightened man as to his true destiny? In short, M. Littré blames severely his master for having, in the *Politique Positive*, abandoned the inductive ground upon which he had built his philosophical structure, and he proves that the empirical method is perfectly incompatible with *à priori* theories. The question here is one, not of *entente cordiale*, but of choice.

The last chapter of the interesting work we have been noticing is taken up by a kind of *résumé*, in which M. Littré brings prominently forward the principal traits of M. Comte's character, and also the most salient features of his system. One author acknowledges that at present there is a serious gap in the scheme of Positivism, for it says absolutely nothing about ethics, æsthetics, and psychology. The filling up of this gap will be the task of M. Comte's disciples, and from the ground which their common doctrines have already gained, M. Littré anticipates the final triumph of a system appealing exclusively, he says, to experience and to reason.

G. M.

The Syntax and Synonyms of the Greek Testament. By WILLIAM WEBSTER, M.A., late Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, recently of King's College, London. London and Oxford: Rivingtons.

WE hail this work as one of the most genuine and useful contributions to sacred literature that have appeared of late years in this country. Mr. Webster is already favourably known by an edition of the Greek Testament, in conjunction with Mr. Wilkinson, which may justly be characterized as the best suited for the less learned class of readers. But the present work possesses both greater claims and greater value.

Mr. Webster has not unjustly raised the standard of revolt against the German teachers, who have been very unreasonably supposed to monopolize all the scholarship of the day, and has found in the late Dr. Donaldson a better and more philosophical guide on points of grammar than Winer, and altogether a grammarian to whom we do not think Germany can bring forward a rival. We have no doubt that Mr. Webster's work will speedily reach a second edition, and we heartily recommend our readers to give it their assistance in doing so. It is with a view to throwing out hints for the consideration of the author for a second edition that we now proceed to criticise a few matters of detail in this excellent work.

The first chapter is on the peculiarities of Hellenistic Greek. In this we think the question, whether our Lord and his disciples spoke Greek, especially in Galilee, as well as the vernacular Aramaic of Judæa proper, ought to have been considered at length, instead of being dismissed with the remark that "it is highly important to bear in mind the caution given by Michaelis, *Syriace locutum Jesum, non Græce.*" Recent writers have brought forward considerations of no small weight to shew that the Greek language was more or less at home both in Galilee of the Gentiles and in Decapolis. We would also remind Mr. Webster that, under the Plantagenets, English was scarcely a formed language, and that the Greek of Pericles would rather correspond to the English of the days of Elizabeth. It is, perhaps, after all, not to be regretted that the best English scholars have scarcely, as yet, applied themselves to the elucidation of Hellenistic Greek. Had they done so, the results they have arrived at, which have proved so valuable to Mr. Webster, might have been looked upon with suspicion, like the deductions of party writers of the present day, whereas their indirect and unconscious evidence as to the principles and practice of the Greek language, to be applied by others to the Greek Testament, is scarcely to be over-estimated.

The second chapter is on the formation of words. We scarcely think that *κτίσις* means simply "the thing created," but is rather equivalent to a kind or class of created things, so that one *κτίσις* contains many *κτίσματα*. We are happy to find our derivation of *ἐπιούσιος* adopted by Mr. Webster. We find *πρωτόκοκς πάσης κτίσεως*, explained

(p. 23) as equivalent to born before all the creation, for the Word was the instrument of creation. We are rather disposed to consider the right explanation to be, that the Son occupies the position of first-born of or in every creation, the angels being considered as one *κτίσις*, the human race another. The Son is the chief of angels, and the chief of mankind. Comparing page 25 with page 248, we find an inconsistency in the explanation of ἀπραγμὸν in Philip. ii. 6, 7. In page 25, we read that "the transition is very easy from the *actus rapiendi* to the *res rapienda*, from the act of seizing to the object worth seizing." But in page 248, we find the passage translated, "He did not consider the being on an equality with God a matter to be *deprived* of, but He emptied Himself;" thus making ἀπραγμὸν indicate rather a *res abripienda* than a *res rapienda*, a matter to be deprived of, instead of "an object worth having."

The syntax proper commences with Chapter II., and is worked out with considerable care and research; but we received the book too late to do more than notice a few matters that drew our attention at first glance. The accusative of cognate signification and its derivative, the adverbial accusative, justly receive a greater share of attention than is generally paid to them. In Heb. iv. 2, we doubt whether ὁ λόγος τῆς ἀκοῆς is correctly referred to the genitive of predominating quality, ἀκοῆς being considered as denoting "hearing," and the phrase being understood to signify the word uttered in order to be *heard*. Ἀκοή is so commonly used in the LXX. in the sense of "report," *e. g.*, "who hath believed our *report*," that we think there is great probability of ὁ λόγος τῆς ἀκοῆς signifying "the word of *hearsay*," or "report," rather than that of "hearing."

In Chapter VI., page 87, some very excellent observations are quoted from Wordsworth, on the distinction between ἀμαρτεῖν and ἀμαρτάνειν with reference to 1 John iii. 9. "The Apostle does not say, οὐ δύναται ἀμαρτεῖν, he cannot fall into sin by ignorance, error, or infirmity." He uses ἀμαρτάνειν, he cannot be a habitual sinner. We have the more pleasure in doing justice to what is good in Wordsworth, because we cannot but feel and think that his real scholarship has been, to a very great extent, prevented from having fair play by his determined prejudices and *a priori* theology, to which he often endeavours to bend phenomena, instead of adapting himself to them. In page 96, it is scarcely sufficient to say, "No difficulty ought to be felt with the following expressions, where the reflective (? reflexive) pronoun is sometimes supplied: Mark iv. 29, ὅταν παραδῶ ὁ καρπός, etc." To our mind, Herodotus's expression, τοῦ Θεοῦ παραδιδόντος, "if God permit," offers a better explanation of the passage from St. Mark than the otherwise justly enunciated principles of the intransitive verb. And a good deal more explanation of many of the passages quoted in page 96 is really necessary. Analogies ought to have been pointed out which, we hope, will be pointed out in a future edition. This portion of the work is simply too brief.

On page 99, we would simply remark that περιέχει is used for

περιοχή ἐστὶ, "there is a passage." In page 103, τίς ἂν εἴη does not properly come under the head of the simple optative. In page 110, 1 Thess. iii. 3, τῷ μηδένα σαινεσθαι is clearly a wrong reading for τὸ μηδένα σαινεσθαι, and ought not to have been cited, although it occurs in the received text. It is, indeed, scarcely Greek.

Chapter VIII. is on the particles. In page 129, we fully agree with Mr. Webster in considering ζηλούτε, πληροῖς, and φουσιούσθε, after ἵνα, as subjunctives. We cannot but think that insufficient stress is laid upon the influence of the Latin language in extending the use of ἵνα till it became merely equivalent to the loosest *ut* with the subjunctive. In modern Greek, ἵνα, under the form νὰ, with the subjunctive, has supplanted the infinitive. This, certainly, ought to have been mentioned, as it is the only explanation of several passages, especially in St. John's gospel and epistles. In page 135, ναὶ ought to have been treated of at greater length, and its originally negative signification exhibited. Is it really certain (page 136) that ὁμῶς is *ever* used in the New Testament? Μῆ, interrogative (page 141), may often be well translated, "is it that;" μὴ οὐκ ἤκουσαν, "is it that they did not hear;" and so forth.

Chapter X. is on synonyms, and supplies a great desideratum. It is well and carefully done, and, after friendly criticism has played its part, will, no doubt, become excellent. In page 201, Acts xix. 15 ought certainly to have been cited: τὸν Ἰησοῦν γινώσκω καὶ τὸν Παῦλον ἐπίσταμαι, "Jesus I recognize [as an authoritative person], and Paul I am aware of [the existence of.]" In page 214, the *Roman* shield, θυρεὸν, should have been distinguished as such from the round *Greek* shield, ἀσπίς. This is, we should think, merely an accidental omission. On κήρυγμα (page 217), some allusion should have been made to the folly both talked and written about "the foolishness of preaching," τοῦ κηρύγματος (1 Cor. i. 21), on which Hooker has some excellent remarks. In page 226, Origen's definition of a parable should, surely, have been given: λόγος ὡς περὶ γινομένου, μὴ γινομένου μὲν κατὰ τὸ ῥητὸν, δυναμένου δὲ γινεσθαι. On the distinction between σημεία and τεκμήρια (page 233), we should remark that the simplest way of distinguishing the meanings of the two words is to say that σημεία are indications that the thing *may* be so, or even probably is so, while τεκμήρια are indications that the thing *must* be so.

Chapter XI. consists of "Hints on the Authorized Version." On this, time and space will not allow us to remark further than in general terms of commendation, although we should be slow to translate δὲ, in Matt. vii., 15, "accordingly." Finally, we have, in Chap. XII., explanations of grammatical and rhetorical terms. And here we find an opinion of Dr. Wordsworth's endorsed by Mr. Webster, against which we should fail in our duty if we did not raise our voice in protest. In the very last paragraph of the book, on Solecisms, we find: "In the Apocalypse, indeed, there are many expressions for which we cannot account by ordinary rules. But the remark of Dr. Wordsworth is very just: 'Wherever the reader meets, in the Apocalypse, with a phrase

which seems a solecism, let him take it for granted that it contains some great and solemn truths, and that the singularity of the phrase is designed to call his attention to them.' " If the author of the Apocalypse wrote bad grammar in order to draw attention to momentous truths, why was not the same method adopted by the other Apostles and Evangelists? If they did not do so, why should he? No doubt there are many peculiarities in the New Testament generally, which are necessitated by the novelty of its subject matter, but some of the phenomena in the Apocalypse can only be rationally accounted for by supposing the author less at home in Greek than in some other language. To our mind, Wordsworth's idea of the employment of bad grammar on principle is one of those affronts to common sense in which theologians have often delighted, but which are entirely out of place in a grammar, and which we regret to see adopted by one of whose work we think otherwise so well, as we do of Mr. Webster's. Assuming the author of the Apocalypse to be identical with that of the Gospel and Epistles of St. John, we should be rather inclined to suppose that in the solecisms of the Apocalypse we have St. John's Greek more nearly as he habitually wrote and spoke it, whereas he had the gospel and epistles completely revised by a friend, who was a competent Greek scholar, preparatory to publication. God almost always makes use of ordinary mechanical means and applications, where such are to be had, so that this would be no derogation from the authority and inspiration of the writings in question. Indeed, the flaws of the earthen vessels which contain the gospel and its accompanying revelations, do but exhibit more grandly the greatness of its victory over the wisdom and learning of the world. (St. Paul's *ὀφελὸν ἀποκόψονται* in Gal. v. 12, is a solecism, to which we find no allusion in the work under review).

In conclusion, let us express our hearty thanks to Mr. Webster for his excellent and well-timed work, and bid him farewell with our best wishes.

W.

The Bible in the Church. A popular account of the collection and reception of the Holy Scriptures in the Christian Churches. By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, M.A. London: Macmillan and Co.

IN this small volume, Mr. Westcott has collected and set out in a popular form the principal facts concerning the history of the canon of Scripture. The introduction contains a series of useful observations, which should not be passed over without perusal. The chapters which follow are thus designated: 1. The Bible in the Apostolic Age; 2. The growth of the New Testament; 3. The Apostolic Fathers; 4. The Age of the Apologists; 5. The Christian Bible; 6. The Bible Proscribed and Restored; 7. The Age of Jerome and Augustine; 8. The Bible of the Middle Ages in the West; 9. The Bible of the Middle Ages in the East; 10. The Bible in the Sixteenth century. The appendix contains notices of the History of the Canon of the Old Testament before the Christian era, and of the most ancient MSS. of the Christian Bible. The work is executed with Mr. Westcott's

characteristic ability. At p. 233, there is a list of the contents of the ancient Syriac MS. of the Bible now at Cambridge; and it is said that "the number of *words* in each book is given at the end." This is not quite correct. The *pethgomé* here called 'words' are no doubt the portions into which the books are divided by the punctuation: *e.g.* Proverbs, 1463; Ecclesiastes, 627. We find similar sets of numbers in other manuscripts and printed copies. Thus the Bible Society's edition has them at the end of the books, and at the beginnings of the separate Psalms. The two books of Chronicles (the number is lost in the Cambridge copy) contain 5630 *pethgomé*. We examined some of the Psalms lately in reference to these divisions, and found that the *pethgomé* corresponded with the stichometrical arrangement of the Greek manuscripts. For example, the last Psalm contains eleven *pethgomé*, and is divided into eleven portions or lines by means of the points. It sometimes happens that the punctuation or the numeral is wrong, and then the numbers and lines do not correspond. Some of the Older Greek MSS. in like manner give at the end of the books the number of *στιχοι*. Our only reason for calling attention to this matter is, that the Syriac *pethgomé* (*q.d.* *φθεγματά*) point to an ancient arrangement of the text, and might prove serviceable to the critics. If they could be restored they would possibly shew whether any clauses have been added to the text or taken from it since the numeration was adopted. With regard also to this valuable Cambridge MS., if it is not later than the eighth century, are 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and Jude, in as ancient a hand as the rest of the volume? We suppose they are, as the Clementine constitutions follow them; but it is so long since we saw the codex that we forget the impression we received in regard to its antiquity.

What I saw in Syria, Palestine, and Greece. A narrative from the Pulpit. By S. SMITH, M.A. London: Longmans. 1864.

THIS volume contains what we must call twelve sermons, with an appendix, two small maps, and two outline plans of Jerusalem. The author wintered at Beyrout, and then set out to see some of the more interesting sites of the Holy Land. He proceeded first by way of Sidon, Tyre, and Accho, to Mount Carmel. From Carmel he went to Nazareth and Tiberias, and then southward through Shechem to Jerusalem. After this he visited Bethlehem and Hebron, then back to Jerusalem and on to Jaffa. From Jaffa he took ship, and having landed at Beyrout, made an excursion to Damascus and Baalbec. Turning westward to Tripoli, he sailed by Rhodes and Patmos to Smyrna and Athens. Of the places mentioned the descriptions are very brief; they are in fact principally treated of in view of Scripture statements regarding them. The successive discourses are nevertheless agreeably written, and were calculated to edify the congregation who listened to them. In their published form they will no doubt interest plain people, to whom, rather than to students, they are chiefly addressed. In the appendix, Mr. Smith advocates the opinion that the Holy Rock

where Christ was buried is within the Haram enclosure. He adds a note on the river Adonis, and other notes on the Man of Sin and the personal coming of Christ. The author's object has been a practical one, and his book is therefore practical.

Horeb and Jerusalem. By the Rev. GEORGE SANDIE. Edinburgh : Edmonston and Douglas.

THE author travelled from Alexandria to Sinai and back again. He then proceeded by sea to Joppa and on to Jerusalem. While in Egypt he made an excursion to the Pyramids and Memphis. His book is vigorously written; but, taking all the facts into consideration, we should say it is too positive in its tone. When old experienced students and explorers stand in doubt, and speak with reserve in presence of the chief problems here discussed, it seems strange that a new author, after a few weeks' travel, should feel able to speak like an oracle. This applies to the question of the true Sinai, and the true Calvary and Holy Sepulchre. As to the former, Mr. Sandie decides in favour of Jebel Mousa; as for the latter, he decides that they were on the eastern side of Jerusalem, within the area of the present area of the Haram-es-Sherif. He says this area was once divided by a valley running east and west. Students of Biblical topography should read this book.

A Winter in Upper and Lower Egypt. By G. A. HOSKINS, Esq., F.R.G.S. London: Hurst and Blackett.

THERE is a great deal that is very interesting in this book, for although the author does not exhibit the literary or the scientific accuracy and diligence of some of our Egyptologists, he tells a straightforward story, and embodies in it a good many facts which will be acceptable both to the student and the general reader. The journey here narrated was taken in 1860-61, and Mr. Hoskins had the advantage of having previously visited and sojourned in the land of Ham. On this occasion he visited Suez, and traversed the valley of the Nile as far as the second cataract. Stay-at-home travellers will find in the volume both amusement and instruction, and actual travellers will not do amiss to find room for it, as it will certainly be a useful companion as well as an agreeable one. We are very sorry to learn that the most beautiful and curious remains of antiquity in Egypt are constantly defaced and destroyed by visitors and others. We may add, that Mr. Hoskins frequently speaks of himself as an invalid, and that since we wrote the preceding notes, we have heard of his death.

A Neglected Fact in English History. By HENRY CHARLES COOTE, F.S.A. London: Bell and Daldy.

THE neglected fact to which Mr. Coote calls attention in his learned book is, that the civilization of the Anglo-Saxons embodied the

essential elements of that of Roman Britain. He is right; we recently had to make an investigation in our early history, and we were conducted to a similar conclusion. The Romano-Britons were not exterminated, but to a great extent incorporated in the new nation which arose out of the Saxon settlements and conquests. Our author proves his point by a large induction of curious facts, from which he makes it appear that the Saxons were greatly indebted to the institutions which they found already existing in the country. His illustrations are partly legal, and partly relating to social life, and even to some extent to religion. To one of the latter we may give a moment's attention, as it concerns a word about which the editor of this Journal was consulted by Mr. Coote, who very handsomely acknowledges a trifling service. The Anglo-Saxons called baptism *fulluht*, or "perfection," a fact which led the author to suspect that it was a translation of an older word used by the Christians of Roman Britain, and probably of one in Greek or Latin. The question then was, did the Greeks or Romans of the early Church use such a word for baptism? In reply we shewed that the Greeks so used *τελείω* and *τελείωσις*, and the Latins *perficere*. Since then we have found something similar among the Nestorians in Western Asia, and the ancient Christians of Malabar. They both of them (as is shewn by documents quoted in Assimani's *Bibliotheca Orientalis*) used a Syriac phrase equivalent to "*N. is baptized and perfected*."^b We have met with much the same phraseology elsewhere, but the reference escapes us. The extensive prevalence of British and Roman names of places in England down to our own day, supplies another proof that the Anglo-Saxons often adopted what they found already existing. Such of our readers as have an antiquarian taste will be gratified and instructed by this book, which although not such as we are wont to review at length in our pages, is one we are happy to meet with. The diligence of the author is most praiseworthy, and we may safely say that if he has produced what we have called a learned book, he has produced one which will shew that while we may justly be proud of our Anglo-Saxon name, we are none the less entitled to call ourselves Britons.

On Shakspeare's Knowledge and Use of the Bible. By CHARLES WORDSWORTH, D.C.L., Bishop of St. Andrew's. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1864.

THE chief value of books of this sort is to shew that Shakspeare had a considerable knowledge of Scripture. The language he puts into the mouth of his characters can hardly be supposed to represent his own opinions, and still less to furnish any clue to his practice. The Right Reverend author of this volume seems to think a little differently. He may, however, be mistaken in this, as he certainly is in his belief that the ground he takes was previously quite unoccupied. There is a

^b *Bibl. Or.*, vol. 3, pt. 2, p. 243, 255.

work by the Rev. T. R. Eaton on Shakespeare and the Bible; shewing how much the great dramatist was indebted to Holy Writ for his profound knowledge of human nature. The plan of this is somewhat different, but it involves much of the matter found in the other. Much as we admire Shakspeare, we cannot approve of all that is here said; as, for instance, that our translators were more indebted to the poet's language, than the poet was to the English version. The comparison was one which ought not to have been made, although it is true that most of the plays were published, or written, before our present version appeared. Any one acquainted with the English Bibles most common in Shakspeare's days, must be aware that their language is to a wonderful extent the same as in our translation. And besides the theological literature of the time never commends, but often condemns stage plays. That this was the feeling of the religious part of the community then, may be inferred from the fact, that in Shakspeare's native town, in his own lifetime, the performance of stage plays was forbidden by the corporation. Nor have we any reason to believe that even printed plays were much read by religious people. Only about one-half of Shakspeare's plays appears to have been published before his death; and the remainder not till 1623. The volume before us contains two chapters on noticeable words and forms of speech found both in Shakspeare and the Bible, but probably every one of these might be found in the current literature of the time. Some of them are certainly not peculiar to these two books, nor even to the time. The Biblical allusions in Shakspeare are many and interesting, and we may infer from them that he had read the Scriptures carefully, and was not irreverent towards them. There is much in the longest chapter, on Shakspeare's religious principles and sentiments, which is in our judgment far-fetched. We say, then, let the poet retain his place at the head of secular literature, but let him not be either beatified or canonized. He has honours enough of his own; let us be careful how we thrust upon him honours which do not belong to him. He was the poet of nature and of life, not of the Gospel.

The Nature and Extent of Divine Inspiration, as stated by the writers, and deduced from the facts of the New Testament. By Rev. C. A. Row, M.A. London: Longmans.

To say that this book is upon a subject of great present importance, is only to say what all are conscious of. It may, however, be necessary to premise that the inspiration of the New Testament writers is chiefly considered. At the same time the author grapples with the wider and more general question of inspiration. He lays it down as a principle, that the inadequacy of all human conceptions of the Infinite limit the extent of truth which can be communicated in a revelation. He discusses various theories of inspiration, but does not accept the verbal one. He shews that a divine revelation is possible, but he holds that a revelation to be intelligible must be through the medium of human

thoughts, conceptions, and ideas, more or less remotely representing the divine realities; and also that a divine revelation must be miraculously attested. A number of other conclusions are set forth at the close of chap. v., and to these we invite the reader's attention.

"1. That as far as the Creator designed to make a revelation, he would fully realise his own purposes in making it.—2. That the conceptions through which the revelation must be communicated cannot be the Divine ideas themselves, but their analogous representations and approximations in human thought.—3. That to make the revelation an intelligible revelation to the mind of man, it must be made through the medium of human thoughts, conceptions, and ideas, more or less remotely representing the divine realities.—4. That, even on the highest theory of inspiration, the human origin of the conceptions in which a revelation must be expressed is a necessary human element in every conceivable revelation.—5. That a revelation must be authenticated by a miraculous attestation, if it is to have a binding obligation on the human conscience.—6. That we have no antecedent knowledge, amounting to certainty, as to the amount of truth which a divine revelation must contain.—7. That we have a very high degree of evidence that, in communicating a revelation, God would act in a manner analogous to the mode which he has already pursued in creation and providence.—8. That the evidence of a direct miraculous attestation given to a revelation is not affected by difficulties in its contents, which rest on no other foundation than uncertain probabilities.—9. That the only adequate ground which would justify the rejection of a supposed revelation, supported by an apparent adequate attestation, is that some portion of its contents palpably contradict self-evident truth respecting the Divine character and perfections, of which supposed contradiction the reason of man enables him to form an adequate judgment, and arrive at conclusions not based on probabilities, but on certainties.—10. That although the representation of divine truths by human conceptions of greater or less degree of imperfection must be a human element in every revelation, yet, if a revelation were communicated to the spirit of man by the Spirit of God, the analogies employed would be the best suited for conveying the nearest approximation to the divine truths.—11. That there is no evidence, nor any grounds of antecedent certainty possessed by man, either that a miraculous revelation is impossible, or that it cannot receive a miraculous attestation.—12. That we have no grounds of antecedent certainty to guide us as to the nature or degree of inspiration with which a revelation would be communicated.—13. But that the inspiration afforded would not be a greater degree of inspiration than that which was necessary for the effectuating the purposes of God in communicating a revelation.—14. That such truths as God has already communicated by natural means, and which he has already given man the power to discover for himself, would not form the proper subject-matter of a supernatural revelation.—15. That, according to analogies of God's conduct in creation and providence, inspiration would be confined to the proper subject-matter of the revelation itself, and would not be extended to mere collateral matter connected with the revelation.—16. That reasonings founded on certain human views of the Divine attributes as to what a revelation must contain, or what must be the mode of its delivery, are no less fallacious than similar reasonings have proved as to the great facts of creation and providence.—17. That not only is there no antecedent presumption against the existence of a human element in a revelation, but the analogies of God's operations in creation and providence would lead us to infer the presence of such an element in every revelation of which the Creator and Preserver of the universe is the author.—18. That various assumptions which have been made respecting the extent of a divine revelation, and respecting the mode in which it must have been communicated, rest upon no solid basis of truth, but on mere probable grounds of belief; and when such probabilities are applied as exponents of God's works in creation and providence, they totally fail us as guides to truth."

The following chapter, the sixth, is designed to prove the theory of

verbal inspiration contrary to the mode of the Creator's acting in creation and providence. This view accords with the next propositions:— That the incarnation is the great objective manifestation of Deity to the finite mind; and that the person of Christ exhibits the highest form of inspiration. This view of our Lord leads to a consideration of the nature of his knowledge as derived from the inspiration of the Spirit, and the two recorded limitations of that knowledge. Then come under review the nature of apostolic inspiration; spiritual gifts as its source; and its limits. After this the inspiration of the Gospels is examined at length; their inspiration is asserted to be real, but not verbal, and its nature is investigated. The facts of the Gospels shew that Jesus was no mythic creation, that the miracles were not mythic, and that the Gospels themselves are not mythic; at the same time they shew that the writers were not the subjects of verbal inspiration. The inspiration of the apostles is next investigated at length; they were gradually enlightened in the great truths of the Christian revelation which they were inspired to communicate; and a human element is to be discovered in their writings. A chapter is devoted to the results of the foregoing inquiries on existing theories of inspiration. The theory of verbal inspiration is viewed as dangerous to Christianity itself. The last chapter of the book aims to prove the Christ of the Gospels no creation of the unassisted powers of the human mind.

Our space does not permit us to discuss the system of the work of which we have given a meagre outline. The author writes calmly, firmly, and intelligently, and his book is one which is really valuable, and deserves to be carefully studied.

The Redeemer. Discourses by EDMOND DE PRESSENSE, D.D. With an Introduction by WILLIAM LINDSAY ALEXANDER, D.D. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

WE are very glad to see this work in an English dress. Although written ten years since it is peculiarly seasonable, and those who have not read it in French will be pleased to make its acquaintance. The translation seems to be remarkably well done, and it reads pleasantly and smoothly, but without sacrificing the masculine vigour and precision of the original. The book is, moreover, handsomely got up. But it has higher recommendations. M. De Pressensé is a close and accurate thinker, and a man accustomed to take broad and comprehensive views of things. It is not easy to mistake his meaning, and even if we sometimes feel a difficulty in accepting it, we can seldom say it is unsupported by reasons, or is so much mere assertion. The author's faith is profound, and yet discriminating and intelligent. His acquaintance with the Scriptures is very extensive, and equalled only by the wide range of his knowledge of ancient and modern literature. The subjects discoursed upon cover the whole field of revelation. Commencing with the Fall and the Promise, he passes on to develop his favourite views of the preparation for the coming of Jesus Christ.

These preparations he finds, before Judaism, in Judaism, and even in Paganism. He then treats of the nature of Christ as God-man, of his plan, and of his holiness. Then viewing him as a prophet he considers his teaching, and the evidence afforded by Scripture and miracles, as well as internal proof. Under the head of Christ a Sacrifice, he considers first the early part of His ministry, and next the agony and cross. The last discourse is on Jesus Christ a King.

Such are the topics of these discourses, which abound in striking, and even magnificent passages, fully justifying the remark of Dr. Alexander, who calls him "one of the most eloquent preachers in Paris," and, he might have said, in France. Indeed, we know no French Protestant preacher who is at once his equal in intellect, learning, and eloquence. We do not disparage the French Catholics when we express our belief that they have not a preacher who can approach him. Although belonging to what is called a community of "dissidents," M. De Pressensé is a man of large and liberal heart, and he freely devotes himself to the common cause of God and truth. It is gratifying to know that traditionalism, and neologianism, and infidelity, have such an opponent in a country which is, as heretofore, so prone to vagaries in the matter of religion. Let any one read this book, and then take up what M. Renan has called his "Christ in white marble," and he will soon see who comes nearest to the Scripture representations. We have no "Christ in white marble" here, but a living, loving, divine Christ, foreshadowed in the Old Testament, and manifested in the New as the God-man, the Prophet, the Saviour, and the King of men. Upon this glorious person no shadow is thrown, but He came "to accomplish the desire of salvation, to reconcile man with God, to offer the sacrifice of redemption, to fulfil the promises." He is not left, like the "Christ in white marble," lifeless and cold at the sepulchre, but followed to "the throne of glory where he took his seat after his resurrection, and whither he draws us by his Spirit." No wonder that, instead of the plaintive strains with which M. Renan concludes, the closing sentences of M. De Pressensé are earnest, and practical, and even jubilant. The Christ of the mere scholar and *littérateur* may astonish and even perplex men for a time, but it is the Christ of the Bible, the Christ of faith, who alone has power to win and hold the empire of true hearts.

The History of Our Lord, as Exemplified in Works of Art: with that of His Types, St. John the Baptist, and other persons of the Old and New Testament. Commenced by the late Mrs. JAMESON; continued and completed by Lady EASTLAKE. In 2 vols. London: Longmans.

"DAILY shall He be praised," says the Psalmist, and the prediction has been in many ways accomplished. The artists of all Christian ages, at least, have vied with one another in their endeavours to honour the Redeemer of men. Strange and quaint, not to say fanciful, as

many of their devices are, their endeavours to honour the Saviour by works of art have been incessant and innumerable. The person of Christ has had a wonderful charm and fascination for them, and they have lavished upon it all the resources of their art. The humble artists of the catacombs, and the more pretentious ones of the Byzantine and other mediæval schools, were succeeded by the great masters of more modern times. Unequal as their works are, they are all a testimony to the heartfelt yearning of the Church to do honour to Christ, and to set forth His grace and glory. The fact is one which cannot be denied, and we are under great obligations to the taste and talent of the ladies who have produced these beautiful volumes, for supplying us with illustrations of that fact. Their diligence and zeal have not been contented with giving us the direct and actual representations of the Saviour in almost every aspect, but have collected a great number of artistic designs which set forth typical and other resemblances. There are more than three hundred of these illustrations in the two volumes, and they have been selected with much tact and judgment, so that almost every class is represented. The artists who have produced the engravings have displayed remarkable ability. The letter-press, too, is, in all respects, executed in a most praiseworthy manner. Altogether, we look upon this as a very beautiful and instructive work, and one the attractions of which are destined to be permanent. The information conveyed respecting various designs, and the places where they are preserved, is immense. This is shewn at any opening of the book, and is still further proved by the list of painters, engravers, and sculptors appended to the second volume, as well as by the index to the different depositaries to which reference has been made. The field actually covered by the subjects treated of extends from the fall of Lucifer and the creation to the final judgment. The designs are typical and allegorical, historical and prophetic, as well as purely traditional and symbolical. The free introduction of illustrations from the Old and New Testaments, even where our Lord does not appear to be so much as indirectly alluded to, almost justifies us in calling this "Scripture history as exemplified in works of art." The personal history of Christ may be said to commence with the murder of the Innocents (vol. I., 259); other incidents connected with His birth and early years having been already anticipated by Mrs. Jameson, in her *Legendary Art and Legends of the Madonna*. Still, in the accounts of the Innocents, the Saviour does not appear, and this work first presents him in his earthly life as an infant in the arms of Joseph (I., 273), and next when disputing with the doctors (p. 279).

We are necessarily precluded from giving specimens of what these volumes were written for, and we cannot undertake to criticise the pictorial illustrations as might be done in a scientific journal. We have already expressed our hearty approval of the selection of subjects, and of the artistic and literary execution of the work. We may add, that the observations introduced into the text are generally very appropriate, and made with the confidence which becomes those whose know-

ledge of Scripture truth is often far in advance of that of the artists, for it must be owned that the artistic conceptions and creations very often violate probability, as well as clash with the simple statements of the Bible. We cannot wonder at this; indeed, we should wonder if it were otherwise. Painters and sculptors, like poets, claim a licence to introduce historical and other improbabilities, to increase the effect of a work of imagination. Some of the sketches here reproduced are extraordinary specimens of this artistic licence. Many of them are worthy of study as embodying the highest conceptions of the age in which the artists happened to live, and others are curious for their bearing upon known or obscure traditions. To the cultivated and refined taste, these volumes will be sure to commend themselves.

The Mosaic Origin of the Pentateuch, considered in connection with Parts II. and III. of Bishop Colenso's "Critical Examination."

By a LAYMAN OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. London: W. Skeffington.

IT augurs very well for this book that Dr. Thomson, the Archbishop of York, has accepted its dedication to himself. But the "Layman" has also the advantage of a previous introduction to the religious world. His reply to Dr. Colenso's first volume on the Pentateuch was very favourably noticed, not only by ourselves, but by most of the literary journals. More than that, Dr. Colenso himself classed it with those replies "which, from their general fairness, and their tone of courtesy and Christian feeling, demand and have received my respectful attention." It is true that, for some reason or other, his tendency to blame English writers oozes out, and he says, "The book, though ably and pleasantly written, will be found to be full of fallacies." Of these "fallacies" specimens are given, which the "Layman" now takes the opportunity of commenting upon in an appendix. Our own opinion of this unhappy controversy has been already expressed. It raises few new questions, if any; but it is the gathering up and redispersing and garnishing of those which have occupied the attention of successive generations, from Celsus, Porphyry, and Manichæus down to the present day. We do not mean that all are of equal antiquity, but that some of them are, and that the rest are developments and new applications of the old fundamental objections to Moses and the Old Testament. The polemical wheel goes round and round from age to age, sometimes faster, and sometimes slower: the faster it goes the less men distinguish, and the more they blend and confound things that are quite separate, and are seen to be so by such as are not whirled round with the combatants. Even so long since as Augustine's time, it was matter of public and common notoriety that the Old Testament was fair game, open to all comers, without the conditions—a fair field and no favour; for the bishop of Hippo thus writes to a friend:—

"Nam bene nosti quod reprehendentes Manichæi Catholicam fidem, et maxime *Vetus Testamentum* discernentes et dilanientes, commoveant imperitos. . . . Et quia sunt ibi quædam quæ suboffendunt animos ignaros et negligentes sui,

quæ maxima turba est, *populariter accusari possunt*, defendi autem populariter propter mysteria quæ his continentur non a multis admodum possunt. Qui vero pauci hoc facere noverunt non amant propatula et famigerula quædam in disputatione certamina: et ob hac minime noti sunt, nisi his qui eos instantissime requirunt. De hoc igitur Manichæorum temeritate qua *Vetus Testamentum* et Catholicam fidem reprehendunt, accipe, obsecro, quæ me moveant.”

On the general question of the authenticity of the Pentateuch, we cannot possibly have a doubt so long as it is plainly taught by our Lord Jesus Christ. This may be called uncritical; but we are quite sure that faith will stand by us longer than criticism, especially when that faith is in the Word of Christ. We cannot but regard the declarations of Christ as worthy of far more serious consideration than they have received in this controversy. It almost looks as if Dr. Colenso himself dare not face them, because of the reverence he has for that divine Person. The index to his Part I. gives exactly six New Testament texts, quoted in the body of the book, but only two of them from the Gospels (Matt. i. 17, p. 29; Mark vi. 40, p. 49). The first of these passages is in an extract from Hengstenberg, and the second in a sentence, intimating that some persons quote it to illustrate Ex. iii. 18. Neither Christ nor the Gospels once appear in this first part, except in this way, and in a few references in the introduction, where they all occur at pages 30, 31. On principle, then, it would seem that he excludes the words of Christ from the discussion; but whether he would exclude them on principle, if they were in his favour, we know not. A curious illustration of this matter is supplied in Part IV., chapter 28: “Scripture references to the creation, the fall, and the deluge.” Would it be believed that from these “Scripture references” the New Testament is silently dropped bodily? Are there no references there to the creation, the fall, and the deluge? or is it not Scripture? or has Dr. Colenso a justifiable motive for acting as he does in regard to it? If he gives no explanation of this act of violence to the Christian conscience, he will stand lower than heretofore in our estimation—he may not care for that; but we shall not be alone. He will either be branded with dishonour as uncandid and unfair, or with incompetency, because he does not even know what witnesses he ought to call. The Gospel testimony to the Pentateuch reaches beyond its credibility and authenticity, and touches very closely upon that other great question of the day, “What is the Word of God?” As an example of the different bearings of some of our Lord’s references to the Pentateuch, we beg to instance one very likely to be passed over; it is in Matt. xxii. 31, and was spoken to the heretical Sadducees, just after hearing their questions about the marriage law, and saying, “Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures, nor the power of God.” The words are, “Have ye not read *that which was spoken unto you by God*, saying, I am the God of Abraham,” etc. Here we have God speaking to the Sadducees of Christ’s day, while addressing Moses at the bush. Without demanding assent to the verbal inspiration theory, we cannot see how, on

* *De Utilitati Credendi*, lib. i.

any theory of special divine inspiration, the words recorded by Matthew can do other than faithfully reflect the doctrine taught by our Saviour.

We have made the "Layman's" book a peg upon which to hang the previous remarks, not because we had forgotten his book, but really because we feel the importance and value of it. It is one of the few publications in this miserable controversy which one cannot well afford to neglect. We can only say of it, that it is the image of candour, and that the writer is not the man to go the whole hog, as the vulgar proverb is, and to say he believes a thing when the truth is he really doubts it. Next to his candour, we mention his intellectual furniture and qualifications as of a very superior order. And, then, he is a man of faith, enlightened and intelligent faith, not a man of words and outside show, but one who knows in what religion consists. Finally, the author writes well, and, in our days, that is like the *visa* to a passport, an outward matter, but without which travellers cannot get along comfortably, if at all.

A Chronological Synopsis of the Four Gospels. By KARL WIESELER.

Translated by the Rev. EDMUND VENABLES, M.A. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell and Co.

DR. WIESELER has a very good name among the scholars of Germany, and he has been especially known by the volume now in our hands. Twenty years have elapsed since its first appearance, but it contains so much of permanent value, that we only wonder it has not been produced in English before. Very many good books are called forth by passing controversies, but for that very reason have a diminished value when the excitement has subsided. A few only of those originated by current disputes retain their acknowledged worth and importance. It so happens with regard to Dr. Wieseler's subject, that it always has been discussed, and probably will continue to be discussed. For ourselves, we have long abandoned our early hope of discovering a certain harmony of the four Gospels. In regard to St. John, everybody knows this, that centuries ago it rebelled against the harmonists, who confessed themselves defeated, and allowed it to stand alone: the other three, the synoptists only, were disintegrated by the harmonists, and rearranged as one body according to their will. The more we think of harmonies, the less we approve them. We venture to say that if the biographers of Wellington, or Washington, or any other great man, were to fall into the hands of harmonizers, neither the biographers nor their heroes would have much reason to congratulate themselves. In regard to man's books the process must fail: why should it be insisted upon in regard to God's book? And as it is with harmonies, so is it to some extent with chronological synopsis. Is it so much as reasonable to expect that the many incidents related in the four Gospels, or in some only as the case may be, and which we have seen are not the disjointed fragments of a Mosaic, the original pattern of which we

can hope to restore—can all be dated according to the course of the almanac? It is not likely, and the only approximation to a chronological synopsis must be content to fix the great landmarks, and to leave minor matters indeterminate. But this may be no real disadvantage. If neither of the Evangelists kept a diary, it must have been because it was not necessary. Nor do we think that more than a very few of the dates of events in our Saviour's life are of any real importance, and they are connected with the very dates set down by the Evangelists. Dr. Wieseler has not been unaware of this, and hence he says, "I have felt it my duty to devote my chief attention and labour to the establishment of certain fundamental dates, *e. g.*, our Lord's birth, his baptism, the length of his public ministration, and our Lord's death." The four here named reduce themselves to three,—the birth, the baptism, and the death of our Lord—for the ministry reached from the baptism to the death.

Dr. Wieseler's inquiry is distributed under six sections:—1. The birth and childhood of Christ: 2. From the beginning of the ministry of John and Christ, to Christ's return to Galilee from Jerusalem: 3. From Christ's return to Galilee to his journey to the feast of tabernacles: 4. From this point to the last entry into Jerusalem: 5. Thence to the death and burial: 6. From the burial to the ascension. The longest discussion is of the time of our Lord's birth, extending over about ninety pages. It exhibits the results of very laborious investigation, and probably refers to all that had been advanced in Germany up to the time when it was written. By way of appendix the translator has added to it a summary of the enquiries of Zumpt as to Quirinus. The translator has introduced a few other notes in the course of the book, chiefly to supply other references. He might have gone further, and commented upon what seemed to him inconclusive, but he has not done this, and he has acted wisely, as the work is for those who will for the most part prefer to exercise their own judgments. There are certainly not a few points on which most men, perhaps, will fail to agree with the author, and he has not always been remarkably judicious in his treatment of them. But for all this it is better that he should be allowed to speak for himself in an avowed translation. Of the translation we have nothing to say but that it has been conscientiously performed, and that we are glad Mr. Venables has executed it. He quotes Bishop Ellicott's remark, that such a translation would be a very welcome aid to the general reader, and the remark is a just one. The translation is now an accomplished fact, and we hope the general reader will welcome it. The volume has been printed at the University Press, and with clearness and accuracy.

Nature and Grace. Sermons preached in the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, in the years 1862—1864. By WILLIAM MAGAN CAMPION, B.D. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Co.

THE sermons are twenty-one in number, and are upon practical and important subjects. The very-first, on "The teaching of Nature and

of Revelation" (St. Matt. vi. 28) brings us into contact with some of those principles which force themselves upon our attention, but not always, alas, with beneficial results. We quite agree with Mr. Campion's utterances upon the subject, and regard them as alike honourable to his candour and clear sightedness. Nature, he says, is not antagonistic to the Bible; neither is true science, and therefore Christians may rejoice in their deeper study. The second and third sermons, on "Man's knowledge of God," are reverent and discreet, and equal to anything we have lately seen addressed to general readers upon that subject. The "Obscurities in Scripture" is a discourse, which, if issued in a cheap form for popular circulation, might be very serviceable at a time when the apostles of "secularism" openly teach that if the Bible is God's Book it must have no obscurities. We venture to commend the topics of this sermon, and of the next [the fact of our Lord's resurrection], to those who minister in our larger towns and cities. Facts have lately come before our notice which lead us to believe that both subjects are very much discussed in the lower strata of society. "Life and immortality brought to light through the Gospel," "Christ the head of the new creation," "The perfect humanity of Christ," "Christianity not asceticism," and "The suffering Saviour," are the titles of sermons abounding in excellent lessons. "The sinner under nature and under grace," is a good subject, soundly treated; and so is the next on "The nature of faith," "Looking unto Jesus," "The influence of the Holy Spirit" (in two discourses), "Retribution," and "Retribution and the new creation," are clear and practical. "Circumspectness of conduct" is also good, and "The unity of the Church" is liberal and intelligent. We have seldom met with a volume of sermons better than these, or even equal to them. They have been evidently composed with much care, and are alike honourable to the intellect and to the heart of the preacher. It must not be supposed, however, that by this commendation we commit ourselves to every statement and explanation contained in the volume. There are interesting and important topics in regard to which we find it necessary to preserve our neutrality. Were we to open our pages to their discussion, or even to the expression of an opinion upon them, we should deviate from the characteristic course of this journal from the beginning. To this category belong ecclesiastical questions, properly so called, and questions as to the nature and efficacy of the sacraments.

Theological and Homiletical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles, specially designed and adapted for the use of ministers and students.

From the German of G. V. LECHLER, D.D., and K. GEROK. Edited by J. P. LANGE, D.D. Translated by Rev. PATON J. GLOAG. Vol. I. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

ANOTHER of the volumes of Dr. Lange's useful "Bibelwerk," a commentary which is the joint production of a certain number of scholars and critics, not "forty," but fewer. On previous occasions we have

noticed the leading peculiarities of form in this series, and shewn its remarkable fitness for the requirements of pastors and teachers; but we repeat in a word or two the general description. The volume commences with an Introduction. Then come the text and commentary. The text is treated in sections, and printed at length in a new translation. After this come sometimes short critical glosses on readings, etc. Next we have "exegetical remarks," somewhat briefly developing and illustrating the grammatical sense. After these follow "dogmatical and ethical thoughts," and lastly, "homiletical hints," partly original and partly selected from a variety of sources. Such is the form of the work in regard to the successive sections of the original text. The translator's note expresses an opinion of the work, which appears to be quite correct. "The reader will find very little to object to, and will be gratified with the evangelical spirit which pervades it throughout." But although this is correct as far as it goes, it is too faint praise. We by no means always assent to what Messrs. Lechler and Gerok tells us, but we cannot hesitate to say that they have given us an interesting and useful book of a superior order, although not always embodying the latest information.

The Home and Foreign Review. London: Williams and Norgate. April, 1864.

WE all remember the old *Rambler*; it is associated in our reminiscences with many of the questions relating to the Roman Catholics of this empire. But it became transformed into the *Home and Foreign Review*, and as such took its place in the more select circle of the quarterlies. In its new character it often gave us articles of unusual merit, and was distinguished for a measure of liberality of sentiment and freedom of utterance, quite extraordinary in a Roman Catholic organ. Of course such conduct brought down upon it the wrath of the high and mighty dignitaries of a church which is the sworn enemy of personal freedom. Unabashed, however, it held on its way under the able generalship of Sir J. D. Acton, resolved that if it did fall, it should be soldier-like in the field. At last its position became untenable, and the *brutum fulmen* of Pius IX., of December 21 last, has given it the *coup de grâce*. Even now it entertains the belief that it will live in its principles; "If the spirit of the *Home and Foreign Review* really animates those whose sympathy it enjoyed, neither their principles nor their confidence, nor their hopes, will be shaken by its extinction. It was but a partial and temporary embodiment of an idea, the faint reflection of a light which still lives and burns in the hearts of the silent thinkers of the Church." We venture to say that a Church which has the power thus to put an extinguisher upon the thinking men within it, can hardly hope to exist in this nineteenth century, except as the machine which will be alternately a plaything or an instrument in the hands of Popes, cardinals, and political rulers. The disgraceful document above alluded to, as emanating from the infallibility at Rome, is ostensibly directed against the late congress at Munich. It reaches further; it takes the key of

knowledge into the keeping of the papal court, and puts an end, as well as it can, to all private investigation, and intimates the irreconcilableness of scientific and philosophical investigations with the wishes and interests of the Roman See. By implication, at least, it condemns the spirit of progress and of the age. Hence it left no path open to the conductors of the *Home and Foreign Review*, but either open rebellion or present submission. They have chosen that of submission as being the less terrible, but it is submission with looks and tones which do not greatly flatter the august personages at the head of affairs. Those who are thus put to silence command the sympathy of wise and liberal men who differ from them; for it cannot be allowed that the rights of conscience, and of thought, and speech, should be violated in this way even by a Pope. We wish to goodness that this wretched conclave would issue such a protest against light every six months. The intelligent men of the community would soon refuse to be treated like children, and the Pope and his cardinals might learn that the world could move without their consent, however gracious, and would not stop at their command, however dreadful. We have no special interest in the *Review* named above, and we have often felt very strong objections to things we have read in it; but during its short life we have admired its open and direct forms of speech, and its courage in handling topics only mentioned with bated breath by the sordid herd of Catholic journals. But the fact must be admitted; all candles in the Pope's house must have the Pope's benediction, and be of the approved magnitude, and when they have been weighed in the balances of the Vatican, they must be kindled by means of the lucifers which are known as cardinals and archbishops, or they are doomed. As the really blessed candles are but few in number, how far they have to throw their beams is apparent. The evil is increased by the fact that as a rule, amid this new plague of darkness, the popish Egyptians are well aware that the Protestant Israelites have light in their dwellings. They know, too, that they are destined to this miserable condition by one who claims to be more than Moses, but is not worthy to bear his shoes.

The Word of Prophecy; its definition, authority, purpose, and interpretation. A Lecture with Notes and Appendices. London: Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.

This lecture was apparently prepared for delivery to a country congregation on a week evening. The author takes the words "prophet" and "prophecy" to mean more than "one who predicts," and "what is predicted." He finds prophets who were uninspired, as well as those who were inspired, but no inspired prophets since the apostolic age. Inspired prophecy was in his view either inspired preaching or inspired prediction, as the case might be. Christian preaching of God's truth is prophecy, but its heavenly advantages are only realised by the blessing and influence of the Holy Spirit. It is refreshing to meet with one who practically believes in the Holy Ghost as the author of moral regeneration. In our intellectual days this is strangely overlooked by

those who learned in their infancy that the Holy Ghost is the Sanctifier of all the elect people of God. We do not commit ourselves to all that is said in this tract, but it is thoughtful, intelligent, earnest, and devout.

Die Wahrheit der Evangelischen Geschichte, besiegelt durch die ältesten nachapostolischen Zeugen. Ein Vortrag von Dr. F. W. KRUMMACHER. Berlin : Wiegandt and Grieben.

THIS lecture on the oldest postapostolic witnesses to the truth of the Gospel history was delivered to the "Evangelical Union" in Potsdam. Its drift may be gathered from its title. It is a lucid account, in a popular form, of the early testimonies to facts contained in the Gospels, etc. The conclusion is that the Gospels, as we have them, have come down to us in an authentic form.

Four Sermons on the Subjects of the Day. With a Preface on the "Oxford Declaration." By EDWARD MEYRICH GOULBURN, D.D. London : Rivingtons.

THE subjects of these sermons are—The Inspiration of Holy Scripture ; The Word of God, a seed ; Experimental Knowledge of the Scriptures, a dispensation from enquiry ; and Everlasting Punishment. In the Preface, Dr. Goulburn states his reasons for not being able to sign the Oxford Declaration : he thinks such a declaration questionable in point of authority, and hazardous in policy. With regard to the sermons, the first, second, and fourth, contain little which we do not heartily approve, and are, in our view, sound and faithful expositions of doctrine. With reference to the third sermon, we feel a difficulty. "There is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty has given him understanding." We cannot persuade ourselves that those who have an experimental knowledge of the Scriptures are dispensed from all inquiry. Yet Mr. Goulburn says, "It is not necessary, if this be our case, that we should even consider sceptical objections. Others, whose province it is (and whose province becomes an extremely important one at this period of the history of our Church), may examine the title-deeds of our religion, and vindicate their genuineness and authenticity ; enough for us if we are living in the enjoyment of our baptismal inheritance." But, surely, we all ought to know whether the title-deeds are genuine, or whether we may not lose our inheritance after all. While, then, we say, "Blessed are they that believe, and have not seen," we also say, "Blessed are they who believe, and have seen." Controversy is bad enough, but rather that than a blind faith in ourselves, or a more blind unbelief in others.

Essai d'Interpretation de quelques parties de l'Evangile selon Saint Matthieu. Par HENRI LUTTEROTH. Parts I. and II. Paris : Meyrueis and Co.

THE first part of this book appeared in 1860, and is occupied with an

Introduction and the two first chapters of St. Matthew. The second part is a very recent publication, and contains observations upon St. Matt., chap. iii. to vii. In a prefatory notice to this last, M. Lutteroth mentions one of his leading principles : he infers, from the general study of this Gospel, that the Apostle arranged the materials of it in view of an oral teaching designed to oppose, to a temporal Messianic kingdom expected by the Jews, the spiritual Messianic kingdom which Jesus had come to found, and which had been proclaimed by the prophets. He adds that his main aim is to shew that all the parts of St. Matthew's Gospel agree with this plan. His ideas are more fully expressed in the Introduction to Part I. Thus far, the book is very well executed, and will be very useful to such as are studying this important Gospel. We may remark that the Greek text is printed by the side of the French translation of the Gospel.

Etudes d'Histoire Religieuse. Par E. RENAN. 7me Edition. Revue et corrigé. Paris : M. Levy frères.

THE readers of the *Vie de Jésus* should, by no means, fail to make the acquaintance of this book, which can now be obtained for about half-a-crown. It contains ten essays and an Introduction.

Der Mittler und Sein Werk. ("The Mediator and His Work.") Von Dr. W. HOFFMAN, Hof und Domprediger, und Schlosspfarrer, etc., zu Berlin. Berlin : Wiegandt and Grieben.

THIS is the second portion of a work, the general title of which is, *A Year of Grace in Jesus Christ. Sermons on the Gospels for all Sundays, festivals, and Holy Days, with short notices of the single seasons of the ecclesiastical year.* The present section commences with the first Sunday in Lent (*Invocavit*), and ends with Trinity Sunday. We believe the Gospels for the respective Sundays are uniformly the same as in the Book of Common Prayer. The style of Dr. Hoffmann is clear, his views Scriptural, and his manner direct and practical. There is much intrinsic merit in the discourses, and they have a peculiar claim upon the attention of English readers, because Dr. Hoffman is Court preacher, cathedral preacher (*Domprediger*), and Royal chaplain (*Schlosspfarrer*), at Berlin. We do not forget that we have an English princess at that Court, and we naturally feel curious to know what kind of preachers gain access there. So far as Dr. Hoffmann is concerned, we see no traces of that rationalism, which some misinformed persons fancy may be heard in every German pulpit and read in every German book. Perhaps a good translation of this book would, under proper auspices, contrive to win its way into the circles to which we refer, and could do more towards undeceiving the popular mind than a host of elaborate critical works, which so few, except ministers and clergymen, ever see the inside of. We do not mean to say that even Dr. Hoffmann would, in all points, satisfy the minds of all persons, but he would teach them that a German preacher can be pious, earnest, and practical, and can steer clear of rationalism.

Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament. By C. F. KEIL, D.D., and F. DELITZSCH, D.D. Vol. I. The Pentateuch. Translated from the German by Rev. JAMES MARTIN, B.A. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

THIS is one of Messrs. Clark's happiest ideas. We are lamentably deficient in scholarlike commentaries upon the Pentateuch, by men whose faith keeps pace with their learning and talent. In this volume we have the Introduction, and the exposition of Genesis, and of Exodus to the eleventh chapter. Dr. Keil's works on Joshua and on Kings have already been given to English readers by the publishers of this, so that he, at least, needs no introduction. Dr. Delitzsch also can hardly fail to be known by name to most theological readers. Of both, we may say, that they occupy a foremost position on the Continent, among the advocates and representatives of an orthodox and yet liberal and enlightened criticism. Dr. Colenso, whose attainments in German literature have been almost miraculously developed since the publication of parts I. and II. of his work on the Pentateuch, gives no slight prominence to the name of Dr. Delitzsch in part IV., which is a testimony to the importance of his name. The value of this work, then, on critical and theological grounds, may be fairly assumed. At the same time, we frankly confess that we have no idea of accepting all that the learned authors tell us; we think that, in some of their endeavours to grapple with scientific difficulties especially, they have not been successful. They have, perhaps, pushed too far the principle laid down (p. 52, note), that "Exegesis must not allow itself to alter the plain sense of the words of the Bible, from irrelevant and untimely regard to the so-called certain inductions of natural science. Irrelevant, we call such considerations, as make interpretation dependent upon natural science, because the creation lies outside the limits of empirical and speculative research, and as an act of the Omnipotent God, belongs rather to the sphere of miracles and mysteries, which can only be received by faith (Heb. xi. 3); and untimely, because natural science has supplied no certain conclusions as to the origin of the earth, and geology especially, even at the present time, is in a chaotic state of fermentation, the issue of which it is impossible to foresee." There is truth in this, and we agree with the interpretation of the days of Genesis which called it forth, as natural days. When, however, further on (p. 146-7) the literal universality of the deluge over the earth is insisted upon, we hold back; and, when among the reasons for its universality we find appeals to the world-wide legends of a flood, and to fossil remains everywhere, even in the Cordilleras and Himalayas, beyond the limit of perpetual snow, we are very much astonished. A glance at the foot-note gives us the "*Reliquiæ Diluvianæ*" as the first authority for the geological facts, and next, the names of Schubert and Von Raumer. In the first place, the opinion of an actually universal flood upon earth in Noah's days, is quite out of date in this country. In the next place, the legends cannot prove it, unless there was a Noah for each quarter of the world. The legends may prove the

common origin of man, but never a universal deluge. In the next place, the fossil remains belong to a multitude of periods, and not always to deluges. To appeal to those in the mountains, requires us to suppose a series of suppositions which we shall not here occupy space with. And surely Buckland's old book should not now be appealed to. It was published more than forty years ago, and the author afterwards, with much candour, admitted the uncertainty of its principal conclusion—the recent submersion of the entire globe.

That we are not wrong in regarding the work before us as having a weak side in the direction we have mentioned, might be further shewn if necessary; but we will only refer to the genealogies of Genesis x. and xi. as treated in this book. We do not think the treatment either sufficiently copious or scientific; for abundant as are the references in it, it shews few traces of ethnographic research and observation.

But, over and above the minor blemishes and deficiencies of this commentary, it combines so much sound scholarship and right feeling, that we are very happy to meet with it here in our own language. It will be found very useful for consultation, partly on account of the large amount of information it embodies, and partly for its interpretations and criticisms. Of course it is not introduced as an infallible dogmatist, like some of the theologians, but it is recommended as an honest, prudent, and painstaking counsellor, whose judgment and experience it will be well for us to know.

The Practical Works of David Clarkson, B.D. Vol. I. Edinburgh: James Nichol.

THE following is given as a summary of what is actually known of this able divine: "David Clarkson was born at Bradford in Yorkshire, in the month of February 1621-2. He was educated at Clare Hall, Cambridge, and became fellow and tutor in that college in 1645. He gave up his fellowship in 1651, on his marriage with a Miss Holcroft; and he was afterwards Rector of Mortlake, Surrey, from which he was ejected by the Act of Uniformity in 1662. After this, he spent his time in retirement and study, until, in 1682, he was chosen as colleague to Dr. John Owen, in the pastorship of his congregation in London. On the death of Owen in the following year, he became sole pastor of the congregation, and discharged his duty faithfully until his death in 1682." Clarkson was unquestionably one of the most accomplished of the "non-jurors" of 1662, both as a preacher and as a controversialist. In Church matters he adopted opinions much in harmony with those of the Independent party, and wrote against diocesan Episcopacy, as well as against the use of liturgies. These and other polemical writings are known and recognized as among the best on the side of which they treat. But, after all, Clarkson is a more eminent and a more attractive man in his sermons and other practical works, and to these this edition is to be confined. They are very judiciously estimated in the editor's Preface, where it is admitted that the "sermons are of very various

degrees of excellence. Some of them may be ranked amongst the finest sermons in our language, while others are of little more than average merit." It must not be forgotten that the sermons appeared after the decease of their author, and that they lost the benefit of a final revision. Had this revision been permitted, doubtless some things would have been improved and corrected. As it is, we have his first thoughts, and we assure our readers they will find a vigour, a freshness, and a suggestiveness about these discourses, which will well repay them for the perusal. If this is not enough, we can generally commend them from the very practical standpoints of Christian doctrine and the Christian life. This edition is well got up, and a marvel of cheapness. Clarkson occupies his proper place by the side of Adams and Goodwin, Sibbes, Charnock, and Bates. Like most of his class he was Calvinistic, probably even more so than the thirty-nine articles. Be that as it may, let those who want thoughts, and good and true ones, not shun this work. We have in our time read, perhaps, all the sermons, and therefore know that the preacher was a man who had some stuff in him, and that of the right sort. The objectionable matter, and there is such to our mind, is chiefly found where Calvinistic principles are carried too far, and where harsh language is used of the Papists. Our own feeling upon this point will, we suppose, be that of most who read the works of Clarkson; but we do not forget that the best and most earnest of men commonly most need, as they most violate, the precept—*Ne quid nimis*.

St. Paul the Apostle: a Biblical Portrait and a Mirror of the manifold grace of God. By W. F. BESSER, D.D. Translated by FREDERIC BULTMANN. With an Introductory Notice by Rev. J. S. HOWSON, D.D. London: Nisbet and Co.

AMONG the Protestants, at least, St. Paul appears to be the favourite apostle. The instinct is a true one, St. Paul's commission was peculiarly to the Gentiles, as that of St. Peter was to the Jews. With an instinct equally true, the apostle of the Jews is the favourite among the Roman Catholics. Paul was the apostle of the Gospel for the wide world, to bring men to the spiritual unity of faith. Peter was the apostle to the circumcision, the diaspora, to bring them to the true faith of Abraham. Paul's mission was Catholic, and Peter's was somewhat exclusive. Yet oddly enough they who claim Peter as their head, call themselves the Catholic Church: and they who shut out all not of their communion from the hope of salvation, arrogate to themselves such titles as œcumenical and universal. Now they who would see the character of St. Paul the apostle to the Gentiles ably sketched in its successive phases, should read Dr. Besser's book. We need only say that we agree with Dr. Howson's concluding remark about it,—“A popular book as opposed to a mere theological treatise; but it is evidently based on a careful, minute, and prolonged study of all that is said in the New Testament by St. Paul, and of St. Paul; and I believe it will be found full of useful suggestions to those whose duty

it is to teach others, as well as eminently adapted to build up unlearned believers in their most holy faith." The author is already favourably known in this country by his work on St. John, published by Messrs. Clark, whose translator unfortunately confounded him with his relative Rudolph, as Mr. Bultmann informs us. Dr. Besser may be called a high-church evangelical Lutheran, but his high-churchism, will be received or declined by his readers according to their taste, and does not interfere with the general tone of the book.

The Book of Ruth in Hebrew, with a Critically Revised Text, various Readings, including a New Collation of Twenty-eight Hebrew MSS. (most of them not previously collated); and a Grammatical and Critical Commentary; to which is appended the Chaldee Targum, with various readings, Grammatical Notes, and a Chaldee Glossary.
By CHARLES H. H. WRIGHT, M.A., British Chaplain at Dresden.
London: Williams and Norgate.

WE have to thank Mr. Wright for probably not only the most copious critical edition of Ruth by a British editor, but for the only critical edition yet published in this country so far as we are aware. The volume contains the Hebrew text, with a collection of various readings; the Chaldee Targum, with various readings, and a glossary; and a very elaborate critical commentary upon the book—a rather copious introduction occurs almost as a matter of course. The introduction tells us that the volume aims to be serviceable to younger students, and, at the same time, to assist riper scholars, and we gather from an inspection of the work that it answers to its intention. The younger student will be instructed by the grammatical notes and references; and the advanced scholar will find in the critical notes, various readings, and other things, matter for study and examination. The collation of MSS., and of printed editions and versions, as well as of the collections of men like Kennicott and De Rossi, must have involved no small amount of labour and patience. That the book may be as complete as possible, the accentuation has received special attention. In fact, we do not know what point connected with the grammatical and literal study of the text has been overlooked. We believe the volume well adapted to promote the critical study of the Old Testament, the importance of which is as apparent as its too general neglect.

A part of the introduction is devoted to questions connected with the book of Ruth. The question of authorship cannot be solved; and that of date receives different answers. Some writers, as Dr. S. Davidson, think it was written in Hezekiah's reign, and base that opinion on internal evidence. Mr. Wright pleads for an earlier origin, and would carry it back to David's time. His discussion of opposite views is temperate and appropriate, and we are quite inclined to accept his conclusions. We also agree with him as to the difficulties raised by the genealogy at the end of the book, and do not see our way to any confident explanation of them. On these points, however, we beg to refer to Mr. Wright's volume, which will, we are sure, be welcomed on

many accounts. It supplies a *desideratum*, and, like his former work on Genesis, and Dr. W. Wright's Jonah in four languages, is excellently fitted for purposes of tuition.

The Restoration of Belief. By ISAAC TAYLOR. A new edition; revised, with an additional section. London: Macmillan and Co.

WHEN we hear a man calling himself "a seeker for truth," we may guess, with some chance of safety, that he is more or less under the power of unbelief. It is wonderful how some men can stand before truth, and look her in the face, and say, "Art thou truth?" and analyse her pretensions and cross-question her witnesses like an Old Bailey practitioner. Depend upon it such men will never confess truth to be truth, so long as they can raise a difficulty or start an objection against it. They will not be convinced by a balance in her favour; nothing short of absolute and crushing demonstration will convince them, and even the mode and fashion of the demonstration must be of their own choosing. This is an unhappy condition to be in, and an unnatural one; and every approach to it is unhappy and abnormal. It is not the true ancient scepticism of the philosophers, but Pyrrhonism or near akin to it. There are, however, doubters in a more favourable position, by being at least accessible to some sorts of evidence. To such we commend this book. The current of thought which runs through it is calm and clear; its tone is earnest and its manner courteous. The author has carefully studied the successive problems which he so ably handles, and we feel as we read that he, at least, understands the workings of unbelief, while he is under the power of faith. Not modes of faith, but faith, living and reasonable faith, is what he inculcates and recommends. But that faith is not the formal assent of the mind to philosophical principles and logical demonstrations, so much as Christian faith, which is in truth both philosophical and logical. The Scripture is the great authority in this matter, and its claims are examined and defended. The chapter now added is "The present position of the argument concerning Christianity: Ernest Renan." In this chapter the author enumerates the concessions of M. Renan,—the historic reality of the person of Christ, and the substantial authenticity of the four Gospels,—and makes a series of observations upon sundry points in the *Life of Jesus*. He does not think the controversy ended, but looks for a new phase of the argument of unbelief. We have much pleasure in directing attention to this new edition of a book which those who are interested in present controversies should peruse.

Eucharistic Meditations for a Month, on the Most Holy Communion.

Translated and abridged from the French of AVRILLON. Part II.

Edited by the Rev. ORBY SHIPLEY, M.A. London: Joseph Masters.

THE author of this work was a monk, who died at Paris in 1729, leaving behind him a reputation as a preacher and a devout Christian.

The endeavour to adopt to English use his meditations and sentiments on the Holy Communion, will be acceptable to those whose views of this ordinance approximate to those of the Church of Rome. There are many pious sentiments, but the language will be considered exaggerated by the majority of English churchmen. To speak honestly, we think the publication of books embodying purely Romish doctrines concerning the sacraments a very doubtful benefit. Weak-minded people may say, "If Protestants are allowed to go so far, why may they not go a little farther and cease to be schismatics when they have ceased to be heretics?" If transubstantiation is a doctrine of the English Church why is it not declared to be such? That it was believed by the author of this work, will, we suppose, not be doubted, and that it is recognized, will be naturally expected. The following sentence leaves little doubt as to the character of Father Avrillon's doctrine and tendencies, "Give ear unto the most humble Acts of thanksgiving which my spirit, my heart, and my tongue offer unto Thee for having vouchsafed to bestow on me to-day, as my FOOD, Thy BODY, Thy BLOOD, Thy SOUL, and Thy DIVINITY, Which are the Sources of all Purity, and Which sanctify the Purity of those who have endeavoured to purify themselves before drawing nigh unto Thine Altar." If it be true that under the forms of bread and wine in the Communion the faithful receive as their food, the body and blood, the soul and divinity of God, it is of no use rejecting transubstantiation. We say "*the body, etc., of God*," because the preceding sentence begins "O incomparable Purity, O all-powerful God." As critics of the Holy Scriptures we can find in them no warrant for such doctrine as this, uttered though it is in the language of devout enthusiasm.

Scattered Leaves of Biography. By JOHN CAMPBELL COLQUHOUN.
London: William Macintosh.

THE biographies are: Nicholas Louis, Count of Zinzendorf; Louisa of Mecklenburg-Strelitz; Frederick Perthes; William Wordsworth; S. T. Coleridge; J. M. W. Turner; and A. W. Pugin. As for Zinzendorf, he was a wonderful example of self-denial and zeal, and his labours for the promotion of vital godliness deserve all praise. There is much in his writings to which we should seriously object, but we readily join in the commendation bestowed upon him. Of the other characters in the volume, we need not here to speak. Though not actually reckoned among the heroes of the Church, some of them deserve to be, and others are, to say the least, faithful allies. Of course Mr. Pugin stands by himself as the Christian architect, a member of the Church of Rome, but not always. And poor Turner,—the amiable and the gifted Turner,—stands by himself, leaving no evidence that he ever felt the slightest interest in religion. The book is fairly and properly written, and will supply interesting information to general readers.

A Paraphrase of the Books of the Minor Prophets. By J. C. WHISH, M.A., with Notes from various sources. London : Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.

SOME time since, Mr. Whish published Isaiah on a similar plan. The plan is, by somewhat developing the expressions of the text to exhibit a clear and consecutive sense. Foot-notes are added either to justify the sense adopted or to explain, still further, something which seems to call for a remark. The work appears to be honestly and carefully done, and although it is impossible for us to say the true meaning has always been hit upon, we can say that the meaning conveyed is almost always intelligible. As the object of the author has been to paraphrase, and not to expound, he has not always indicated the application which he would make of individual predictions. Occasionally such indications occur, as at Haggai ii. 7 : "And I will shake all the nations of the Babylonish empire, and their desirable things shall be brought, and I will fill this house with glory, saith Jehovah, God of hosts."

Aonio Paleario : a Chapter in the History of the Italian Reformation. From the French of M. BONNET. London : Religious Tract Society.

AONIO PALEARIO was, undoubtedly, an uncommon man. He was, however, little known among us until recent times. Bibliographers were aware that he wrote a book on the "Benefit of the Death of Christ," which was so popular that it passed through many editions, and was translated into most European languages, but which was so effectually suppressed by the Romish party, that it was supposed to be hopelessly lost. It was also known that he suffered as a martyr for his faith. But the discovery of several copies of his work led to its republication, and to enquiries respecting himself. In addition to other short notices, Mrs. Young, a lady who had long resided in Italy, published a large memoir, in two octavo volumes. This book was, however, too large to be popular, and we, therefore, welcome the compendious and graphic volume of M. Bonnet, which is not an abstract from the work of Mrs. Young, but an independent history. It is more than a memoir of Paleario ; it embodies many of the chief events in the history of the reformation in Italy. It is true that it may, and must be, viewed as mainly an episode in that history, but it is an episode of such a kind that it suggests the character of the whole. The author has made researches at Rome and Florence, and visited all the places where Paleario lived, in search of information. The future martyr was born at Veroli about 1503, but his early years were passed in obscurity. In 1520 he went to study at Rome ; and ten years later he entered Sienna, with which city he became intimately connected. In 1543, the book on the "Benefit of Christ's death," appeared anonymously at Venice, in Italian. About the same time, Paleario was assailed with accusations of heresy, but fortunately he escaped ; and in 1546 was elected professor of eloquence at Lucca. Nine years later, he became

professor at Milan, where, about 1566, he was prosecuted on the charge of heresy. The trial was transferred to Rome, where he appeared, and was condemned to die in October, 1569, but was not actually put to death till July 3, 1570. He was first beheaded, and then burnt. The volume is one of great interest, and exhibits an admirable portrait of this talented and devoted man. It has our warmest commendation.

The Rise and Progress of Religious Life in England. By SAMUEL ROWLES PATTISON. London: Jackson, Walford, and Hodder.

THIS good-looking volume is made up of portions of our national religious history—taking the word national in a wider sense than it is sometimes employed. The materials out of which it has been carved have been selected, not with a view to the scholar and recluse, but the serious and well-informed members of the community generally. It is observable, too, that the author has not compiled his book in the interest of any particular form of church life, although his tendencies seem to be towards congregationalism. He is favourable to the genuine spirit of Puritanism, and on the side of doctrine is evangelical. The contents of the work is very miscellaneous, and extend from the introduction of the Gospel into this country to the end of the last century. Mr. Pattison has bestowed much research upon his compilation, and relates, in a pleasing manner, many interesting and important facts, some of which are little known.

Jésus. Par ERNEST RENAN. Eleventh Edition. Paris: Michel Levy frères.

THIS is the shilling edition of the *Life of Jesus*. The author tells us he has suppressed in it the Introduction, the notes, and some passages which imply an acquaintance with critical researches. He has, we are bound to say, removed some of the most offensive passages, as for instance, the famous one about the resurrection of Lazarus. In the preliminary announcement the author says, "This time it is a *Christ in white marble*, which I present to the public, a Christ carved out of a block without stain, a Christ simple and pure as the sentiment which created him. My God! perhaps it is thus more true." A Christ in white marble, created by a sentiment however simple and pure, is assuredly not the Christ for a world of sinners who want a divine and living Saviour.

A Charge Delivered to the Clergy and Churchwardens of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, at the General Visitation, April, 1864. By Lord ARTHUR HERVEY, M.A., Archdeacon of Sudbury. Published at their request. London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co.

AFTER some remarks upon what are, to us, secondary matters, this charge deals with the late judgment of the Judicial Council in the *Essays and Reviews*' case; and with the Oxford Declaration. From the judgment in question, not much danger is anticipated, and as it

regards the Declaration, it is treated as open to several objections. The observations upon these two matters appear to us very judicious, and worthy of attention. At the same time, the fact that the judgment of the Judicial Council is on one side, and that of the Court of Arches on another, shews that the same circumstances and language may be very differently appreciated, and suggests that the principles embodied in the authoritative standards of the Church are not so sharply defined as to prevent two sets of interpretations.

Sanscrit Literature. The Ramayana. By GUSTAVE MASSON, B.A.
London: Batty, Brothers.

Buddhism, its Origin, History, and Character. By GUSTAVE MASSON, B.A.

THESE brochures are interesting and fitted to be useful. Information concerning Indian epic poetry and literature, is generally to be found only in books which the public cannot understand, have not access to, or do not relish; and the same is true of Buddhism. Yet both subjects contain a host of attractions, and properly understood, would serve to elevate and expand the popular mind. The fact is, that not one in a hundred ever heard of the Ramayana, notwithstanding Professor Williams's valuable work, and Buddhism is the name for something very dreadful. But still, we may hope that the secret endeavours of learned men among us to teach our countrymen more about the history, literature, and faith of so many millions of their fellow-citizens, will do good. We are very much obliged to M. Masson for printing these two pamphlets. They embody much curious matter, and are, we repeat, both interesting and fitted to be useful.

The Gospel of Common Sense; or, Mental, Moral, and Social Science, in Harmony with Scriptural Christianity. By ROBERT BROWN.
London: Jackson, Walford, and Hodder.

WE already have the Gospel according to common sense, but what we want is common sense according to the Gospel. In the hope of doing something to shew that there is no reason why the Gospel and common sense should not be reconciled in fact, as they are in principle, this book has been published. We quite believe with the writer, that mental, moral, and social science are in harmony with true Christianity; but we quite feel that it is necessary to bring out this harmony, for men to see, hear, know, and rejoice in it. Two musical instruments may be in perfect harmony, but the fact might be denied and argued against any length of time, unless some skilled performers stepped in, and by the magic touch of experienced fingers brought out the hidden truth. The contrary to all this might happen. Mr. Brown writes clearly and forcibly, and his little book deserves to be carefully read. It is full of thought, but we object to some things in it.

The Antediluvian History and Narrative of the Flood, as set forth in the early portions of the Book of Genesis; Critically Examined and Explained. By Rev. E. D. RENDELL. Second Edition. London: F. Pitman.

If we were to undertake to review this work we should have the somewhat ungracious task of saying that it is founded upon a theory to which we are quite opposed, and of rehearsing the grounds of our opposition. We prefer not to do this. The author treats the history as not history in the ordinary sense, but an allegory, in which everything is symbolic of something. Mystical interpretations appear to be quite consistent with religious feeling, and may, perhaps, act more directly upon the affections than some other methods. They seem, however, to necessitate an amount of freedom with the "Queen's English," which would shock the Dean of Canterbury, and is not pleasant to us. It is curious to see how the peculiarities of the earlier disciples of Swedenborg in style as well as in thought are perpetuated.

The Wisdom of our Fathers. Selections from the Writings of Lord Bacon. With a Memoir. London: Religious Tract Society.

A small volume, but replete with gems of thought. The memoir, though brief, is admirable for its completeness, and the justice it does to our great author. The selections are chiefly theological or religious, and, as the editor remarks, they shew how deeply Bacon's mind was impressed by the great truths of revelation. His ethical and philosophical works abound in Biblical allusions, introduced with the ease and freedom of one who was habitually conversant with the Bible. If any are in doubt as to the character of his religious opinions, we commend them to this book as a ready and effectual way of removing uncertainty. We can have no hesitation in saying that he was what is called an evangelical orthodox Christian. His scientific and philosophical enquiries never led him to depart from the teachings of Scripture. In the presence of this book he was silent, or a devout admirer and worshipper. The extracts here given are ranged under five heads, according to the class of Bacon's writings from which they are taken: 1, Theological works; 2, Ethical works; 3, Philosophical works; 4, Forensic works; 5, Miscellaneous works. The book thus compiled is full of interest, and is one which few who begin to read it will be likely to lay aside until they have gone through its pages. We are always safe in speaking highly of Bacon, and it is no slight recommendation of this very judiciously executed book, that it contains Bacon's best thoughts upon the best and holiest of themes.

A Commentary, Practical and Exegetical, on the Lord's Prayer. By Rev. W. DENTON, M.A. London: Rivingtons.

We really cannot do better than repeat Mr. Denton's own account of his agreeable and edifying volume. It is, he says, almost wholly composed from the copious materials to be found in the writings of the

commentators and homily writers of past times, not of any one age, but of the latest as well as of the earliest. The authors thus made use of are indicated in the margin, and their actual words are often quoted in the notes. An appendix supplies examples of paraphrases of the Lord's prayer in prose and verse; and some additional notes are given in the supplement. Thus, while the work is exceedingly well fitted for general reading, it contains elements which render it worthy of the attention of the more learned. On a few points we should not receive the teaching of Mr. Denton's authorities; but we should probably have the same to say of any work on a similar plan, and, as most intelligent readers exercise discrimination, we would retract nothing from the commendation we have already pronounced. The laborious and ingenious author has our best thanks for what he has done.

The Apostle Paul and the Church at Philippi. An Exposition, Critical and Practical, of the Sixteenth Chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, and of the Epistle to the Philippians, with an Introduction illustrating the Doctrine and Character of the Apostle Paul by contrast with his contemporaries, with special reference to the Alexandrian Philo. By the late Rev. J. F. TODD, M.A. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Co.

FULL as the above title is, it does not by any means exhaust the list of contents of this volume. The author clearly devoted to its preparation much time, thought, and labour. The introduction contains a series of useful observations of a somewhat miscellaneous character, and the following section relates to searching the Scriptures. In the third section, we have Acts xvi., with a considerable array of learned and critical notes, followed by a detailed exposition in the next section. Then comes the Epistle to the Philippians, with critical notes; followed in like manner by a lengthened exposition. A note on Philo's doctrine of the Logos forms an appendix. Footnotes throughout the book supply a vast number of illustrations from Scripture and other writings. This glance at the form of the volume will suggest only, to some extent, the unusual variety of matters touched upon in it. The author must have been a man of extensive reading, and of uncommon diligence, to have amassed such a store of materials bearing upon his leading topics. The work is thoroughly earnest and outspoken, and leaves no doubt as to the strong faith and sincere religious feeling of the writer. It is possible that, if he had lived, he would have modified some of his expressions; but his surviving friends have done well in giving it to the world as they found it, for whatever exceptions might be made to some of the details, no one can deny that the work is fitted to be useful in more ways than one.

The Living God the Saviour of all Men. A Sermon by R. W. DALE, M.A. London: Jackson, Walford, and Hodder.

THE REV. MR. DALE, the preacher of this sermon, delivered it before

the constituents of the London Missionary Society in May last. It is both able and eloquent ; but we are afraid the successes of modern missions are too favourably regarded. What would St. Paul and his colleagues have done with an income of £70,000 or £80,000 a year ? We know not : perhaps less than they did ; but probably more than is now done with like amounts. Look at India ! Mr. Dale says that "out of rather less than 25,000 male communicants, there are nearly 2000 native preachers ; that is, of those who have professed Christ, every twelfth man is a preacher." Never have we met with a fact more ominous than this, that the 2000 preachers of India belonging to Mr. Dale's society should be able to report but twelve male converts each in this the seventieth year of that society's existence. The female converts will probably be far fewer ; but, suppose they are equal, it has taken seventy years, and probably a million of money, to build up a Christian community of 50,000 souls in India. What is the reason of this ? At this rate, when will India be converted ? Is the fault in the home management ? or in the preachers and preaching provided for India ? The system has often been found fault with ; but complainers have only been ridiculed or crushed, and so we suppose it is to go on. But that men like Mr. Dale admire it, fills us with dismay. Two thousand Indian preachers, officered by we know not how many European missionaries, and aided by a vast variety of kindred agencies, at the end of seventy years, reckon fewer than 50,000 converts among them. This is, indeed, a thing to think on.

The Life of our Lord Jesus Christ : a complete critical Examination of the origin, contents, and connection of the Gospels. Translated from the German of J. P. LANGE, D.D. Edited, with additional notes, by the Rev. MARCUS DODS, A.M. In Six Volumes. Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark.

THE three first volumes of this work were received some time since, but we deferred our examination of them until the remainder reached us. We have now the whole before us, but we have not had time to prepare such a review of the work as its importance demands. At present, therefore, we can only announce its completion, and our intention to return to it in our next. We desire, however, to record our conviction that it answers in all respects to its title, and that it will be found of great utility in connection with some of the leading questions of the day. Although originally published a number of years since, it is of permanent value, and discusses some of the problems which are continually occupying the attention of critics. It is known to be one of the most complete and thorough books of its kind. We are greatly indebted to the publishers for producing it in an English dress and at a low price, and we hope that its merits will command for it an extensive circulation. We earnestly advise our readers to procure it and to study it, as a highly valuable and important work.

The Genius of the Gospel ; a homiletical Commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew. By DAVID THOMAS, D.D. Edited by the Rev. WILLIAM WEBSTER, M.A. London: Jackson, Walford, and Hodder.

DR. THOMAS is the editor of the *Homilist*, and in that capacity has rendered many important services to the clergy. The present volume contains the substance of discourses first preached, and then published in the *Homilist* during the last fourteen years. The successive chapters of which it consists constitute a thoughtful exposition of the first Gospel. Although avowedly homiletical, and not critical, it will be found to contain many acute and original suggestions. The religious and moral lessons of the Gospel are developed with much clearness and force, and the hundred and twenty sections of which it is made up are, in effect, so many sermons of a superior order. To those of the laity who would read St. Matthew for personal edification, and to the ministers of the Gospel who would expound it to their congregations, the work will be an excellent companion and guide. The author is frequently quite original in his style and matter; but there is a freshness, vigour, and life about the volume which is refreshing and encouraging. Without accepting every detail, we commend the work as one of true worth and genuine character.

The First New Testament printed in the English Language—(1525 or 1526). Translated by WILLIAM TYNDALE. Reproduced in fac-simile, with an Introduction, by F. FRY, F.S.A. Bristol: Printed for the Editor. 1862.

The Prophete Jonas. With an Introduction before Teachinge to Understonde him. By WILLIAM TYNDALE. To which is added, "Coverdale's Version of Jonah." Reproduced in fac-simile, with an Introduction, by F. FRY. 1863.

A Proper Dialogue betwene a Gentillman and a Husbandman, eche complaynyng to other their miserable calamite through the ambicion of Clergye. With A Compendious Olde Treatyse, shewynge howe that we ought to have the Scripture in Englysshe. Printed by Hans Luft, 1530. Reproduced in fac-simile, with an Introduction, by FRANCIS FRY. 1863.

WE had intended to insert in this number an article upon the admirable fac-similes of Mr. Fry, to whose pen we are indebted for an interesting paper in the present number. We regret that, owing to the unusual demand upon our space for book notices, we have been compelled to postpone the lengthened account of these works, but it will appear in our next.

Instances of the Power of God as manifested in His Animal Creation.

A Lecture delivered before the Young Men's Christian Association. By Professor RICHARD OWEN. London: Longmans.

THIS is what we must call the "authorized edition;" at any rate, it is

the author's edition of a very useful and instructive lecture. We understand that the direction of the Young Men's Christian Association felt afraid to publish the lecture in its entirety, because on some points it was in advance of the views and sympathies of that respectable body.

Essay Addressed to the late Lord Lyndhurst on the True Date of Korah's Rebellion; or its Date in the Margin of our English Bible, B.C. 1471, the True One. With an introductory Letter to the Lord Bishop of Winchester. By the Rev. CHARLES FORSTER, B.D. (Private impression). London: Printed by Spottiswoode and Co.

WE often differ from Mr. Forster; but we admire his learning and zeal, and the earnestness which he throws into everything he does. The essay before us is ingenious and interesting, and we do not well see how its conclusions can be evaded.

Reasons for not Signing the Oxford Declaration; with special reference to the Doctrine of Eternal Punishment. By A. WOLFE, M.A. London: Bell and Daldy.

MR. WOLFE has a right to be heard, because he deserves to be heard. In his remarks on the topic of the declaration relating to Holy Scripture, he puts in a very just plea in favour of a revised version of the Bible. The observations upon the second point are worthy of close attention, and, if erroneous, we should like to see them refuted.

The Righteousness of Christ, the Righteousness of God: a Refutation of the views generally held by the Christians commonly called "Plymouth Brethren" on that subject. By R. GOVETT. London: Elliot Stock.

THE object of this work is stated in its title. Mr. Govett quotes the opinions of Mr. Darby and the leading Plymouthists on a number of related topics, and refutes them *seriatim*, with much earnestness and acumen. The atmosphere of controversy has, unhappily, always been too congenial to the party whose views are here opposed, and we are sorry that the present volume indicates a continuance of the same state of things. We hope Mr. Govett's book will be found very useful to such as are compelled to take part in these painful discussions.

Popular Appeal in favour of a New Version of Scripture. Part I. Perth: C. G. Sidey.

A PAMPHLET containing sundry information for the public, connected with the subject to which it is devoted, and including a new translation of the fourth Psalm with various remarks upon it. We fully admit the need of a revision of the authorized English Bible, and on all suitable occasions we urge its performance. We believe the feeling in favour of a revision is rapidly deepening and spreading, and suppose this intelligently-written pamphlet is due to that circumstance.

Sympathy ; or Words for the Weak and the Weary. By the Rev. D. A. DOUDNEY. Second Edition. London : William Macintosh.

A SERIES of chapters upon sacred subjects. The style is eminently practical and devotional, and, for what we may call leisure hours and quiet moments, the earnest Christian will find it a profitable companion.

Do the Writers of the New Testament claim for themselves Inspiration ?

A Letter on the internal evidence of the Inspiration of the New Testament. By the Rev. J. P. NORRIS, M.A. London and Cambridge : Macmillan and Co.

A VERY sensible performance, and one which exhibits in a clear and forcible, but compendious and rather popular manner, the chief of the facts which go to explain and prove the inspiration of the sacred penman.

Novum Testamentum Græce : Antiquissimorum Codicum Textus in ordine parallelo depositi : Accedit collatio Codicis Sinaitici. Edidit EDWARDUS H. HANSELL, S.T.B. Oxford : The Clarendon Press. London : Macmillan and Co.

JUST as we were about going to press the three handsome octavo volumes of Professor Hansell's work arrived. Vol. I. contains the Gospels so far as contained in the Codices known as A, B, C, D, and Z. Vol. II. contains the remainder of the New Testament, as represented by the Codices A, B, C, D, and E. Here B of the Vatican, or 1209, is supplemented by another also called B (2066); and Beza's, or D, is supplemented by the Claromontane also called D. Vol. III. contains the prefatory matter, notes, a collation of the Codex Sinaiticus with Stephen's edition of 1550, various facsimiles, and appendices. We have every reason to believe that on examination it will be found to be a work of very great value; but we shall notice it at length in our next.

New Materials for the History of Man, derived from a Comparison of the Customs and Superstitions of Nations. By R. G. HALIBURTON, F.S.A. No. II. The Festival of the Dead. Halifax : Nova Scotia.

THE author has collected a vast number of curious facts and allusions, and out of them has constructed a singular theory. He finds the germs and parallels of the ecclesiastical commemoration of *all souls*, i.e., of the dead, in all ages and countries.

A Letter to every one who will know his Bible, and especially to those entering God's Ministry. By a B.A. OXONIAN. London : Rivingtons.

A SENSIBLE letter containing some confessions, which we are sorry to think many might repeat; and some hints on the study of Scripture which may be turned to good account.

A Pastoral Letter addressed to the Clergy and Laity of his Province. By CHARLES THOMAS, Archbishop of Canterbury. London: Rivingtons.

THIS letter records the objections of His Grace to the recent judicial decision in the case arising out of Mr. Wilson's part in *Essays and Reviews*; and it sets forth the Archbishop's views upon the subject of Holy Scripture, as "God's Word written."

The Doctrine of the New Jerusalem on Sacred Scripture. Translated from the Latin of EMANUEL SWEDENBORG. By Rev. J. C. ROWLATT, M.A. London: J. S. Hodson and Son.

THE above, and several other pamphlets, have been received by us from different publishers of the new Church.

Water Supply of Jerusalem—Ancient and Modern. By J. I. WHITTY. London: Williams and Norgate.

A REPRINT of the very interesting article upon this subject in our last, with some additions.

Our Own Fireside. A magazine of Home Literature for the Christian Family. Edited by the Rev. CHARLES BULLOCK. Parts VII. to IX. London: William Macintosh.

A SIXPENNY magazine, abounding in matter; fitted for all ages, for instruction, edification, and rational amusement.

We have also received the following, some of which arrived too late for notice in the present Number:—

The Assembly's Shorter Catechism. Translated into Hebrew by Rev. H. S. M'Kee, LL.D. Dublin: Murray and Co.

The same in Syriac.

A Collation of an English version of the New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ from the Text of the Vatican Manuscript, with the Authorized English Version. By Herman Heinfetter. London: Evan Evans.

A literal Translation of the New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ on definite Rules of Translation, from the Text of the Vatican Manuscript. By Herman Heinfetter. Sixth Edition. London: Evan Evans.

The Alexandra Magazine, and Woman's Social and Industrial Advocate. May and June. Parts I. and II. London Jackson, Walford, and Hodder.

The Rainbow. Part VI.

The Book of Job; translated from the Hebrew. By Rev. J. M. Rodwell, M.A. London: Williams and Norgate.

- The Book of Prayer for the House of Prayer. London: Wertheim, Macintosh, and Hunt.
- The First Step of a close Walk with God. By Charles Henry de Bogatzky. London: Wertheim and Macintosh.
- The Bible Cyclopædia: a Dictionary Illustrative of the Old and New Testament. Parts IX.—XIII. Edited by John Eadie, D.D., LL.D. London: W. Wesley.
- An English Version of the New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, from the Text of the Vatican Manuscript. By Herman Heinfetter. London: Evan Evans.

Among recent Foreign Publications we notice—

- Das vierte Ezrabuch nach seinen zeitalter, seinen Arabischen Übersetzungen, und seiner neuen Wiederherstellung. Von H. Ewald. Göttingen. 4to.
- Beiträge zur Erklärung des alten Testaments enthaltend elf Abhandlungen exegetischkritisch und historisch behandelt. Von Laur. Reinke. 5 Bd. Munster. 1863.
- L'Eglise et la Revolution Française: Histoire des relations de l'Eglise et de l'Etat de 1789 à 1802. Par Edmond de Pressensé. Paris: Ch. Meyrueis. 1864.
- Calvin d'après Calvin: Fragments extraits des œuvres Françaises du Reformateur. Par C. O. Vignot et D. Tissot. Genève: Joel Cherbuliez.
- Monumenta Sacra et Profana opera collegii Doctorum Bibliothecæ Ambrosianæ. Tom. ii., fasc. i.
- Pentateuchi Syro-Hexaplaris quæ supersunt cum Notis accedunt Nonnulla Fragmenta Syriaca. Ed. Sac. Obl. Ant. Maria Ceriani. Mediolani. 1863. Contains part of Genesis and some other matters.
- Die heilige Schrift Neuen Testaments zusammenhängend untersucht von Dr. J. Chr. K. v. Hofmann. 1 Theil. Nordlingen. 1862.
- Histoire de la Reformation, en Europe au Temps de Calvin. Par J. H. Merle d'Aubigné. Tom. iii. France, Suisse, Genève. Paris: M. Levy. 1864.
- Die vier Evangelien Arabisch, aus der Wiener Handschrift, herausgegeben von Lic. Dr. Paul de Lagarde. Leipzig: Brockhaus.
- De l'avenir du Théisme Chrétien considéré comme Religion par F. Pecaut. Paris: Cherbuliez.
- Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte, Archäologie, und Liturgik. Von Dr. C. J. Hefele. Erster Band. Tübingen.
- Jesus Christ et les Croyances Messianiques de son temps. 2me Edition. Par T. Colani. Strasbourg.

MISCELLANIES.

Expeditions to Palestine.—The *Reader* of April 2nd contained the following:—"Some of our readers may be aware that a scientific expedition to the Holy Land, conducted by himself, has been equipped by the Duc de Luynes, well known in France for the princely use he makes of his princely income. Its chief object is the solution of the unsolved or doubtful problems connected with the Dead Sea. The geologist of the party is M. Louis Lartet, son of the eminent palæontologist, who has laboured so successfully upon the evidences of pre-historic man yielded by the sepulchral and ossiferous caves in France. It would appear, from a brief communication made by M. Daubrée to the Academy of Sciences at its last meeting, that the exploration has opened very auspiciously. On landing at Beyrout, the Duc de Luynes and his friends discovered cave or breccia deposits abounding in flint knives and fossil bones, bearing the usual marks of having passed through the hands of ancient savage man. The details have not been communicated by M. Daubrée—nothing, indeed, beyond the bare announcement. According to M. Voguë, flint knives have been discovered in a cave at Bethlehem; and they have also been found in considerable abundance on Mount Sinai. The Bethlehem cave will doubtless be thoroughly investigated by the Duc de Luynes's expedition before it leaves the valley of the Jordan."

The *Athenæum* of the same date contains details of Mr. Tristram's expedition under the head of "News from the Holy Land." It says:—

"Letters have been received from the Rev. H. B. Tristram, head of the scientific expedition now in Palestine, down to the 21st of February. The party was then starting from Jerusalem for Nazareth, with the intention of crossing the Jordan from thence into Gilead and Bashan, and the eastern side of the Dead Sea; a promising arrangement having been made with Aghil Aga and with the Sheikhs of the Beni Sakr and Adouan Arabs. Hitherto the journey has been almost perfectly successful, the great object of passing along the western shore of the Dead Sea from north to south having been, for the first time, fully accomplished.

"All previous travellers have been compelled to take to the heights between Ras Feshkah and Ain Jidy; but Mr. Tristram, by disregarding the warnings of Abou Dahouk, and by judicious obstinacy, succeeded in carrying his point; forcing his way through the cane-brakes, and over the precipitous ledges and boulders which occupy the shore-line. He reached Ain Jidy in safety, and with comparatively little inconvenience. Further south the party thoroughly explored Masada, the Salt Mountain of Jebel Usdum, with the Wady Mahawat at its back (probably for the first time), and reached the Ghor-es-Safieh, *en route* for the Lisan (the peninsula on the eastern side of the lake). Here they were compelled to retreat before a large party of Arabs from Petra, who had made an incursion on the Safieh only the day before the party reached it, had burnt a village, and had killed several of the people. In the face of these savages Mr. Tristram did not think it prudent to persevere. They therefore turned

back to the mouth of the Wady Zuweirah. This part of the journey occupied from January 16 to 31. The weather was highly favourable; and Mr. Tristram, whose experience has been tolerably wide, describes the climate as the most delicious that can be conceived.

"From the Wady Zuweirah the party mounted into the wilderness of Judah—a veritable desert, of the barest and most repulsive character; and thence, by way of Sudeid and el-Milh, reached the wells of Beersheba on the 3rd of February. Here, however, they were not able to remain more than one day, for a Turkish force was plundering the country a few miles to the north, under pretence of enforcing the conscription, and two fights took place, which threw the whole district into confusion. Under these circumstances, Mr. Tristram set out northward, and, passing by Hhora, Attir, Kurmul and Zif, reached Hebron on the night of the 6th and Jerusalem on the 10th of February. The change from the utter desolation of the steep hills of the desert of Judah to the gentle undulations, clothed with herbage, of the "South Country," and again to the elaborate cultivation of the hill country of Judah, was very striking. Regular thermometrical, barometrical, and hygrometrical observations were kept, with instruments furnished by Negretti and Zambra, under the advice of Mr. Glaisher. Some topographical notes of value appear to have been made on the shore-line of the Dead Sea, proving considerable inaccuracy in the present maps. The geological observations round the lake are of particular interest. Not to forestall Mr. Tristram's detailed account, it may be said, that except one possible case in the Wady Mahawat, no single trace of igneous action was met with along the whole of the distance traversed. The basaltic ridges and lava pebbles so freely recognized by some former travellers, turn out to be ridges and rolled stones of black flint, strongly impregnated with iron oxide; the craters to the basins scooped out probably by the action of extinct waterfalls. The dip of the limestone strata both W. and E. of the lake is $8^{\circ}5$ towards the S.E.

"The interesting fact of parallel beaches along the shore, indicating the subsidence of the lake, is confirmed, and more than confirmed, by Mr. Tristram, who observed as many as eight such terraces one above the other. Mr. Poole's observation of the height of the Lisau (230 feet) above the lake is also confirmed; and the rise of the ground in the Ghores-Safieh, after passing the belt of reeds (Wady Tafileh), was very perceptible. The peninsula is composed of the same post-tertiary marl which occurs in such abundance all along the coast. Abundance of specimens of fossils, rocks, water, were collected, and many of them have already reached this country in safety. But the strong point of the expedition is its zoology and botany: and in both these departments the amount of success has been very cheering. Suffice it to say, that numerous and excellent specimens have been obtained, not only of known species, but of several hitherto entirely unknown. The health of the whole party, we are happy to say, has been excellent."

The Gospel Lives of Christ.—The more we reflect upon the Gospel history, taken altogether in its various features and peculiarities, the more firmly we must feel convinced that it cannot possibly be the history of a

mere man; or have been produced by the common powers of human nature. The principal character, Jesus Christ, is a personage who has no prototype or resemblance in the history of the world. He could not possibly have any; for a man without a fault was never seen, and He had none. If there had been faults in his character, an honest historian would have recorded them, as Moses told his own; and the Evangelists, those of themselves and their brethren, even when most disgraceful to them. But they could not entirely have concealed the faults of their Master, even with the utmost desire to do it, had there been any in his character. They would have been traced in the circumstances of the narrative; they would have been elicited from the facts themselves, by the careful and acute reader, however studiously suppressed or palliated by the historians. Ambition, for instance, would have appeared in his conduct; or pride; or the love of worldly glory; or cruelty and violence of temper. Whatever, in short, marks the character of a public man, through his public actions, could not wholly have been hidden: and if some more secret vices had been studiously suppressed, the virulence of those adversaries who made crimes even of his miracles and prophetic speeches, could not have failed to trace them out and to urge them strongly against him. But he was without fault: and this is the more certain, because his proper historians have never directly said it. They have written the most simple of all narratives. They have not even attempted to draw a character, or to venture an opinion of their own. They have apologised for nothing; they have merely told what their Master said and did on such occasions as they thought proper to record; and have left their readers to discern his character in the facts. They have acted most most wisely in so doing. They have avoided everything that could give a suspicious appearance to their history; all partizanship, all pleading of a cause. But observe, that this very thing is what was never done by any other historians in the world. It is then, at least, a reason for distinguishing the evangelists from all other writers.^a And this is no small matter. But the history of a man without a fault, or even the suspicion of an infirmity, is as remote from the experience of mankind as anything that is most miraculous. Of those who have been celebrated for any famous acts or works, the general history has been, that some great qualities have been counterbalanced by faults equally great; or by infirmities which make us blush for our common nature. It would be an irksome enquiry to pursue, but the exceptions could not be numerous, nor probably any, except such as arose from the imperfectness of our accounts. The examples, on the other hand, are many, striking, and well known.—Archd. Nares, *Veracity of the Gospels Demonstrated*.

Sterne's Sermons.—Gray, the poet, in one of his letters to Dr. Wharton, observes as follows:—"Tristram Shandy is still a greater object of admiration,—the man, as well as the book: one is invited to dinner where he dines a fortnight before. As to the volumes yet published there is

^a We may except, perhaps, some other *sacred* writers; but that rather corroborates than weakens their pretensions.

much good fun in them, and humour sometimes hit and sometimes missed. Have you read the sermons, with his own comic figure, from a painting by Reynolds at the head of them? They are in the style, I think, most proper for the pulpit, and shew a strong imagination, and a sensible heart; but you see him often tottering on the verge of laughter, and ready to throw his periwig in the face of the audience." In one of his letters to Mr. Mason, in the following year, is another passage relating to the subject we are now considering:—"Your quotation from Jeremy Taylor is a fine one; I have long thought of reading him, for I am persuaded that *chopping logic in the pulpit*, as our divines have done ever since the revolution, is not the thing; but that imagination and warmth of expression are in their place there as much as on the stage; moderated, however, and chastised a little by the purity and severity of religion."

These observations are undoubtedly true, so far as they were meant to extend; but the general censure of our divines ever since the revolution, and the general commendation of the sermons by Mr. Sterne, are rather hasty and unguarded. It is probable, indeed, that the extraordinary merit of some few among these had attracted his notice so strongly as to conceal from him the great and striking faults which abound in others, just as the glaring improprieties in the discourses of some pedantic preachers might have given him an unfavourable impression of all the rest. I mention these things, lest so great an authority as that of Mr. Gray, improperly alleged, should increase a prejudice already too strong; lest it should seem to sanction the faults of a writer whom he mentions but by accident, in a private letter, and was far from intending to criticise in form. . . . As every species of composition hath its proper completion and character, to give to one species that which of right belongs to another, is to break in upon the order of nature, cancel the decrees of good sense, and introduce in their room extravagance, inconsistency, and confusion. If, on some great solemnity, an organist, to indulge his own fancy or humour, should amuse the congregation with the light airs of a Gavot or a Saraband, instead of playing the music adapted to a hymn or an anthem, he would be condemned for his indiscretion, and considered as unfit for his office. But worse still would be the conduct of the *preacher*, who should imitate in his discourses the dryness of *philosophic lectures*, the gaiety of *polite conversation*, or the flippant familiarity of snip-snap dialogue.

Dramatic Sermons was the title which the famous Mr. Sterne had originally chosen for the collection he published. And such a title might perhaps have been suitable enough at an earlier period, when superstition and bad taste had recommended to the public religious interludes, or mysteries, represented on the stage. A late illustrious prelate had the good fortune and address, by a little well-timed complaisance, to save religion and its indiscreet minister from such an opprobrium. But he could not preserve indiscreet writers and readers from the danger of admiring and imitating sermons which, besides their strange indecorum and air of burlesque, are incorrect, verbose, and affected. The first of these faults the author ingenuously owns in his preface. And that he was capable of excelling greatly had he been less idle and dissipated, as well as more honest, than to sacrifice decency of character, dignity of profes-

sion, and the honour of learning itself, to the low views of money and fame,—even the worst part of his works is a sufficient evidence. But the greater his merits are, so much the more necessary does it seem to point out his faults, and to warn the young and incautious never to court admiration by methods so pregnant with reproach and danger. For, if the interests of piety are betrayed by its own guardians, what authority is it likely to retain with the rest of mankind?—*Mainwaring's Dissertation on Preaching.*

Salt losing its Savour.—Our Lord, in the Sermon on the Mount, says, "Ye are the salt of the earth; but if the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted? It is thenceforth good for nothing but to be cast out and trodden under foot of men." To what fact in experience does he allude?

It is plainly implied that salt, under certain conditions so generally known as to permit Him to found his instruction upon them, did actually lose its saltiness, and our only business is to discover these conditions, not to question their existence. Nor is this difficult. I have often seen just such salt, and the identical disposition of it that our Lord had mentioned. A merchant of Sidon, having farmed of the Government the revenue from the importation of salt, brought over an immense quantity from the marshes of Cyprus, enough, in fact, to supply the whole province for at least twenty years. This he had transferred to the mountains to cheat the Government out of some small per-centage. Sixty-five houses in Jûne, Lady Stanhope's village, were rented and filled with salt. These houses have merely earthen floors, and the salt next the ground in a few years entirely spoiled. I saw large quantities of it literally thrown into the street, to be trodden under foot of men and beasts. It was "good for nothing." Similar magazines are common in this country, and have been from remote ages, as we learn from history both sacred and profane; and the sweeping out of the spoiled salt and casting it into the street are actions familiar to all men.

It should be stated in this connection, that the salt used in this country is not manufactured by boiling clean salt water, nor quarried from mines, but is obtained from marshes along the sea-shore, as in Cyprus, or from salt lakes in the interior, which dry up in summer, as the one in the desert north of Palmyra, and the great lake of Jebbûl, south-east of Aleppo. The salt of our Sidon merchant was from the vast marshes near Larnaca. I have seen these marshes covered with a thick crust of salt, and have also visited them when it had been gathered into heaps like haystacks in a meadow. The large winter lake south-east of Aleppo, I found dried up by the last of August, and the entire basin, further than the eye could reach, was white as snow with an incrustation of coarse salt. Hundreds of people were out gathering and carrying it to Jebbûl, where the Government stores were kept.

Maundrell, who visited the lake at Jebbûl, tells us that he found salt there which had entirely "lost its savour;" and the same abounds among the *débris* at Usdum, and in other localities of rock-salt at the south-end of the Dead Sea. Indeed, it is a well-known fact that the salt of *this*

country, when in contact with the ground, or exposed to rain and sun, does become insipid and useless. From the manner in which it is gathered, much earth and other impurities are necessarily collected with it. Not a little of it is so impure that it cannot be used at all; and such salt soon effloresces and turns to dust,—not to fruitful soil however. It is not only good for nothing itself, but it actually destroys all fertility wherever it is thrown, and this is the reason why it is cast into the street. There is a sort of verbal verisimilitude in the manner in which our Lord alludes to the act, “it is cast out and trodden under foot;” so troublesome is this corrupted salt, that it is carefully swept up, carried forth, and thrown into the street. There is no place about the house, yard, or garden, where it can be tolerated. No man will allow it to be thrown on to his field, and the only place for it is the street, and there it is cast to be trodden under foot of men.—Dr. Thomson, *Land and Book*.

Sinai Convent and Mountain.—“If,” says Sir Frederick Henniker, “I were to take a model of the end of the world, it should be taken from the valley of the convent of Mount Sinai.” The aspect of that venerable convent clinging to the steep cliffs, with its battlements and narrow windows, to which you may often look without seeing the trace of any human life within, together with the solemn cypress trees of its garden, deepen rather than disturb the sense of the stillness and seclusion of the scene. This convent was built by Justinian in the sixth century, and has been spared for 1200 years the destruction that has overtaken elsewhere these sacred memorials of the past. Having presented our letter of introduction from the bishop in Cairo, we secured a guide for the day’s explorations. I need not dwell at any length on the ascent, which has been often described. My aim shall be to call special attention to those features in the mountain which, as may afterward appear, clearly marked out as “the Mount of the law.” Toiling upwards, then, from the Convent Valley for more than 1,000 feet, the traveller comes to a lengthened hollow, where stands the chapel of Elijah. Here is a beautiful cypress tree and a fine pool of water. Behind the southern end is the summit of Jebel Mousa, “the top of the Mount.” The hollow runs lengthwise to the other extremity of the mountain, where it terminates in the cliff of Sufsafeh, immediately overhanging the plain. We first proceeded to the summit of Jebel Mousa, the height of which is about another 1,000 feet from this spot, or about 2,000 from the plain below. Very grand was the view from that summit; hills and valleys lying around in bewildering confusion.

But let the reader notice, that from this point nothing whatever can be seen of the plain of Rahab. You would not suspect the existence of such a plain within many miles of the spot. You see, however, very distinctly, the valley Sebayeh immediately at the base, which is very rugged and broken up by the torrents of the rainy seasons. We descended after an hour’s stay, and on reaching the chapel of Elijah, proceeded northwards, along the hollow spoken of above, in the direction of the front summit Sufsafeh. Throughout we came on traces of water, sometimes in little pools; and indeed the general configuration of the place is that of a natural reservoir gathering in the rains from the rugged steeps on every

side. The water finds its way to the plain below by a deep gorge in the centre of this northern precipice. We managed by great exertion to clamber up to its western division; as for the eastern and higher summit, probably no traveller ever reached it. From the eminence on which we were thus perched, there was the plain of Rahab clearly visible below, also our tents, pitched, as has been said, immediately under the mountain. We descended now with considerable difficulty to the hollow, and instead of returning by way of the convent, scrambled down by the gorge to the plain. The streamlet in its course forms pools, some of which are three and four feet deep. About five o'clock we reached our tents, feeling that we had spent a day of hard toil, yet of surpassing enjoyment.—*Sandie's Horeb and Jerusalem.*

The Written Rocks of Wady Mokatteb, and who wrote them.—The reader may conceive of the astonishment of the traveller in coming on these myriad inscriptions in valleys now so utterly deserted and silent. The wastes become peopled in the mind's eye, and over these rocks are bent multitudes of living men writing their experience and thoughts, which have proved, however, hitherto only a puzzle to posterity, for the Layard or the Rawlinson is yet to appear who shall satisfactorily decipher their meaning. Professor Beer has indeed devoted much attention to the subject, but according to him the most of these records are simply proper names, with the ever recurring phrases, "May he be blessed, may he have peace!" This theory is surely incredible. Can this be the paltry result of so much pains and so much pretension? It is too much like the cry of, "In the name of the prophet, figs!" These inscriptions, we may be sure, were not written in sport or for such vague ejaculations only, any more than those of Egypt or Nineveh. Those who can best judge of such studies are satisfied that the true alphabet and interpretation have yet to be discovered. Leaving this, then, to be yet determined, I confine myself to the question of their authorships, which I believe may be established on independent grounds. They are scattered far and wide over the desert. They are to be found in the far east of the peninsula as well as at Mokatteb; as far south as Wady Lega, near Jebel Mousa, and as far north as Petra; and it is only because of their numbers in Mokatteb that it is called, by way of emphasis, "the written valley." They are written, I may add, on the sandstone equally with the granite. Strangers, too, say, among these mysterious letters are interpolated Greek and Latin and Arabic words legible enough, $\text{I}\omega\beta$ (Job), $\text{I}\omega\sigma\epsilon\phi \mu\omicron\nu\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma$ (Monk Joseph), also the form of a cross (\dagger).

Sometimes, too, the figures of dogs, ibexes with monstrous horns, curving serpents, are roughly portrayed. Our interest at present relates to the undeciphered letters. Who wrote these? Some would answer, the Israelites. And who would not wish such a theory to be true? who would not welcome this additional record of the experience of that people during their wanderings, penned with their own hands, and graven on the rocks for ever? But unfortunately there is little reason to believe that "the voice of Israel" is here. For questions will arise which on this theory have no solution. Thus, why are these inscriptions so mysterious?

and why should they be confined to the desert? Why not find traces of them in Egypt, where they had previously lived, or still more on the rock of Palestine, when it became their home? The same questions are to be urged against the theory that would set the inscriptions down as the work of any pilgrims and strangers whatsoever. Why do we not find similar writings on the rocks and monuments of those countries from which these pilgrims came? Diodorus Siculus, writing about the Christian era, making mention of these inscriptions, affirms that even in his day no one could find the key to their interpretation. There seems only the alternative, confirmed, I hope, to shew by other proofs, that we look on these writings as the work of the ancient inhabitants of the desert. It seems somewhat strange, indeed, that this should even have been a matter of doubt. The inscriptions in Egypt are put down to the Egyptians, those of Assyria to the Assyrians.

Why then do we change the theory when we come to the Desert, and impute its inscriptions to other than the inhabitants? The burden of proof is certainly on those who contend for this being an exception to the general rule. But that it is not such may be shewn by the following considerations:—1. It is in the highest degree improbable that the race proverbially jealous of their desert from time immemorial would allow strangers from other lands to come into their territory, and inscribe on their rocks such records as these. The Amalekites who attacked Israel at Rephidim could not have been, and are not described, as a feeble tribe. It is morally certain that they would not have allowed such an invasion as this. Their hand was against every man, and so they were perhaps the very last people that would permit such a liberty. 2. It has been too readily assumed that they could not have been the authors of them, as they were not acquainted with the art of writing; but where is the proof of this? Does the Bible account imply that they were rude and ignorant savages? On the contrary, they were brave, disciplined, and pronounced by Balaam "The first of the nations." Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, was an inhabitant of this same desert, being the high priest of Midian, a town on the Red Sea. Their prevailing religion was Baal worship, the religion of Phœnicia, the country from which letters first came. Philo expressly says that they were Phœnicians. The adjoining nation of Egypt, with whom they must have had some intercourse, were busy with their hieroglyphics all over the land, and the desert race may be believed to have observed this custom, which was indeed that of other nations of the age, and to have recorded on enduring stone such events as deeply impressed them. It is not improbable that when in this country Moses received or committed to writing the patriarchal Book of Job, the allusions of which point obviously to the sights and incidents of a desert life. And if ever the inscriptions be deciphered, it is far more likely, I conjecture, that we may gain some part of the original of that noble poem of sacred antiquity, than find the record of any experiences of an Israelite in the forty years of the wanderings. 3. This history theory of their authorship obviously accounts for these inscriptions being discovered all over the desert where the Amalekites dwelt, as well as for their individual character, which has so marked them off from the writings of other

nations. The Amalekites were a people specially isolated, and must have had a language and writing peculiarly distinct. Their country was not invaded, conquered, and possessed, as others were. No successive waves of populations passed over it. It held out no great temptations, with its rocks, and wastes, and privations, being rather "sands for the pilgrim than fields for the conquerors." The language and writing of a people so isolated may well have taken a peculiar type. 4. The height at which they now appear upon the rocks seems to furnish a proof of their high antiquity. The theory that they were written by a rider on a camel, elevated in this way for the purpose, is surely very unsatisfactory. As written at first they were probably much lower, but the torrents of ages upon ages may have washed down the sands of the plain by several feet, and hence their present height. Their extent, then, their mysterious character, and their antiquity, seem to point to the ancient inhabitants of the desert as the authors of these far-famed inscriptions.

But some will ask, what of the Latin and Greek words, which are here and there interspersed? These differ from the mass of characters as day from night, and have clearly a more modern origin. They are to be set down to the Christian hermits that swarmed in these valleys in the early centuries of Christianity. From them clearly came such expressions as Iωβ ; Iωσεφ μοναχος (already quoted); Α + Ω (Alpha and Omega), and the numerous marks of the cross. That sacred symbol had, in these early times, a deep significance, indicating something more than the writers' profession. It was thought to exorcise the spirit of evil, and consecrate profane and heathen localities for Christ. As for those grotesque figures of dogs, camels, serpents, etc., drawn in sport and caricature, as many seem to have been, we may trace their origin to the Arab shepherd or hermit whiling away the tedium of life in such employment. For, as is well known, the appearance of inscriptions on rock, tree, and wall, is infectious. Human nature only requires the hint, and every kind of scribbling soon covers the space, often obliterating the original. A new era has lately dawned for the better understanding of the past, in the deciphering of ancient writings on monuments and temples, and we may indulge the hope that patient study will yet discover a key to those hieroglyphics in the rocks of Arabia, which so many circumstances lead us to regard as among the most interesting and ancient in the world.—*Sandie's Horeb and Jerusalem.*

Human Sacrifices.—In the Malia hill tracts of Goomsoor, the sacrifice is offered annually to "Todo Pennor," the earth-god, under the effigy of a peacock, with a view to grant favourable crops. The Zani, or priest, who may be of any caste, officiates at the sacrifices; but he performs the poojah (offering of flowers, incense, etc.), to the idol through the medium of the "Zoomba," who must be a Khônd boy under seven years of age, and who is fed and clothed at the public expense, eats alone, and is subjected to no act deemed impure.

For a month prior to the sacrifice there is much feasting, intoxication, and dancing round the "Meria" (victim), who is adorned with garlands, etc. On the day before the performance of the barbarous rite, he is

stupefied with toddy, and is made to sit, or is bound, at the bottom of a post bearing the effigy above described. The assembled multitude then dance to music, and addressing the earth say, "O God! we offer this sacrifice to you. Give us good crops, seasons, and health." After which they address the victim. "We bought you with a price, and did not seize you. Now we sacrifice you according to custom, and no sin rests on us."

On the following day, the "Meria" being again intoxicated and anointed with oil, each individual present touches the anointed part, and wipes the oil on his own head. All then march in procession round the village and its boundaries, preceded by music, bearing the victim in their arms. On returning to the post, which is always placed near the village idol called "Zacari Pennoo," represented by three stones, a hog is killed in sacrifice, and the blood being allowed to flow into a pit prepared for the purpose, the "Meria," who has been previously made senseless from intoxication, is seized, thrown in, and his face pressed down till he is suffocated in the bloody mire. The "Zani" then cuts a piece of flesh from his body, and buries it near the village idol as an offering to the earth. All the people then follow his example, but carry the bloody prize to their villages, where part of the flesh is buried near the village idol, and part on the boundaries of the village. The head of the victim remains unmutilated, and, with the bare bones, is buried in the bloody pit.

After this horrid ceremony has been completed, a buffalo calf is brought to the post, and, his four feet having been cut off, is left there till the following day. Women dressed in male attire and armed as men then drink, dance, and sing round the post; the calf is killed and eaten, and the "Zani" dismissed with a present of rice, a hog, and a calf. Of the many ways in which the unhappy victim is destroyed, this is perhaps the least cruel, as in some places the flesh is cut off while the unfortunate creature is yet alive.—*Russell*.

One of the most common ways of offering the sacrifice is to the effigy of an elephant rudely carved in wood, fixed on the top of a stout post, on which it is made to revolve. After the performance of the usual ceremonies, the intended victim is fastened to the proboscis of the elephant, and amidst the shouts and yells of the excited multitude of Khonds, is rapidly whirled round, when at a given signal by the officiating "Zani" or priest, the crowd rush in, seize the "Meira," and with their knives cut the flesh off the shrieking wretch as long as life remains.—*Campbell*.

The Khonds supposed, that good crops and safety from all disease and accidents were ensured by this slaughter. They considered it peculiarly necessary when engaged in the cultivation of turmeric. They very coolly reasoned as to the impossibility of the turmeric being of a fine deep colour without shedding of blood. They said they would not knowingly sacrifice a Khond or a Brahmin: with these two exceptions, victims of all ages and colours, of every religion and of both sexes, are equally acceptable, but the fat are considered more efficacious than the thin, and those in their prime, than the aged and young.

The victims are purchased at from sixty to one hundred and thirty

rupees (£8 to £13) of persons of the Panee and Haree classes, who sell them as their own children: but, as individuals of all classes are found among those rescued, it is evident that these miscreants steal them, and sell them for slaughter to the Khonds.—*Russell*.

Renan's Life of Jesus.—We see how thoughtful men agree at the present day in attributing, to a greater or less extent, an artificial character to St. John's Gospel,—in warning us (with St. Augustine) that "in words, as in all other symbols of the mind, it is the mind itself which is to be sought for,"—at the same time that they repudiate with disgust the coarse and mechanical dissections of a Renan, a Strauss, or a Bruno Bauer. The latest criticism herein seems to echo the very earliest. "The crown of all the Gospels (says Origen) is that according to St. John. And into the spirit of this no man can enter, who has not himself leant upon Jesus' breast."^a "There are men (says Ebrard) to whom no one could demonstrate the genuineness of the New Testament writings. He who *will* not believe in a Risen One, will seek with unwearied diligence for loopholes of escape. . . But the only obstacles to the recognition of the Gospel history are dogmatical (*i. e.*, *à priori* notions) and not historical—and even they lie in the path of the natural man alone."^c

Obstacles of this nature exist to the highest degree in those principles which we have already indicated as the basis of M. Renan's inquiry. For example, there is one false ἀρχή, one "dogmatical" *à priori* notion, which—like a cataract upon the eye—obscures the whole field of M. Renan's view; and that is, the unproved and unprovable presumption *that there cannot possibly be any such thing as a miracle*. We are not misled by his apparent hesitation in one passage, where he writes, "we do not affirm that miracles are impossible, we only affirm that hitherto none have been proven" (p. li.). He has shewn his colours too clearly in other passages, and in other writings, for us to doubt what are his real feelings on the subject. For instance, at p. xv. we read, "That the Gospels are partly legendary is *evident*, because they are full of miracles;" again, at p. 41, "The notion of the supernatural, with its impossibilities;" at p. 92, without so-called miracles, Jesus "would have been greater in the sight of God, but been ignored by men;" and still more clearly at p. 258, "modern criticism finds in these historical phenomena no sort of embarrassment;" and in the *Etudes*, p. vii., "Criticism, whose first principle is that miracle has no more place in the tissue of human affairs than in the series of physical facts;" "reflection is too advanced, imagination has grown too cold, to permit any longer these magnificent aberrations" (p. 175). For, in short, "it is not from reasoning, but from the *tout-ensemble* of the modern sciences, that this immense result issues—there is no such thing as the supernatural" (p. 206).

Here, of course, argument is at an end. If M. Renan will not allow us to reason, but only to appeal to his general impression of the results of modern science,—in other words, once more to his "sentiment de sujet,"

^a Origen, *On St. John*, p. 6, Huet.

^c Ebrard, *The Gospel History* (Clarke's trans.), p. 600.

—we can only, with profound courtesy, take leave to differ, and to state that the impression made upon the majority of cultivated men in England seems to us to be precisely the reverse. Without denying for a moment the strong impression of order, regularity, and continuance that the study of nature, the more deeply it is prosecuted, makes upon the mind, we maintain that there are yet *higher* truths than these to which its earnest prosecution leads us. It leads, first, to a conception of a unity of government in some way pervading all space:—the law of gravitation, *e. g.*, pulls Saturn's moons towards him precisely in the same manner as the reader's book is being pulled towards the earth. It gives, next, a conception of progress and plan, working out some problem through all time:—the gradual awakening of consciousness, *e. g.*, in organized matter, proceeds from the crystal and the moss and the zoophyte, up to the human brain. And it proves, still farther, the existence in nature of certain powers which we call intelligence and will; for here they are—present in a certain class of organized creatures, the human species. And then when science proceeds to ask whether these last two phenomena are not—like the breaking wave, the falling acorn, the mountain slip—examples of forces belonging, in the same manner, to a cosmical sphere which transcends all our puny powers of observation, the necessarily affirmative reply leads us infallibly to the idea of God,—that is, to an absolute Being in whom all these relative and partial phenomena find their explanation, as the Nile is explained by its broad still fountain-lake. And when science has arrived there,—when soaring upwards it has touched this throne of God,—there in infinity the point of transition has been overstepped between the two parallel and apparently irreconcilable lines of scientific and religious thought; and so science may descend to earth once more to find miracles no longer impossible, and the living will which suspends gravitation in human nerve and muscle no longer inconceivable on that larger scale which transcends the cerebral power of an almost microscopic animal like Man, either to grasp in its extent, or to follow in its hour-hand movements.

An excellent instance of such an ascent “through Nature up to Nature's God,” may be found in a work of M. Renau's own countryman, M. Quatrefages. He thus describes his “Rambles of a Naturalist” on the shores of Brittany:—

“My forceps, needles, and compressor secured the objects of my research; my microscope and lenses revealed an infinite world to my eyes; my pencil and brushes enabled me to secure rough illustrations of these treasures. . . . I saw one fact linking itself to other facts; I felt one thought awaken other thoughts; and this mutual reaction between observation and intelligence was the source of unspeakable enjoyment. . . . When, ascending to the origin of all these harmonies, I found that the eternal power was the source whence this admirable order sprang—when through marvel to marvel, my thoughts rose from creation to the Creator,—it was from the very depths of my soul that I adored Him in His works, and united with Geoffry de St. Hilaire in the cry of ‘Glory to God.’”

As an instance of the converse process, the descent from God once found down to a belief in His possibly miraculous interference in man's behalf, we may cite perhaps the very greatest thinker of modern times,—

to whose merits Europe is now beginning tardily to do justice,—“the Aristotle of modern times,”^d—Kant. This man (as is well known), towards the end of the last century, undertook the gigantic task of “taking stock,” as it were, of the whole acquirements of the human mind since Bacon had done the same thing, and of critically examining the validity of all human knowledge. His report was, that in all departments, except one, we are bound up within the narrow walls of sense and experience; and that that one is the moral department,—wherein the fixed and stable pole-star of conscience gives us (as it were) a *πῶς ὅτι* apart from the fluctuating world of phenomena, and suggests almost immediately the two great cognate truths of God and immortality. And these truths once established, he is enabled, by a reverse but parallel course, to “rebuild again the things that he had destroyed,” down even to a Divine interference in the world and miracles; for he says, “The moral laws are universally regarded as *commands*, which they could not be, did they not connect adequate consequences with their dictates, and thus carry with them promises and threats. But this, again, they could not do, did they not reside in a necessary Being as the Supreme God.”^e And subsequently in his *Theory of Religion*, p. 103: “Concerning miracles, sensible people refuse absolutely to deny them. . . . It is quite consistent with the common opinions of mankind to hold, that when a religion of mere rites and ceremonies is to be abolished, and one in the spirit and truth of moral sentiment is to be introduced in its stead, the historical introduction of this last may be accompanied and adorned with miracles.”^f

How then can thinkers, in many respects so clear-headed and able as M. Renan and the late Mr. Baden Powell, commit themselves to the enunciation of a scientific dogma—for such, we repeat, it is—capable of refutation on so easy an hypothesis as that of a Divine Free Agent? The explanation—we are hold to say—is to be found in the narrowness of their horizon of thought. With the latter writer we have nothing to do in the present article. Bishop Thirlwall has, in his late admirable Charge, convincingly shewn the nebulous character of Mr. Powell’s favourite maxim, viz., that even a physical miracle has nothing to do with physical science; that the one belongs to the province of faith, the other to reason. And in such able hands we may safely leave that question. But with the former author we have to do; and, if we would really understand M. Renan’s present work, we shall do well to delay for a few minutes, in order to define precisely his theological position. . . .

The existence of the spiritual world is the Christian’s firm conviction, and its predominance over everything below it is one of the very elementary principles of his faith. Death is, practically to us all, the great standing mystery of mysteries, and appeals with irresistible fascination to the interests of humanity, down to its very lowest drags. If the resurrection of Jesus Christ from death were what M. Renan supposes it to be

^d Renan, *Essais de Morale*, etc., p. iv.

^e *Critic of Pure Reason*, p. 491.

^f This is not very clearly expressed; but the context shews that his meaning is similar to that of Paley’s famous dictum, “Once believe in a God, and miracles are not impossible.”

—a hallucination of credulity or an invention of enthusiasm—not only is there an end of all faith in those narratives which culminate in this great event, but there is an end, likewise of the supreme doctrine of immortality and of revelation itself. The attempt to deify a human being by the loftiest attributes of our own imperfect nature can never fill up the infinite chasm between the creature and the Creator. A revelation from above must be supernatural, if it be anything at all. But if the fact of the resurrection of Christ rest on evidence as direct and conclusive as that which demonstrates any occurrence in history—if for that purpose the ordinary laws of life and death were suspended—then what matters it to contest to the Almighty the manner in which He may think fit to exercise His own omnipotence? We recommend those who may be perplexed or distressed by the perusal of this volume to fix their minds on one simple point—the resurrection of Jesus: as long as they rest upon that signal event with entire faith and certain knowledge, they retain the key to the whole system of Christianity; for to apply the words of Bishop Butler on a precisely analogous occasion, “If it be incredible on the anti-miraculous hypothesis that Jesus Christ should have risen from the dead, then the anti-miraculous hypothesis is not true; since the resurrection of Jesus Christ is a well-authenticated historical fact.”^a—*Edinburgh Review*, April, 1864.

The Age of the Sinaitic Codex.^b—We have hitherto endeavoured to keep our readers *au courant des affaires* pertaining to the “Codex Sinaiticus.” At different times we have recorded the circumstances of its discovery, have given descriptive details concerning it, have reviewed the printed editions, and have touched upon the Simonides controversy. To all this we may add that we have duly noticed Mr. Scrivener’s collation. Yet once again the famous Codex claims our attention; and this time in reference to a question upon which we have not ventured to pronounce an opinion—the question of date. That the manuscript is one of immense value and of high antiquity we have never doubted, but there are things about it which have kept us from either accepting or rejecting the learned discoverer and editor’s conclusion. Undoubtedly we have the assurance of Eusebius that Constantine the Great wrote to him a letter instructing and authorizing him to get fifty copies of the Scriptures written for the use of the Churches. This letter is given by Eusebius in *The Life of Constantine* (book iv. 36); and it is repeated by Socrates in his *Church History* (book i. 6), as well as by Theodoret (book i. 16). From this letter we gather that the copies were destined for Constantinople. were to be written on skins or vellum, were to be very legible, very portable, and executed by skilful caligraphers. At this time Eusebius appears to have been in his diocese of Cæsarea, in Palestine, and was provided with every facility for carrying out his master’s will as speedily as possible. Eusebius tells us that his work followed the imperial word

^a Bishop Butler, *Analogy*, vol. i., chap. vi., *sub fin.*

^b *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*. [*Journal for Scientific Theology*]. Edited by Dr. Hilgenfeld. Parts I. and II. Halle: C. E. M. Pfeffer. 8vo. 1864.

at once, and that he sent to Constantine the books, His phraseology is remarkable: ἐν πολυτελῶς ἡσχημένοις τεύχεσι τρισσὰ καὶ τετρασσὰ διαπεμψάντων ἡμῶν, which the old Latin translator renders, "cum in membranis curiose elaboratis, terniones et quaterniones mitteremus."

This story is scarcely favourable to the idea that the Sinaitic manuscript is one of the fifty executed for Constantinople. Its occurrence at the convent of St. Catherine raises no serious difficulty, because it might have been presented to the convent by Justinian on its foundation, about A.D. 530. The features of the Codex favour the opinion that it was written at Alexandria rather than at Cæsarea. But, above all, its spelling, its omissions, and its unquestionable blunders, render it all but impossible that it could have been executed under the supervision of an accomplished scholar like Eusebius, and ὑπὸ τεχνιτῶν καλλιγράφων καὶ ἀκριβῶς τὴν τέχνην ἐπισταμένων. Besides, incidentally an objection might be raised to the Sinaitic manuscript as substantially the work of Eusebius, on the ground of its contents. Upon this point we affirm nothing but that Eusebius has himself recorded his opinion as to which books of the New Testament are genuine, controverted, and spurious. Among the controverted he places James, Jude, 2 Peter, and 2 and 3 John. The Apocalypse he admits may be genuine, but is doubtful about it. He does not hesitate to class with spurious books the Shepherd, the so-called epistle of Barnabas, and several others. The question is, how far this account (*Hist. Eccl.*, iii., 24, 25), can be reconciled with the Codex Sinaiticus, which not only contains the controverted books of Eusebius, but the *spurious* books of Barnabas and the Shepherd. Taking into consideration all the facts of the case, we are forced to conclude that the Sinaitic MS. is not one of the fifty of which Eusebius tells us.

Dr. Hilgenfeld has published a paper on the antiquity of this MS. in his *Zeitschrift*. After some preliminary observations, he states his reasons for rejecting the date assigned to it by Dr. Tischendorf. A palæographer whom he consulted agreed with him in referring it to the sixth century. This opinion he supports by an appeal to the manifold errors of the book, due to the incompetence of the scribes. Such errors he believes to be absent from the Vatican MS., although they begin to appear in the Codex Alexandrinus in the fifth century. He gives various examples of bad spelling in the Sinaitic MS., such as putting *v* for *oi*, *e* for *ai*, *κτ* for *ττ*, *ai* for *e*, *oi* for *v*, and *ei* for *i*. We have looked at the Codex Alexandrinus in the twenty-six places referred to, and we find that they are there all correctly spelt with the exception of three. So far as we have examined, misspelling is frequent in the Vatican MS., more frequent in the Alexandrian, and most frequent in the Sinaitic; but the kind of error is much the same in all.

Dr. Hilgenfeld observes that there are things in the Sinai MS. which point to earlier times, in particular the position of some of the books, and the insertion of Barnabas and Hermas, which were excluded from the Canon, with all of their class, by the Councils of Laodicea and Carthage in the fourth century. But all this only shews that the Sinai Bible may have been copied from an older one, as in the case of the Alexandrian and some other manuscripts.

The next point to which Dr. Hilgenfeld appeals is the subscription to the book of Esther in the Codex Frederico-Augustanus, which once belonged to the Sinaiticus. This subscription says that it was compared with an *exceedingly ancient* copy corrected by the hand of the holy martyr Pamphilus; who states that it was taken, or copied (*μετελήμφθη*) and corrected, from the *Hexapla* of Origen, corrected by himself, etc. This he regards as the testimony of the book itself. It may be from the hand of a corrector early in the seventh century, as Dr. Tischendorf says, but it implies a great difference in the ages of the two books. The editor's opinion cannot be reconciled with this statement; in which, moreover, the word *μετελήμφθη* must mean "copied." Whether the subscription to Esther was written by the original transcriber or by the corrector in the seventh century, makes no difference to the general inference that the MS. cannot be older than A.D. 530.

The structure and execution of the book, in Dr. Hilgenfeld's opinion, justify his conclusion. It was executed by ignorant and negligent scribes, and the correctors have had much to do to correct the countless mistakes. It abounds in omissions and blunders, and its text is not always the best. Of these defects various examples are given. At the same time, the MS. contains many ancient, though not always original, readings. Of these also specimens are given, and with a further remark or two the paper closes. Here are a few of the omissions pointed out: Matt. xviii. 12, the words *πρόβατα* and *ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη*; xix. 10, *εἰ* before *οὕτως*; xxii. 15, *ἔλαβον* and *ἐν λόγῳ*; xxiii. 35, *πάν* before *αἶμα*; xxvi. 33, *εἰ* before *καὶ πάντες*; Mark i. 1, *υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ* is wanting; vi. 34, *ὡς πρόβατα*; ix. 9, *εἰ μή*; ix. 47, *εἰσελθεῖν*; ix. 49, *καὶ πάντα θυσία ἀλλ' ἀλισθήσεται*; x. 19, *μὴ μοιχεύσης*; x. 29, *ἐνεκεν ἐμοῦ καὶ*; xiii. 9, *ἐαυτοῦς*; Luke iii. 13, *εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς*; iv. 1, *ὑπέστρεψεν*; xii. 52, *ἔσονται γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν πέντε ἐν ἐνὶ οἴκῳ διαμεμερισμέ*—so that only *νοὶ* remains of the clause; xix. 47, *ιερωοῖδέ*; xxi. 8, *ὁ καιρὸς ἤγγικεν, μὴ*; xxiii. 26, *φέρειν*; John iv. 5, *ἔρχεται οὖν εἰς πόλιν τῆς Σαμαρείας* is omitted; v. 25, *καὶ νῦν ἐστίν*; [vi. 55, *ἡ γὰρ σὰρξ μου ἀληθῶς ἐστὶ ποτόν*; such is the reading actually given in this place for *ἡ γὰρ σὰρξ μου ἀληθῶς ἐστὶ βρώσις, καὶ τὸ αἷμα μου ἀληθῶς ἐστὶ πόσις*!]; viii. 52, *θανάτου* is omitted; ix. 23, *ἔχει*; xii. 31, *νῦν ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου*; xix. 4, *ἐν αὐτῷ*; xix. 19—21, the whole of verse 20 is omitted, and verse 21 as far as *ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐκεῖνος*, or from *τοῦτον οὖν* to *τῶν ἰουδαίων* inclusive; and in verse 26 of the same chapter, *Ἰησοῦς οὖν ἰδὼν τὴν μητέρα*. Dr. Hilgenfeld's list is continued through the Epistles. Of simple blunders we give four or five from the same authority. Acts xx. 11, *αὐτῆς* for *αὐτῆς*; xxvii. 43, *βήματος* for *βουλήματος*; 1 Peter iv. 2, *ἀνθρώπου* for *Θεοῦ*; v. 2, *ἐνύμιον* for *ἐν ὑμῖν ποιμνιον*; 2 Peter ii. 18, *τοῦ ὄντως* for *τοὺς ὀλίγους*; Rev. xxi. 4, *τὰ πρόβατα* for *τὰ πρῶτα*; xxii. 3, *κάταγμα* for *κατάθεμα*.

Perhaps we need scarcely have given so many examples of some of the peculiarities upon which Dr. Hilgenfeld bases his conclusions, but we can hardly expect all our readers to have, or to have made themselves familiar at present with Mr. Scrivener's collation of the Sinaitic New Testament.

As might be looked for, Dr. Tischendorf has replied to the article we

have described. He shews that, with one exception, the irregularities of spelling found in the Codex Sinaiticus are represented by similar irregularities in the Vatican MS., and also in the papyrus MS. of the Psalms in the British Museum, a document which may be older than the Sinaitic and Vatican MSS. As it regards the palæographic difficulty, he claims to have had more experience than other men, Montfaucon included, and offers to present a copy of the folio facsimile edition of the work to any one who can produce a single MS. of the sixth century having the peculiarities of the Sinaitic to which he appeals, viz., written in four columns to a page, having the exceptional forms of letters, without initials, and almost destitute of punctuation. He then speaks of the absence of Mark xvi. 9—20, as observable in the Vatican MS., and in accordance with remarks of Eusebius and Jerome, although found in all subsequent copies. With reference to the subscription to Esther, and that to 2 Esdras, which resembles it, he ascribes them to later correctors. The word *μετελημφθη* he takes to mean the same as *αντεβαλεν*, i. e., "collated." As to the great antiquity of the MS. of Pamphilus, mentioned by the writer of the note, the MS. may have been upon papyrus, and would therefore look much older than the handsome parchment of the Codex Sinaiticus.

Upon this reply of Tischendorf's, Dr. Hilgenfeld adds a series of further remarks. He admits that he was mistaken as to the purity of the spelling in Codex B., but he says it does not follow from the presence of like misspellings in both, that both belong to the fourth century, or that either of them does. He then quotes Montfaucon's statement that the changes of *ι* into *η*, of *υ* into *ου*, of *ει* into *ι*, etc., although observed by him in older MSS. and inscriptions, occurred much more frequently in a MS. of the eighth century. Similar observations have been made by other palæographers and philologists. In fact, the blunders of the scribes attracted the attention of the grammarians in the ninth century. The remarks of Origen upon the blunders of Egyptian copyists, refer, not to spelling but to actual corruptions of the text. As for the *writing* of the Codex Sinaiticus Dr. Hilgenfeld can only judge of it, with the assistance of Montfaucon; with this aid, he owns that it belongs to the class of the oldest uncials, such as the Alexandrian, Vatican, Ephraem, etc. But this series begins in Montfaucon with Dioscorides (without accents and breathings) at the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century, and goes on to the beginning of the seventh century; and with accents and breathings a gradual change of character came in. According to Montfaucon, accents and breathings began to be added "septimo circiter sæculo," and from that time the old form of the letters was altered by degrees, etc. From Montfaucon's data, Dr. Hilgenfeld infers that we have the fullest right to ascribe the Codex Sinaiticus to the sixth century. The Codex Colbertinus, he thinks, might compete for Dr. Tischendorf's prize on several grounds.

With regard to the subscriptions to Esther and 2 Esdras, they relieve us from the necessity of relying alone upon philological and palæographical grounds. In them a corrector of the seventh century declares, at least, that this codex was collated with one which Pamphilus corrected, and

which is called *παλαιώτατον λιβαν* and *παλαιωτάτου*. This language compels us to conclude that, if the corrector regarded the Codex of Pamphilus as so *very ancient*, he must have considered the Codex Sinaiticus as comparatively recent. Yet Dr. Tischendorf wishes us to think that there was not above half a century difference between them. That one *may* have been on papyrus and the other on parchment does not remove the objection, by supposing an apparently greater antiquity. That the word *μετελήμφθη* means "copied," and not collated, is shewn by various examples. We wonder Dr. Tischendorf should doubt this.

It is needless to go further into these details. The question is one which we knew must come up, and over which a considerable diversity of judgment must arise. There are about the Codex Sinaiticus so many signs of genuine antiquity that we do not think any future Simonides will fare better than the last; but there are things, and Dr. Hilgenfeld has mentioned some of them, which seem to have a more recent aspect than Dr. Tischendorf will allow. The four columns on a page in certain books, and the absence of initials do not weigh much with us, as they may be repeated from an older copy; and so of several other things; but there are the subscriptions, the barbarisms, the omissions—in a word, the sins of the scribes, which make it hard to believe that it was written under the eye of Eusebius, or in the city of Athanasius in his lifetime. There are monogrammatic forms of letters, too, which look more like the age of Justinian than of Constantine (we do not refer to the monogram of Christ, although the *form* of this is worthy of notice); and there is the peculiar arrangement of Solomon's Song, with the exegetical headings. These, and whatever else bears upon the subject, will, doubtless, be properly sifted, and we shall be surprised if the result is not some modification of the popular opinion as to the age of this most valuable and important copy of Holy Scripture.—*Clerical Journal*.

[It is a fact, which cannot be questioned, that errors of spelling and of copying may be traced further back than any of the Greek codices of the Scriptures now known. We say nothing of the many illustrations of this which are furnished by the inscriptions of the catacombs and by other inscriptions, and will take as an example the first of the Herculanæum papyri published. As the town was destroyed in A.D. 79, the MS. must be older. We quote from the *Herculanensium Voluminum quæ supersunt*, tom. i., Naples, 1793. The writer of the prolegomena is describing the work which is reproduced in facsimile, viz., *Philodemus de Musica*; and he says, in reference to the copy, that must have been written by some one "qui nec Græcus homo, nec satis excultus et elegans foret; utpote qui multa peccavit in scitiis, multa aurium hebetudine, multa etiam oculorum hallucinatione. Nam aliunde certis constat indicibus hoc volumen partim aliquo dictante exceptum, partim ex *αυτογραφῇ* exscriptum fuisse. Ecquis enim Latini hominis in scitiis Græcum dictatum excipientis non tribuat *σφαλμα* illud, in quod toties incidit ut passim scriberet *ε* pro *ι* et *ε* pro *η*, vel contra? ut adscriberet supervacaneum *ι* post *ω* in tertiis singularis imperativi, uti, e.g., *λεγετω*, et alia id generis errata quæ partim emendata, partim omissa in MS. leguntur. Hujusmodi, ni fallimur, *σφαλματα*, uti

manifesto sunt indicio nullam, vel fere nullam in pronuntiatione fuisse tunc temporis differentiam inter ι et ϵ , inter ϵ et η , inter ω et ψ , sic imperitiam Græci sermonis in librario arguunt, qui uno aurium judicio, non grammaticis legibus in scribendo uteretur.” Besides these errors, he mentions other forms of misspelling, the repetition of clauses, and omissions. Clauses repeated are included in brackets; corrections are sometimes inserted in smaller letters between the lines, and sometimes indicated by points over the wrong letters. The MS., of course, has neither large capitals nor interpunction, but for this latter spaces are sometimes left between words. Spaces also occur where no sentence ends. These facts suffice to shew that errors, similar to those in the Sinaitic MS., may be found in documents which are certainly more ancient; and that the peculiarities of that MS. are some of them observable in older ones, even when no error is involved. Singularly enough, too, the width of the columns in the Sinaitic MS. is as nearly as possible the same as that of the papyrus of Philodemus. Two things are however observable, viz., that the Sinaitic MS. has a much larger infusion of errors, and that the characters are considerably different from those of the papyrus. It may also be noticed that letters project much more frequently beyond the column in the Sinaitic MS. than in the other, and that the papyrus has no division into paragraphs.—ED. J. S. L.]

M. Renan and his Professorship.—M. Renan, whose book, *La Vie de Jésus*, has given rise to so much and such angry controversy, was named, by Imperial decree in the *Moniteur*, to the post of Assistant Sub-Director in the manuscript department of the Imperial Library of Paris. He had held for the last year or two the office of Professor of Hebrew, Syriac, and Chaldaic at the College de France, but delivered only one lecture, when the course was suspended, which has not since been resumed. As Professor at the College de France he could not be dismissed. Though no reason was assigned officially for his suspension, there was no doubt of it being caused by the doctrines he propounded in his first and only lecture, and which have since been developed in the work by which he has acquired considerable notoriety “and profit.” The emoluments attached to the Professorship are about £400 a year; and as M. Renan has not resigned, and as it was simply the act of the Minister that prevented him from continuing his teaching, he was held to be justified in accepting the salary for duties which he was willing to perform. The Minister of Public Instruction never intended allowing M. Renan to resume his lectures on his own terms; neither is he prepared to suppress the Chair of Hebrew and Syriac altogether; and as he could not well dismiss him, he has been driven to the expedient of compensating him by an appointment to an important office in the Imperial Library. M. Renan, however, has declined accepting this new position. He has written to the Minister a letter which has appeared in the journals, complaining of not having been previously consulted, and refusing to abdicate the title of Professor at the College de France; but he signifies his intention of renouncing the salary, which he has not hitherto refused solely because he persisted in hoping that his course would be soon resumed. “The

superficial economy," he tells the Minister, "which considers as supreme wisdom the tangible and immediate product of an outlay, has nothing to do with science. Science measures merit by the result acquired, and not by the more or less punctual execution of rules and regulations; and should you ever reproach a *savant* who confers honour on his country with not earning the paltry sum which the State allots him, believe me, Sir, he will answer you, as I now do, 'Pecunia tua tecum sit.' Apply, then, the funds voted for the Chair of Hebrew, Syriac, and Chaldaic, to whatever purpose you think fit. I keep the title which I hold on the presentation of the Professors of the College de France and of my associates of the Institute. I shall continue to perform without salary the duties which that title imposes on me—that is, I shall labour with all my might in the progress of studies of which the tradition has been intrusted to me." The friends and admirers of M. Renan look upon the suspension of his course at the College de France, and his translation to the post in the Imperial Library, as an attempt against freedom of thought; and, in fact, a persecution on account of religious opinions. There are others, however, who do not view it in that light, and for good reasons. The Chair of Hebrew, Syriac, and Chaldaic, intended to instruct youths in Oriental literature, and which enabled M. Renan to propound his extraordinary doctrines on the Divinity of the Saviour, and, indeed, on revealed religion, is not a private foundation, nor is it maintained by voluntary beneficence. It is not a pulpit set up by a particular section of religionists. It was founded by the State, paid for out of the Budget—that is, out of the taxes to which all contribute. The population practising or, at least, professing Christianity, numbers about 37,000,000; and the question is whether a Professor paid out of the public money for lecturing on the ancient tongues does, or does not, satisfy the end sought by teaching that the founder of their religion was an impostor and that religion itself is a lie.¹

The Sacred Books of the Buddhists, compared with History and Modern Science. By the Rev. R. Spence Hardy, Hon. M.R.A.S.—[Our readers will be interested in the following observations upon a work which has been printed in Ceylon, and is, we are informed, shortly to appear in this country.]—The reader requires no formal introduction of the writer before us; for he has been before the public for a long time, and in various capacities. He is known as the only European who speaks Singhalese and Portuguese with the fluency of his native tongue. He is the Missionary who was instrumental in getting rid of the unholy connection between Government and idolatry which had long existed in this country. He was the editor of that useful and valuable little periodical, *The Friend*, which was maintained for a far longer time than any other in Ceylon, and for which numbers of applications still arrive from different parts of the world. Those who have lately heard his lecture on the Holy Land can form a just conception of the merits of a popular work by him on the same subject. He is, moreover, the author

¹ M. Renan's Hebrew professorship has been conferred on M. Munt (who is a Jew) since the above first appeared.

of two valuable works on Buddhist Monachism, and on Buddhism generally. They are unsurpassed, in the correctness of the matter they contain, by any that have as yet been published on the same subjects; and it was indeed not an idle compliment which Sir Emerson Tennent paid their author when he said, that "the most profound and learned dissertations on Buddhism were found in them." Those who have read these treatises, and have doubtless observed the depth of thought, the correctness of fact, and the beauty of language exhibited therein, can alone judge of his competency for the work he has last undertaken.

Indeed, there is not a European in the wide world, and, in sober truth, there never *was*, if we except his lamented predecessor, the Rev. Daniel J. Gogerly, who is more competent to execute the task he has undertaken than the writer before us. We certainly have had eminent Oriental scholars in various parts of the world; but the merit of having successfully unfolded the mysteries of Buddhism rests entirely with those who have been connected with Ceylon. The eminent scholar who has left a deathless name by the establishment of the Royal Asiatic Society, "never read a line of the canonical books of Buddhism." Colebrooke, Wilson, Max Müller, Williams, and Muir, have but imperfectly investigated a religion which is entirely perpetuated by means of the Pali and the Singhalese. Burnouf and Lassen, who had but one canonical work of the southern Buddhists, and who devoted a great portion of their lives to the examination of the Prākṛit and Buddhism, misapplied their wonderful talents by confining their studies to the versions of the heretics who had seceded from the Buddhist church at the third Convocation. Grimm, whom Lassen calls "the glory of Germany," Bopp, whose researches in philology have become the very basis of scientific investigations connected with the Eastern and Western hemispheres, may also be mentioned, with Rask, Goldstucker, Weber, Benfey, Kuhun, Stanislas Julien, Colonel Sykes, and a number of others, who have contributed most valuable information on matters connected with the Sanskrit and Oriental literature in general; but little indeed regarding the religion of the southern Buddhists. Professor Spiegel, the translator of a Buddhist work, *De Officiis Sacerdotum Buddharum*, has not even detected the error of the name *Kammavākya*, by which it is called. Fausboll, the learned translator of one of the most ancient as well as authentic works of Buddhism, the *Dhammapada*, and of a few fables, which are generally known as *Jātakas*, had but few opportunities to examine into the system of the Buddhist religion. Barthelemy St. Hilaire, an accomplished French scholar, has contributed his *Le Bouddha et sa Religion*, and it is doubtless a very "lively picture" of Buddhism; but it is mixed up with a good deal of the *undoubted* fictions which have so largely entered into the system of Tibet, Nepal, and China. For the same reason the researches of Csoma de Koros in Tibet, of Hodgson in Nepaul, of Schmidt in Mongolia, of Remusat, Klapproth, and Landresse in China, though valuable for purposes of comparison, and for establishing several facts connected with history, science, and philology, are nevertheless useless for the chief end for which Buddhism may be studied by the Christian missionary, namely, for displacing it by the exposure of its defects.

The Rev. F. Mason of Burmah, and Brigandent, a dignitary of the Roman Church, have doubtless contributed valuable assistance to the study of Pali and Buddhism; and the works of the American professors, especially of Salisbury, are invested with very great interest. Yet the fact still remains, that Europeans in Ceylon have alone rendered the most valuable assistance to the study of both.

Again: of the *Jainas*, whose works furnish many historical facts, we have had many valuable contributions; especially from Dr. Stevenson, of Bombay, the translator of *Kalpa sutra*, and James Bird, Esq., the author of *Historical Researches on the Origin and Principles of the Buddha and Jaina Religions*, and these, like the labours of the translator of *Malalengara Vottu*, and of other eminent Orientalists whom we have noticed, though full of interest as developing the history of India and also of Buddhism, are nevertheless devoid of that information which a missionary must have for the refutation of the pretensions of the orthodox Buddhist.

We now come to Ceylon, and must first name the Rev. Benjamin Clough, a Wesleyan Missionary, who translated the same work into English which Spiegel has rendered into the Latin. The services he has rendered to the study of Buddhism are not confined to his Dictionary, and to the collection in it of explanations of *religious terms*, which have served as the only guide to many a continental scholar.

His Pali Dictionary, by which we mean the *Abhidanappadapika*, is the only published work of the kind in the world, if we except that of Mr. Gogerly, which is still in manuscript. The *Bālavatāra*, which had been translated by Tolfrey, and which Clough successfully carried through the press after the death of its author, is the only Pali grammar accessible to the European scholar. Indeed, it was the publication of this work which induced the Hon. George Turnour to learn the Pali; and "to direct the minds of the learned in Europe to its study" (Spiegel, p. iv.). He was indeed an accomplished scholar; and the services he rendered to the cause of Asiatic history and chronology in conjunction with his learned coadjutor Princep, are generally appreciated by those who have made the Pali their study. He translated also many of the original works of the Buddhists; but he had but one object in view—of establishing the value and importance of the historical works of the Buddhists. Though he has detected many perversions of the historian, and of the religious enthusiast; yet it must be confessed that he paused not to examine the subtle philosophy of the Buddhists, or by philological investigations to expose their statement,—that the *Pitakattiya* and its commentaries have been brought down for centuries in the memory of man.

Though, again, his successor in the field of Pali literature, the Rev. Daniel J. Gogerly, had not devoted his time to purely philological investigation, yet he did that which his vocation imperatively called upon him to do,—to render the study of Pali subservient to the overthrow of Buddhism. To use his own words:—"It must not be supposed that researches into these hidden doctrines of Buddha are of little service to a Christian Missionary; for he has not, in this country, merely or even

principally to expose the erroneous opinions held individually by those among whom he labours, but to overturn from its base, if possible, the system of Buddha."—*The Friend*, vol. ii., pp. 62, 63.

With such a praiseworthy object in view, Mr. Gogerly devoted his time and energies, by the exposure of untenable Buddhistical doctrines, to the displacement of the system of Gotama. We bear willing testimony to the success that attended this particular branch of his missionary work, of which his *Pragnapti* is the most prominent. To our own knowledge he was the only Pali scholar who could master the *Pitakas* and their glosses in the absence of his pundit. Such indeed was his knowledge of the doctrines of Buddhism, that when controversies arose in the Buddhist church in Ceylon, Gogerly was the umpire whom contending Buddhist priests selected for the determination of their differences. It is unnecessary to expatiate on his uncommon attainments, or to enumerate all he has written, and all he has translated. They are scattered over the pages of many a periodical in this island. They have gone to all parts of the world; and are found quoted in the works of many a scholar.

The coadjutor of Mr. Gogerly in his missionary labours for twenty years, and the man who chiefly profited by his Oriental studies, is the writer of the work before us. He has now returned amongst us, after many years' sojourn in his native land, to add to his previous acquirements a thorough knowledge of the Pali, which the reader will find to be already of no mean order from the extracts in the Appendix, and the frequent references which he makes to the *Pitakas*.

END OF VOLUME V. (NEW SERIES).

